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FROM THE

COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY

TO THE

REIGN OF ALFONSO III.

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THE

HISTORY OF PORTUGAL,

FROM THE COMMENCEMENT OF THE MONARCHY TO THE REIGN OF ALFONSO III.

(COMPILED FROM PORTUGUESE HISTORIES.)

BY

EDWARD McMURDO.

LONDON:

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1888.

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PREFACE.

SIX hundred years ago a French prince succeeded in joining together the various petty counties of the Douro into a Kingdom, which then comprised less than two millions of people. The dynasty then founded has existed till now, and this year, 1888, sees the House of Braganza reunited to the House of Orleans.

His Majesty Dom Luis, the King of Portugal, having granted me a concession for the Lourenço Marques and Transvaal Railway (Delagoa Bay), I found myself in Lisbon, and interested in Portugal; but, not speaking its language, I sought for an English history. No such history exists.

I had learnt so much of the glorious past of Portugal that I resolved to have a translation made of records available at Lisbon. The Portuguese language is most difficult, and it was only after two years' search that I found a competent translator in the person of the accomplished Miss Mariana Monteiro, to whom all the credit of the present volume is due.

This volume brings the history from 1097 to 1279, which really is the commencement of Portugal as a nation. Even among scholars I have found but few who knew anything of Portugal, although its history is intimately connected with that of England. Practically I have not met one English-speaking person who had any idea of the past of this nation: who knew that with a population of less than two millions it discovered the

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Australias, Africa, and a great part of America; that it founded the largest and most prosperous empire on the New Continent, except the United States; that Africa was all Portuguese; and that a part of India was a vassal of the brave little nation. It seemed sufficient to admit that England received her first Indian possession as a gift from Portugal, Bombay being given as a dower to the Duchess of Braganza, who married Charles the Second. Inquiry rarely went further. Yet Portugal has now in its colonies a population of over 30,000,000, who all speak Portuguese.

A nation of only two millions which has accomplished such great deeds deserves to have its record known in England. This must be my apology for undertaking the task.

E. McMURDO.

January 2nd, 1888.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

INTRODUCTION.

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Preliminary considerations—Fundamental differences between the historical writings of the Middle Ages and during the epoch of the revival of letters—Method to be followed when considering the origin of Portugal during both periods—Synchronical tendencies of the first epoch, and anachronisms of the second—Causes and consequences of the historic system of the restoration as regards origin—Modification of this system. —Advantages of separating from the entire history of Portugal what does not actually belong to it—No national identity between the Portuguese society and some of the ancient tribes which inhabited the Peninsula previous to the Christian Era—Characteristics which may possibly establish its identity in the succession of ages: territory, race, language—Absence of these common characteristics between the Portuguese and the Lusitanians—Constitutional elements of Portugal in relation to territory and population: the Leonese element and the Saracenic—A brief knowledge necessary of the political history of the Moslem States of Spain, and Kingdom of Leon, as a basis to the political history during first period of the Portuguese Monarchy.

He who would open our ancient Chronicles, and then the historical writings since the complete triumph achieved by the Greco-Roman literature over that of the Middle Ages, will find a fundamental difference between the two systems. Up to the end of the fifteenth century, and even to the middle of the following one, our national history may be reduced to the Chronicles of both epochs during the period of the separation of Portugal from the Monarchy of Leon down to the time of the Chronicler. The most ancient Chronicles, written in barbarous Latin, are in truth a kind of epitome of the general history of the country, but their narratives commence, like those of especial records, only at the beginning of the twelfth century, and they barely give a rapid sketch of the events which occurred after the invasion of the Goths, which, to them, is like a species of historic Genesis. During this infancy of history, our Chroniclers seemed to

feel that previous to this epoch there was wanting some solid, palpable chain to link Modern Portugal to the Ancient World. It has been said that they considered it like a globe, which, formed out of the fragments of planets of some solar system, had escaped from the common sphere, and they knew not how to bring it back to its centre. This system was the Peninsula, whose changes and revolutions, inhabitants differing in races, in customs, and in language, were nevertheless linked in the succession of time by a constant fact—viz., the topographical limits of the vast tract of land between the Pyrenees and the sea. That territory in which the Iberian-Celtic occupation was superseded by the Greco-Phenician colonisation, and later on by the successive dominations of the Carthaginians, Romans, Goths, and Arabs, was the same tract, with but slight difference, as that where exclusively the Kings of Castille reigned after Aragon and Catalonia were joined to the vast body of the Spanish Monarchy. Possibly none of the new Provinces of this Monarchy could have found a common analogy between itself and one or other of the ancient divisions, whether of dominion or race, with that which had existed in ancient times.

Spain, the most complex of them, remained the same, notwithstanding so many transformations. Portugal, however, was of recent existence, as she had formerly been included in all the various societies of the Peninsula, and was founded in fragments from the ancient territorial divisions of Celtic Spain, Punic and Roman. In one word, it was a branch wrenched from the Leonese tree, and therefore could not claim any legitimate and exclusive parentage during the time previous to the Gothic conquest, or, more truly, to that of the Christian restoration. It might be said that in some way it was linked to the past, but to draw up a true and exact genealogical tree would be impossible.

With the revival of Greek and Roman letters at the end of the fifteenth century the ancient world sprang up to a life partly fictitious and partly real. In proportion as the traditions of Roman jurisprudence completely swayed the political institutions of modern nations, the ideal republic of letters was being organised under conditions of a literature whose most beautiful monuments were still extant, but whose tendency and spirit were, to a certain extent, a dead letter, as they could in no way associate themselves either to the customs or with the beliefs of modern Europe. The enthusiasm evinced for the brilliant vestiges of a past civilisation possessed no power, however, to make

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itself admired and adopted by the generality of men, since there were insuperable barriers between their manners of life. Christian idealism, expelled from the midst of the cultured classes, was nevertheless received and cherished among the simple classes; the literary formulas which had sprung up with the Middle Ages, and which up to that time had accompanied the progress of the natural development of the new society, were cast aside, condemned by the scorn of the aristocracy of intellect.

History, like all things else, reached a period of transformation. The ancient Portuguese Chronicles, as well as of all other nations of Europe, followed a method and style of narrating totally different from the historical books of the Romans and Greeks. They were more simple and picturesque, they more fully described the domestic life; perchance the characters of eminent persons were not laid open to us with those incisive yet rapid sketches which sufficed the Roman historians, and of which the pages of Tacitus are a most perfect model, but in compensation, the Chroniclers bequeathed to us ingenuously the sayings and acts of individuals. Hence, if on one hand the narratives of the Chroniclers appear to us trivial and even base on account of their manner of noticing trifling events, yet on the other they serve as a means of more clearly apprehending the true dispositions of individuals, and the spirit which pervaded the generations they described, meanwhile that the historians of antiquity only presented to us men with the gestures and studied conventional manners of the Forum, the Senate, and the Temple during public solemnities. The Chroniclers of the Middle Ages, when placing before our eyes the great characters who had passed through the world, would raise the slab of the sepulchre of their dead, and breathe a new life into them; while the Greek and Roman writers lower from their pedestals the statues of public men and present them to us, correct and true, but cold and dead, and, like to the statue at the banquet of D. João Tenorio, they make it pass before us with solemn mien, but hard and heavy.

In the ardour of restoring or transforming all things at the time of the revival of letters, it was not examined whether the historical method of the Middle Ages was, or was not superior in any way to the method followed by the historians who were beginning to be called classical. History accepted these grave and majestic models as the only legitimate ones, the immediate consequences being that history

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became arid in the midst of its pomp, and ceased to become popular because it spoke in a language unintelligible to the public, and painted a life which they could not recognise.

At first it was the form which attracted the cultured minds; later on it was the objects and facts which the historians of Greece and Rome described. In the universities and in the schools, in monasteries and in literary palestras, this became so marked that it was considered a subject for scorn to use the native tongue. The study of monuments of all kinds which related to the civil life of antiquity was followed so assiduously, and the learned were so inebriated with this phase of existence, that in their writings there was scarcely found a sentence, an allusion, or an idea which had not been drawn from Greek or Roman books. The glorious successes and the illustrious men of their own country interested them far less than those of the ideal land adopted by them.

When this somewhat idolatrous admiration for the world of antiquity had reached its height, it began to decline or to moderate, and then began to be felt that the annals of the country were of some value. The glorious traditions of the nation began to be sought for. By degrees this thought began to rise and to extend, yet greatly modified by the influence of classical erudition.

From the middle of the sixteenth century dates the commencement of our swift and deep fall, and the robust, clear-sighted men of the day felt the necessity of reminding the degenerated, dispirited masses that there existed an honoured inheritance of their grandsires which it was expedient to save. Until that period writing history was a sort of public service. The kings would nominate some individual to consign to writing the various successes which occurred during their own particular reign, or of the events during the life of their immediate predecessors; thus the Chronicler exercised a charge from the State.

Hence, from the Chronicles of Christovam Rodrigues Acenheiro, who lived in the reign of D. João III., down to the publication of the first two volumes of the "Monarchia Lusitana," which is like the inscription on the scutcheon of our greatness, history loses day by day the character of a public record and becomes a matter of free, independent erudition, although it recoils from the sad spectacle which passes before the view of the historian and impels him to seek in the national records of past ages for matter more grateful for study, and for the traditions with which to reanimate the lost energy of the people.

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Therefore, under various titles does the general history of the country appear. Such are the Chronicles of Acenheiro and of Nunes de Leão, the "Elogios dos Reis" of Brito, the varied history of Pedro de Maris. Then Camões, in his "Lusiades," concentrates the prevailing idea of his time, and traces with a divine pencil the discovery of India, and the principal lineaments of the noble records of the Middle Ages.

André de Resende, the greatest and most trustworthy antiquarian of the sixteenth century, in his renowned "Treatise on the Antiquities of Lusitania," written in Latin, gave a great impetus to the application of the study of Greek and Roman literature to illustrate the history, and in particular the ancient geography of the west of the Peninsula. These four volumes of his, "*De Antiquitatibus Lusitaniæ*," stand as our most ancient records of the tribes which had dwelt between the Guadiana and the Douro at the time of the Roman Conquest, and also of the civil divisions of the territory, its interior hydrography, tracing the sites of the cities and towns which formerly existed. In these records ancient Lusitania is found linked with Portugal so intimately that the words "*Lusitani*" and "*Lusitania*" signified the tribes and the tract of land so called by the Romans at the time of the conquest, or it meant the province which the Romans extended up to the river Ana, or Guadiana; or, again, the Portuguese with their territory, whose limits are totally diverse. These differences, distinct in themselves, are completely confounded in the work of Resende, whose studies were influenced by the two contrary impulses, classical lore and the sentiment of nationality. It is this idea which introduces into the plan of the book a species of anarchy, otherwise excellent in its details and execution.

At the epoch when Resende wrote this work, that is to say, about the middle of the sixteenth century, an idea, contrary to fact, began to gain ground, that there had existed a kind of national union between the Portuguese nation and one or more tribes of the Celtic Spaniards known under the name *Lusitanos*. This idea became deeply rooted among writers who had accepted, without sufficient examination or inquiry, this hypothesis, flattered by the lustre which would accrue to their country from the fact of its antiquity and the glory resulting from the deeds of those savage warriors whom they desired to claim for their grandsires. This idea is untenable, because in the Middle Ages there were no existing monuments relating to those primitive

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times, and moreover the fact remains that the Latin denomination of *Lusitani* only began to be applied during the last quarter of the fifteenth century,* that is to say, when the rage for classical studies and the invention of printing had circulated throughout the west of Europe the literature of Roman historians and geographers.

As a fact, the earliest use of this expression or name appears between 1460 and 1490. This was when Mestre Mattheus de Pisano, one of the most enlightened men of his time, was summoned to Lisbon on account of his erudition to write in Latin the history of the War of Ceuta, and who composed his book in the year 1460. As in this work he had frequently to mention the Portuguese, he constantly employs the word *Portugalenses*, which proves that up to his time *Lusitano* and Portuguese were not equivalent, and this could not be attributed to ignorance, since, when he has occasion to speak of the Douro and of Faro, he says the first was a celebrated river, and the latter a city, both of Lusitania. The first writer, to our knowledge, who used the word *Lusitani* to designate the Portuguese was the unfortunate Bishop of Evora, D. Garcia de Menezes. This word did not come into use in the vernacular until later, and

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* Lucas de Tuy, in the Fourth Book of the "Chronicon Mundi," still employs with some confusion the terms *Lusitania*, *Portugalis* when speaking of the conquests of Ferdinand the Great effected in the province now called Beira, but in the context of the book it is evident that he intended to express by the word *Lusitania* the portion of the ancient province of that name, and which extended to the south of the Mondego. This portion still continued in the possession of the Saracens after the conquests of Ferdinand the Great. In the passage to which we allude, *Portugalis* clearly and strictly signified the now modern Province of Beira.

Writing about the year 1236 (España Sagrada, T. 4, p. 211), the epoch when Portugal was already constituted under this name, its extent being to the south of Galicia and west of Lusitania, and referring to a period when the name of Galicia was still in general use throughout the territory north of the Douro, the Chronicler naturally felt embarrassed to define the geographical limits of Portugal in a manner which would be understood by his contemporaries who were only acquainted with the Kingdom of Portugal.

This difficulty became all the greater later on, when he says, and with truth, that the dominion of Ferdinand the Great reached to the uttermost limits of Galicia, which by his own testimony reached to the Douro. In our opinion he wished to avoid all these difficulties by calling *Beira-alta* Portugal, and the provinces to the south of Mondego Lusitania. One fact is certain, that he never styles by the name of Lusitanos the inhabitants of any of the districts or provinces of this part of Spain.

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even at the end of the sixteenth century it was not altogether generally used.

In primitive times,* Spain appears to have been populated by two successive migrations from Asia—the Iberians or Euskaldunac, and the Celts or Celtics. From the wrestling of the two races, and from their association in the central territory of the Peninsula, resulted the mixed tribes called Celtiberians. The Celts formed five principal groups of barbarian tribes—the Cantabrians, the Asturians, and Basque on the northern, the Calabrians and the Lusitanians on the west. These last, according to Strabo, occupied the territory surrounded by the ocean on the north and west, and limited on the south by the Tagus. Towards the east it is difficult to define its frontiers, which extended beyond our eastern radius. No doubt, however, exists that to the south the limits of Lusitania originally barely reached to the right shore of the Tagus. The Greek geographer, however, hesitates to assign to the Lusitanians the territory of modern Galicia, and Entre Douro and Minho, because in one place he supposes them dwelling up to the promontory Nerio or Celtico (Finisterre), while in other passages he speaks of the margins of Lima being occupied by a migration of Celts (Turdetanos and Turdulos) who inhabited the length of the Guadiana, through the Algarve and Andalusia, and part of the Alemtejo. In his description of this tract of the Peninsula there reigns so much confusion that it proves how uncertain were his opinions concerning the ancient distribution of the Celtic tribes after the Roman conquest, and the political divisions effected by Augustus at the time when Strabo wrote.

One fact is certain, that in this new division Lusitania completely changed its limits. These limits were bound by the Douro on the north, and on the south by the Guadiana, and extended to their adjacent lands. Towards the east, however, the limits were not defined with any exactitude, the idea of Cellario being more than probable that for the greater convenience of its administration the eastern line of demarcation should be lengthened or shortened according to the different requirements of

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* Those who wish more fully to investigate the numerous conjectures, hypotheses, and ideal systems concerning the primitive times of Spain may consult the first volumes of the "Historia Critica of Spain" by Masdeu, the "Dissertações" of Padre Pereira de Figueiredo, "Dunham and Depping in Paquis," "Histoire d'Espagne et du Portugal," by Rosseuw Saint-Hilaire, and W. Humboldt.

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the Roman Emperors. But what can be inferred from all the ancient geographers who speak of Lusitania previous to the Roman conquest, as well as the authors who only acknowledge the divisions established by the Romans, is that the territories which bore this name extended along the Spanish Provinces to a greater length than the modern eastern frontiers of Portugal. At the first epoch this limit did not pass beyond the Tagus to the south. At the second period they terminated to the north of the Douro.

Hence, at the time of the Celtic independence and the Roman domination, the territory of Lusitania from east to west included a far greater length and more than double its width at the present day, and doubtlessly it reached to the extreme north of Galicia, while it took in half of Alemtejo and the Algarve, excepting that portion of territory beyond the Guadiana which always continued to belong to Betica, losing all the territory situated beyond the Douro up to Cape Finisterre, that is, half its surface, if we accept the supposition of Strabo that the territories beyond the river belonged to them.

It is evident, therefore, that Portugal at the present day distantly represents geographically Ancient Lusitania. Let us examine whether the Portuguese are really the successors of the Celtic tribes scattered along the west of the Peninsula. We say tribes, because that which we infer from history to be one people consisted of no less than thirty races, spread from the Promontory Nerio to the Tagus. Some of the names of these Celtic tribes were preserved by the ancient writers.

He who reads with unbiassed mind ancient and modern authors who advance opposite theories, which they base on contradictory systems relating to the division of States in Spain, can only draw one conclusion —viz., that in this matter there exist but few facts possessing the requisite degree of trustworthiness to be considered historical. Among these there exists an incontrovertible fact: When the Carthaginians entered into the Peninsula, not only were the two most ancient races, the Iberians and the Celts, intermixed in the central territories, but likewise the tribes of the sea-shore, and the Celts and Celtiberians of the inland parts, mingled with the Phenicians and the Greeks, but principally with the Phenicians, whose influence on the masses was so great that the name given by them to the country subsists to the present day.*

* *Spania* from *Span*, whose double signification of *hidden* and *rabbit* has given rise to much discussion among the learned. Some pretend to say that from the

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And in truth the Phenicians had taken possession of the greater part of Spain in the age previous to Homer, while small Greek colonies established themselves in different maritime places, particularly on the coasts of the Minho and the Douro. These diverse elements of population, which in remote ages must have wrestled and mingled together, are discovered in later times also mixed and linked together. Thus we find that the very word Lusitania indicates a Phenician element, and the names of *Tejo* (Tagus) and *Guadiana* (Ana) belong purely to that language;* while in the names of towns predominates the Celtic form of *brig* or *briga*, and their customs betray vestiges of Greek influence.

To this state of association of diverse races the Punic conquest came to render the intermixture more complete. The Carthaginians, who were originally Phenicians, had incorporated among themselves a great portion of the Libyans or Moors, and formed a mixed caste, known by the name of Libyphenicians. The history of the dominion of this republic in the Peninsula during its first era is very obscure; but four centuries before the era we are considering this dominion found itself much enlarged, and the sons of Spain already went to foreign countries to shed their blood in defence of the interests of their new masters, or allies.

It was, therefore, in the third century before Christ that the Carthaginian influence became definitely established by means of conquest on this side of the strait. The portion of modern Portugal to the south of the Tagus inhabited by the *Turdetani* (Celtic-Phenicians), and that portion on the borders of the Ana occupied by the Celts, attempted to resist the General of Carthage, Hamilcar, or Amilcar, but were subjugated by him. The inhabitants who escaped were compelled by the Carthaginian to join the conquering army, and the country remained desolated. The rest of the inhabitants spread themselves to other parts. From thence the conquering army marched against the tribes of Lusitania, who also rebelled against the alliance, or rather the dominion of the Africans. The resistance offered by these was more fiery and obstinate, but it ended in the same way as that in Turdetania, by the victory of Hamilcar.

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great abundance of rabbits resulted the name of Spain. Others assert, and this is the opinion generally followed, that it was a land *far distant* and little known. In any case the origin of the name is Phenician.

* The erudite Bochart was the first who drew attention to the Phenician origin found in the many chorographical designations of the Peninsula. Of these are — Tejo (Tagus) from *dagi* (fishy). *Lusitania* from *luz* (almonds), perhaps *luzi* (full of almond-trees). The river *Ana* from *ana* (ewe). *Olissipo* from *Alisubbo* (fertile bay). *Vide* Chanaan, Book I., c. 35, p. 695, &c.

After the death of Hamilcar, in the midst of these wars of conquest, he was successively succeeded by his son-in-law, Hasdrubal, and Hannibal his son, who continued these wars with resolute energy. Previous to the expedition of this celebrated general to Italy, across Gaul, the Carthaginians had subjected all the tract along the Ebro, because even at the time of Hasdrubal they engaged with the Romans not to cross these rivers during their conquests, thus leaving to the Roman dominion scarcely one-sixth part of the Peninsula. It was here where these two rival republics sought in three long sanguinary battles to decide which was to perish. In these wars, as also in those of Africa and Italy, the Carthaginian army was in a great measure composed of Spaniards, while the African troops and the contingents of the Celts of Gallias many times passed the territory of Spain.

The result of this may be easily inferred. "Two powerful auxiliaries," observes a modern historian, "assisted Carthage in her designs of mastering the Peninsula. First the Mestizos, those sprung from the admixture of the Carthaginian colonist with the natives themselves spread over Spain. The second were the mercenary Spaniards who served in their armies. It is well known that the Celtiberian infantry, the Andalusian cavalry, and the slingers of the Balearic Islands constituted the nerve force of the army of Hannibal. On returning to their country the mercenaries schemed and established relations with Carthage which she well knew how to use to her advantage in benefiting her commerce and country."

This great fact of the assimilation of the Punic race, and the renewal, as it were, of the Phenician element which the Carthaginians represented, was not confined to one or more provinces of Spain, but it included the central, the eastern, the southern, and the western portion. The Lusitanians, however, who distinguished themselves in the service of Hannibal, could not avoid the common fate, and in this province the Punic race necessarily changed in a greater degree than it had previously done the Celtic-Greco-Phenician intermixture.

The time, however, had arrived when the long-extended iron arm of the Roman republic should encircle Spain, to cast itself changed and exhausted into the hands of the barbarians of the north. During the war of Hannibal in Italy a fleet transported to Ampurias (Emporion) the Roman forces commanded by Cneu Scipio. The disasters which attended this project, and the death of the commander and his brother Publio, drew to the battle-scene the youthful Scipio, later on surnamed

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the African. Within the space of four years, from 220 to 216 before Christ, he expelled the Carthaginians, and returned to Rome laden with triumphs, leaving this province subjugated. From this event dates the epoch of the complete transformation of the Peninsula.

The Roman war of conquest lasted 200 years. The resistance which the Spaniards offered to the new domination convinces us that the accusations of oppression levied against the Carthaginians are exaggerated. When the wrestling began, it was the cause of Carthage, rather than her own, which Spain defended. This confirms what has been already advanced, that even half a century after the epoch when Scipio boasted that he had not left one single Carthaginian in Spain, the Lusitanians, commanded by a man of that race, successively routed the Roman armies out of Manilio and Pisa. The mutual hatred which arose from this protracted the war between the new masters of the Peninsula and the natives long after the destruction of Carthage. The military tactics of the savage mountaineer Viriathus rendered for some years doubtful the victory of Rome throughout the western territory; but in spite of frequent risings the domination of the masters of the civilised world was at length peacefully established throughout the Peninsula, with the exception of the wilds of the Pyrenees, inhabited by the indomitable remains of the primitive Iberian races, which no invasion, whether Celtic, Phenician, or Carthaginian, could ever subjugate or corrupt.

Assisted by the superiority of its military science, the excellence of Roman civilisation naturally carried a deep influence into the imperfect state of native society, which, owing to its mixed relations with the Phenician, Greek, and Carthaginian races, had adopted a few customs, phrases, and ideas of each successively, yet not sufficient of any, to form a strong and compact whole to be able to resist the civilising influence of Rome. The latter did not solely employ arms to consolidate the countries it subjected, but introduced into them her own colonists, and with them her laws and customs. She even exchanged her gods with them, receiving the strange ones into her temples, but at the same time exacting a religious reciprocity. She gave these men, rough and rude, her luxury to taste and the pleasures of which she was mistress; and she received from them in return the products of their agriculture and industry, and in many ways interested herself in the existence and prosperity of the great Republic. The effect of this system in more ancient lands, such as Gaul or Gallias, was an almost complete assimila-

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tion of interests; what must it have been in the Peninsula where the intermixture of so many peoples and races, confusion of ideas, laws, and religious traditions had made it easier to adopt the Roman system?

The revolution of Sertorius, who for years had robbed from the Roman yoke a large portion of Spanish territory, did not destroy the already advanced conquest of Roman civilisation. A modern historian considers the policy of this extraordinary man to be a mistaken one, and accuses him of endeavouring to plant by force in this new land the customs and laws of the Republic, instead of favouring native civilisation, the germs of which already existed in the soil of Spain.

Lusitania, Celtiberia, and part of the Betica composed the provinces which Sertorius more especially disputed with Rome. Summoned from Africa by the Lusitanians to take command, he brought with him 3,000 soldiers from those parts, and the proscribed ones, who, with him, had been ejected by Sylla from Italy, and taken refuge in Lusitania. His combats and victories do not enter within the range of this history. That which more intimately concerns us is, to trace the continued immigrations into the country, which strongly conduced to extinguish the Celtic element in proportion as the natives engaged in the disputes of their new masters.

Sertorius armed, organised, and disciplined his soldiers on the Roman system, although in a more simple style; and Perpenna, who during the civil wars had gathered together in Sardinia 20,000 men, passed over to Spain and reinforced the army of Sertorius with his own men. Obeyed by more than 70,000 Italian, Spanish, and African soldiers, and involved in the war with Pompey and Metellus, after the death of Sylla, Sertorius did not omit, by every possible means, to convert the portion of Spain over which he ruled into a counterpart of Lacius. Ebora was made the capital of Lusitania, Osca or Huesca of Celtiberia. A Senate composed of 300 Senators, who were all Romans, represented the Senate of Rome. Osca continued to be the centre of intellectual reform, as Ebora was of the civil and political. In the capital of the Celtiberians a University was established, where Greek and Latin literature was taught by masters from their respective nations.

This education of itself imprinted on the Spaniards a Roman character of citizenship, and moreover was a path which led to obtaining important charges of State.

At the death of Sertorius, through the treachery of Perpenna, Spain

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submitted herself to the rule of Metellus and Pompey. A few years later Cæsar, who was then Pretor of Lusitania, exacted of the inhabitants of Herminio (Serra da Estrella) that they should reside on the plains. These were such who more vividly had preserved the character of Celticism, and the policy of the Romans consisted, as we have said, in imparting to all the nations they ruled their customs and characteristics. The mountain dwellers resisted this decree, but the result of their useless resistance was their extermination.

Then followed the civil wars of Cæsar and Pompey. In this terrible wrestling, the first act of the grand drama wherein the Republic was to be converted into a Monarchy, the Peninsula became the principal theatre for these territorial combats. The Roman troops, composed of men from many parts of Europe, Africa, and Asia, were divided into two battalions, which traversed the whole land and spread themselves in every direction, until the soil was steeped in human blood. Battle succeeded battle, siege followed siege, and the towns conquered remained deserted of their inhabitants. This constant wrestling had the effect of more completely eradicating the weak remains of native tribes, and of rendering more confused the already mixed nature of the ancient population. If, however, any characteristics remained of Iberic or Celtic nationality, notwithstanding the political and social facts we have rapidly sketched, the administrative system of Augustus Cæsar and his successors, who carried out—although with diverse motives—the civilising scheme of Sertorius, definitely completed to dispel these characteristics, the sole exception being the Basque people, who always continued independent and isolated on their mountains.

The Peninsula, which at the time of the Republic had been divided into two great sections, *Citerior* and *Ulterior*, now became subdivided into three, Betica, Tarraconensis, and Lusitania. Later on Constantine the Great again subdivided it into five, Tarraconensis, Carthagena, Galicia, Lusitania, and Betica. Some say that this division dates from the time of Adrian, but there is little foundation for this belief.

These provinces were now divided into districts, or *convents*. In the territory of modern Portugal, of the three divisions two fell to Lusitania, and one of the three to Galicia. The first were Beja and Santarem, and of the latter Braga. In these districts resided the magistrates, judicial and military Of the other towns the principal ones were the *Colonys*, whose name indicates the Roman origin of their dwellers; and the *Municipios*, who enjoyed nearly all the advantages

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of the Colonys, and had the privilege of ruling themselves, not by the common law, but by their laws and local institutions, and at the same time could avail themselves of a great part of the Roman public rights. In course of time this important distinction disappeared, and in the time of Adrian only those who were learned in the law knew which were the essential differences of the two descriptions of cities, since the privileges of the municipality were, as a fact, abolished.

Besides these already mentioned, there were a few towns that appear to have been exclusively inhabited by the natives, and who, perchance, because they had been unwilling to resist, had accepted the Roman yoke, and to these was conceded the vain title of *Confederates*. The next were the *Exempt* and the *Stipendiaries*. The first were not subject to the general imposts, and the second were. The *Contributas* corresponded in a certain sense to our villages, because they were boroughs dependent upon other more important towns.

Great historians have described the darksome scene of the dissolution of the Empire of the Cæsars. This dissolution completed the task which Providence had assigned to it in the work of human progress. Christianity was taking root in the depths of the earth. It was springing up, watered by the blood of the martyrs. It was covering with its vast shadow the whole of society. The legions, the policy of the emperors, and the majesty of the Roman name served for a time to keep in check this new invasion. Nevertheless, it was God who released the torrent. It was a sublime scene to witness the wrestling of civilisation against barbarism, but it broke down the barriers. The hosts and savage tribes of the North cast themselves upon the Empire, and wave followed wave. Out of that cataclysm rose up the modern nations.

Spain, situated in the extreme of Europe and defended by the rough *serras* or rugged mountains of the Pyrenees, did not shrink from the common lot of the other Roman provinces. During the first years of the fifth century, when the Empire was already divided and under the sway of two emperors, one on the East and the other on the West, and a number of civic bands formed of ambitious individuals, Geronico, a Roman general who commanded in Spain, induced one Maximilian to be acclaimed emperor, and opened a path across the mountains to admit the Vandals, Alans, and Suevi.

This event suddenly altered the fate of the Peninsula. The Vandals and the Suevi took possession of the territories of Galicia and what is

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now called Old Castille. The *Alans* occupied Lusitania and Carthagena. The *Silingos*, a tribe of the Vandals, took possession of the part of Betica at present called Andalusia. This incursion of barbarians was signalised by every species of devastation. A great number of people perished at the first irruption, before the ferocious conquerors had apportioned the various provinces they intended to settle upon. To the war was added famine and pestilence, until the people were reduced to such extreme misery that they actually ate human flesh. Mothers devoured their own offspring, and the wild beasts that left the forests to seek the prey of the dead bodies actually devoured the living. The barbarians then divided among themselves this almost desolated country, and established themselves separately as mentioned above, while the remainder of the inhabitants of the invaded provinces accepted the yoke of the victors.

But the people who were to supplant this first invasion and establish their dominion in Spain for three centuries were not long in crossing the Pyrenees. The Visigoths, commanded by Attaulfo, invaded the Peninsula. For some years they waged war against the first invaders, and, indeed, it must needs have been a war of extermination that which raged between such ferocious people and the remnants of the ancient population. Wallia, the successor of Attaulfo, attacked the Alans of Lusitania and the *Silingos* of Betica, and after wrestling for three years, compelled such as had outlived the destruction of their race to seek in Galicia the protection of the Suevi. Wallia made peace with the Roman Emperor Honorius, and in the wars the Visigoths were considered as auxiliaries to the Empire. The Alans and the Silingos joined with the Suevi, and these latter, although as a fact were independent, yet they acknowledged the supremacy of Rome, while the Visigoths contented themselves with the dominion of the South of Gaul or Gallias. Peace was yet impossible. The Vandals commenced a sort of civil war with the Suevi, who disbanded them, and compelled to quit Galicia, precipitated themselves anew upon the Betica. After some time they transported themselves to Africa, and Spain remained with scarcely more than the Suevi, allied with the diminished remains of Alans, who had continued in the country after their expulsion by Wallia. However, after the Vandals had forsaken Europe, the Suevi began to extend their empire in Lusitania and the Betica, until after warring with the Romans and the Visigoths, who had already superseded them in the dominion of

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Spain, they at length joined the Visigothic Monarchy in the time of Leuwigildo.

The population Hispano-Roman in a great measure disappeared beneath the swords of the barbarians; but the weakened remains of this people had not become generally identified with the conquerors. The Visigoths being the most civilised of the Germano-Gothic race, retained for a length of time in their institution a line of demarcation between them and the Romans. But this line soon became obliterated. The intercourse between the races became more general; the distinction of Gothic and Roman rights became abolished, and all members of society were under one and the same code of laws; until at length the inhabitants of the whole Peninsula, at least outwardly, constituted themselves as one nation, under the name of Goths. Then followed the Arab conquest, which came to cast into greater confusion this heterogeneous mixture of races and peoples of varied and diverse origin.

Further in our work we shall examine which were the immediate elements of the modern population of Spain, and more especially that of Portugal. In this rapid sketch of the revolutions effected in the land during the epochs of antiquity, we wish to enable the unbiassed reader to comprehend the difficulty of assigning a common relationship or nationality between us and the Lusitanians, or any other tribe or race whatsoever, who primitively inhabited the Peninsula. These first migrations from Asia, whether Iberians, or Celts, or what it may, followed too immediately the infancy of the human race to be numerous. With no artificial means of transit for crossing Europe, ever engaged in hostile wars with each other, they could not multiply sufficiently to render them able individually to resist the contact of the Phenician Colonys which brought them the first benefits of civilisation. During the protracted Carthaginian dominion the Punic influence was certainly deeper, and the Roman conquest came to terminate almost completely Celticism. By this we do not imply that there exist no vestiges of the Celts; some ruins of their rude dwellings may subsist; some words of their uncouth language; perchance, some rough-hewn altars of their almost unknown gods. But what comparision do these bear with the vestiges of the Romans, which are still found in every place, and in all things? In language, in architectural monuments, in stone inscriptions, and in numerals; popular customs, social institutions, and civil law, which never became altered with the restoration, but were preserved throughout the Gothic and Arabic domination? What proportion have

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they with the few vestiges of the Greek emporiums of which a few records remain in the pages of history? From the relative importance of these vestiges, as compared with what history records concerning the various peoples which successively followed each other, either as conquerors or for establishing commercial relations and political systems with the great nations of ancient times, is deduced the conclusion that when the Empire of the Romans ceased, the national character of the earlier settlers in Spain (of which there were a diverse mixture) became speedily incorporated into the more powerful Roman nationality. The remains of the monuments of the Visigoths, which still exist, afford an indirect proof of this. When the Visigoths wished to distinguish the individual Spaniards who did not belong to the Germanic race, and as they could not discover any sign or characteristic to betray a diversity of origin, they would constantly and uniformly designate them by the appellation of Roman, the Roman and Gothic societies being, as a fact, the only ones which existed in the Peninsula. From this epoch all the historic monuments which exist concur to prove that the inhabitants of the Peninsula were completely identified with the Romans. One of the most notable facts is the use of names purely Latin by the Spaniards during the period of the Empire, and this was carried to such a degree that all barbarian names entirely disappeared—a circumstance which did not repeat itself during the dominion of the Visigoths, and, moreover, it appears to be a fact that these also in their turn had forsaken their own Gothic language for the vernacular Roman, notwithstanding that in history figured the Theodorics, the Euricks, and the Hermenegilds. The same is true to say of the Arab domination, according to the evidence of Alvaro de Cordova, that the Muzarabes used to forget the Latin tongue and spoke only the Arabic, nevertheless they still preserved the use of proper names of Latin, Greek, and Gothic origin, as may be witnessed in the history and documents of that period.

Not a single monument of the epoch of this universal Roman domination exists in the Peninsula to afford us a proof that the Celtic language continued to be used among the Spaniards; while the Iberian, the Euskara or Basque not only subsisted through that epoch, but have even reached to our own days, and this is simply because the tribes which spoke those languages never entered the fold of Roman civilisation. This fact compels us to believe that the Celtic could not resist the Latin influence, since it scarcely left in the Portuguese, the

Castillian, and the Catalan languages, a particle or word whose origin appears truly Celtic.

These epochs of antiquity may bear a relation to the history of the Spanish Monarchy, never, however, with that of ours.

Portugal, which sprang up in the twelfth century in a corner of Galicia, and, extending itself along the territory of Saracen Gharb, constituted without regard to any previous political divisions, and seeking to increase its population with the Colonys brought from beyond the Pyrenees, is a nation completely modern, as we shall prove farther on. But, notwithstanding its short existence, she has no need to appropriate to herself the glory of Sertorius, or to invest with fictitious importance the actions of Viriathus, with the object of aggrandising herself. Her true history is sufficiently honourable and illustrious, and does not require any alien glories, whose value when viewed closely cease to possess that importance attributed to them, and which only carries us into the field of conjecture and fable.

A province separated from the Monarchy of Leon by events which we shall briefly study, and constituted into a political whole by the bravery and persistent efforts of our first princes and their knights, the Kingdom of Portugal was founded and established by means of revolution and conquest. The foundations of this independence were laid by Henry of Burgandy, the Count of the district, at the death of Alfonso VI., and consolidated by his widow; then it was definitely established by his son, and completed by the conquests effected during the reign of the first four successors to the throne, up to the middle of the thirteenth century, when it reached the Moorish territories of the Gharb or West.

The new Monarchy, therefore, was composed of two elements, the Leonese and the Saracen. From the first it derived its origin, and with it the physiology and physiognomy of its society; and from the conquering race its individual characteristics, although with organic modifications. These two facts belong to the history of the civilisation of the nation, and constitute the mainsprings of that civilisation. But closely allied to these two facts are two others which belong to the political order, the wrestling for dismemberment and for consolidation. The monarchy of which Portugal formed a part made, as was natural, a long resistance. The Mussalman society resisted also most energetically to its incorporation, as was more natural still. These active resistances formed the principal portion of the history of the events

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which took place during the first period or infancy of Portuguese society. Hence results the necessity of tracing, if only in a cursory manner, the successes relating to the great Christian monarchy which had its birth on the Asturias, of which Portugal was the offspring, and of the Mussalman States of Spain, at the cost of which she extended her dominion, and increased in power to enable herself to acquire a distinct nationality, sufficiently vigorous to subsist to the present day without dismemberment, or having to join the vast extent of the States of the Peninsula which had been subjected to a factitious union by Ferdinand and Isabella, and constrained to a closer adhesion by the iron gauntlet of Charles V.

Therefore, solely with the object of tracing the lineaments of the political history of Portugal, and to assist the reader in its study, we shall preface this history with a narrative of the Arab domination in Spain, and of the Monarchy of Leon. In this sketch we have not consulted primitive sources for our information, because we do not pretend to write the annals of the Peninsula, but drawn our extracts from the narrative of such modern writers who appear to us to have more carefully studied the subject under consideration.

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II.

The conquest of the Peninsula by Tarik and Musa—The Arab Governors of Spain—Incursions beyond the Pyrenees—Civil wars among the Mussalmans—The first conquests of the Christians of Asturias—Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Muawiyah, surnamed Ad-dakhel, establishes an independent Ameership in Cordova—Invasion and retreat of the Franks—The Dynasty of the Beni-Umeyyas—Hixam I.—Abdu-r-rahman II.—Mohammed-al-Mondhir—Abdallah.—Abdu-r-rahman III. is acclaimed, and assumes the title of Caliph—He extends his dominion in Africa—Caliphate of Al-hakem II.—Minority of Hixam II. and Government of the Hadjiz Mohammed, called Almansor—His sons, the Hadjibs Abdu-l-malek and Abdu-r-rahman, succeed him—Benu-Umeyyah Mohammed assumes power and is proclaimed Caliph—The African troops rise—Civil wars—Wrestling between the Beni-Umeyyas and the Idrisitas—Dissolution of the Caliphate and extinction of the Dynasty of Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Muawiyah—Dismemberment of Mussalman Spain into independent States—Entrance of the Almoravides—Origin and progress of this sect.

The dissensions which existed in the Empire of the Visigoths induced the Mussalmans to enter Spain. The latter had just conquered the northern part of Africa, called Barbary, a name derived from the people who in remote times had inhabited it. The *Berbers*, or *Amazijhs*, who followed various creeds previous to the occupation of their land by the Arabs, such as the Jews and the Christians, when they were subjugated, accepted in a great measure the Alcoranic law, and conformed to the tenets of the belief of their conquerors. Musa Ibn Nosseyr, nominated Ameer of Africa by the Caliph of Damascus (702), induced the greater number to adopt Ismalism, and established peace among them. Septum, now called Ceuta, with its neighbouring territory, had been from the time of the Romans a dependence of Spain, and the Visigoths had preserved it united to the monarchy. The Ameer attempted to take possession of that city, but was repulsed by Count Julian, who then was governing in the name of Witiza. Soon after this event Witiza was dethroned, through some conspiracy, it appears, which placed Roderic, or Rodrigo, on the throne (709). Witiza left two sons, who endeavoured, both openly and secretly, to wrench the crown from one whom they held to be a usurper. Julian joined this new conspiracy, and besought the assistance of Musa. He opened the gates of Ceuta, and induced him to send an expedition to the Peninsula. After two attempts at landing, during which the Mussalmans—or Saracens, as they were more

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generally called by the Christians—took some rich spoils, the Ameer sent an army of 12,000 men, principally Africans, commanded by Tarik Ibn Zeyad, his lieutenant in the government of the Moghreb (Mauritiana). This expedition was joined by Julian, and on arriving at the base of the mountain called Calpe they stopped and fortified it, and awaited reinforcements, which soon arrived. Since that time the ancient name of Calpe was altered to that of Monte de Tarik (Gebel, Tarik =Gibraltar). The Mussalman General was not long in penetrating the Peninsula. While Roderic was gathering together his forces to oppose him, he was desolating the provinces of the south, routing out the Gothic bands who attempted to oppose his course. At length the two armies met on the shores of Chryssus or Guadalete. A battle took place, the description of which is given by Christians and Arabs in contradictory narratives. It is certain, however, that this conflict proved a decisive event, and the Empire of the Visigoths became broken up. The Goths were completely destroyed, and Roderic, it appears, perished in the conflict. The spoils sent by Tarik to Musa, with the news of the victory, roused up the envy and ambition of the Ameer. Instead of congratulating him for this illustrious act, he sent orders to delay any further conquests until he himself should cross the strait with the new reinforcement. This order came too late, Tarik had continued his advance when the orders of Musa reached him. He then held a council with the officers of the army to decide the best to be done in the case, and it was resolved to advance with the victory. Mugheyth-Al-rumi, a Greek renegade who commanded the cavalry, then marched towards Cordova; a division was sent to Malaga, and another against Elvira. With the rest of the forces Tarik proceeded to Toledo, which was then the capital of Spain. These troops spread terror on every side. The Jews, a numerous class in the Peninsula, and who were greatly oppressed by the Goths, joined the conquerors, and aided them to take possession of the besieged towns. On the approach of the Saracens Toledo flung open its city gates, while the principal residents, among whom was the Bishop Sindered, fled to take refuge on the mountains of the north, towards which Tarik also proceeded, after the city had surrendered, to continue his conquests.

Meanwhile Musa landed in Spain. After taking Seville, which endeavoured to resist him, he proceeded towards Lusitania, a province whose name and limits of demarcation, assigned by the Romans, the Visigoths still preserved.

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Niebla, Ossuna, Mertola, and Beja speedily fell into his hands. Merida defended itself bravely, but in the end succumbed.

After sending his son Abdu-l-aziz into Seville, which had revolted, the Ameer quitted Merida and wended his way towards Toledo, subjecting all the towns he passed. In Talavera Tarik met Musa, to all appearance on friendly terms, and both entered the capital, leaving their respective armies encamped outside the city. Scarcely had they entered the royal precincts—or Alcasar, as the Arabs called it—than Musa summoned the officers of the army, and in their presence accused Tarik of disobedience, and would have proceeded to some extreme act of violence against his lieutenant had not Mugheyth taken up the defence of the accused. This he did in a manner which disarmed the wrath of the Ameer, who only punished Tarik by depriving him of the command and arresting him, since he had dared to deprive him of a part of the glory which he coveted for himself.

Meantime Abdu-l-aziz had again subjugated Seville, and bent his steps towards the south-west of the Peninsula, which as yet had not been conquered. Theodmiro, a celebrated captain of the Goths, who was duke or governor of a portion of the Betica, had retired to Seville with the remains of his army after the battle on the Guadalete, and had formed a sort of Gothic Monarchy on the territories of the now modern provinces of Murcia and Valencia. For a great length of time the valiant Theodmiro resisted Abdu-l-aziz, but constrained, with inferior forces, to engage in a pitched battle on the plains of Lorca, he was routed, and retreated to Orihuela (Auriola) with what remained of his army.

Besieged by the Saracens, he was compelled, after a brave resistance, to accept the Mussalman yoke, but under advantageous conditions, being acknowledged a Prince of the Goths, although tributary, in the districts over which he formerly reigned. The compact or agreement made on that occasion was preserved by Arab historians.

About that epoch an order from the Caliph arrived in Spain to the effect that Tarik should be released and reinstated in his rank. As by virtue of this supreme order he received the command of the troops, principally those of Barbary, or Moorish, who had effected the conquest of the Goths on the Guadalete, Tarik directed his forces towards the eastern portion, while Musa with his Arabs marched towards the north, destroying the towns which offered any resistance.

From Astorga the Ameer turned to the right, and following the

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course of the Douro, encountered his rival, who had avoided the *serras* of Molino and Siguenza, and had besieged Zaragoza on the Ebro. On the arrival of Musa the inhabitants lost all hope of success, and delivered themselves up. The taking of Zaragoza completed the surrender of the principal cities of Spain, and all were now under the Mussalman power.

Later on, the Moslems became masters of the modern provinces of Aragon and Catalonia, from whence they returned towards the west and subjugated Galicia.

This proceeding of Musa aroused deep hatred between the two rival Saracen captains. The character of Tarik was by nature opposed to that of the Ameer. Both were valiant and enterprising, but proceeded differently in their conquests. Musa was naturally covetous, bloodthirsty, and an oppressor of the Christians. Tarik was generous, clement, and just. In their correspondence with Al-Walid, the Caliph of Damascus, they mutually accused one another, each asserting that the system of his rival was opposed to the interests of Islamism. The ill-will existing between them rose to such a pitch that Al-Walid decided to withdraw them from the Peninsula, and summoned them to his presence. Tarik immediately obeyed, but Musa delayed his departure, awaiting more peremptory orders to compel him to quit Galicia and pass over to Africa. He nominated his son Abdu-l-aziz Ameer of Spain, and established Seville as the capital. Arab historians extol the riches he took with him, besides 30,000 captives, among which were 400 noble Goths. This he did to prove the importance of his conquests.

The character of Abdu-l-aziz bore a greater resemblance to that of Tarik than to his father. The leniency he manifested towards the Christians was ascribed by some to be due to the love he bore Eglona, the widow of the last King of the Goths, whom he took to wife, and allowed free liberty to follow her religion. The new Ameer concluded the subjection of the rest of the Peninsula, and regulated the tributes to be paid by the conquered. Notwithstanding his love for Eglona, he filled his seraglio with the noblest Christian virgins, and this fact, in a measure, destroyed the influence he otherwise would have had owing to his leniency with the Goths. On the other hand, the widow of Rodrigo incited him to rebellion, and to render himself independent of Suleyman, who had succeeded his father Al-Walid in the Caliphate. Suleyman disapproved of the choice of Abdu-l-aziz as Ameer of Spain, while the

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accounts brought to him of what was taking place induced him to put an end to the son of Musa. He therefore sent agents with secret orders to spread among the soldiers odious suspicions against his victim, and in accordance with the cruel customs of the East, the Caliph ordered him to be assassinated, when the army should be roused up. This order was carried out. As he entered a mosque which stood outside Seville, at the hour of morning prayer, he fell pierced through; his head was then severed from his body, and sent to the Caliph as a token that his order had been executed. Then Ayub Ibn Habib Al-lakhmi, nephew of Abdu-l-aziz, who had been a party to the death of his uncle, took the command at the choice of the army and the Diwan, or Council of State, a body which, in Moslem government, directed all affairs appertaining to provincial administration.

Mahommed Ibn Yezid was at the time ruling Africa for the Caliph, and held superior authority over the Peninsula. Perceiving that it was unsafe to allow a relative of Abdu-l-aziz to hold power in his hands, he decided to substitute him by Al-horr Ibn Abdu-r-rhaman Ath-takefi. At this time Ayub exchanged the seat of government from Seville to Cordova, judging the latter to be a more central city, and visited the different provinces to regulate and administrate affairs, distributing equal justice among the Mussalmans who had established themselves in Spain, and the Christians who submitted to the rule of the Caliph. These latter were styled *Mostarabes* or *Musarabes*,* a name given by the Saracens to the people who, without forsaking their own religion, were nevertheless under the Moslem yoke. Then it was that Al-horr took up the reins of government.

His stern, warlike character contrasted with that of Ayub. He put down rigorously the abuses which had crept into the administration. He exacted punctually the tributes paid by the Christians, but at the same time he was implacable with the Mussalmans who had grown rich by illegal means, and he compelled them to restore all they had usurped, under threats of torture. Not satisfied with instilling fear, and even hatred, he was ambitious of military glory. Therefore, he prepared to cross the Pyrenees and invade France; but his attempts proved unsuc-

* From the word *Mostarabes*, which signifies *made* or *turned into Arabs*, and not derived from *Mixtiarabes*, as some writers imagine. The denomination *Mosarabes* prevailed, but it is worthy of note that even in the register of Toledo, given by Alfonso VI. at the commencement of the twelfth century, they were called *Mostarabes*.

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cessful, and the very men whom he had punished for their want of fidelity when collecting the tributes, were those who plotted to obtain his dismissal from the Caliph. He was succeeded by As-samah Ibn Malik Al-khaulani, a former captain of Musa and Tarik, and a person in every way worthy of the charge confided to him. To his military genius was added a talent for administration. He drew up an important statistic of the state of Spain, and instituted a more equable division of imposts, which he submitted to the Caliph, besides other useful public works. He then resolved to continue the war beyond the Pyrenees, which his predecessor had attempted.

Heading the Saracen army, he crossed the defiles of the Serras, or mountains, and attacked Narbonne, Beziers, and other towns, which he took; and spreading terror and dismay wherever his sword passed, he proceeded even beyond the Rhone, and, after reconnoitering Provence, he returned through Burgandy, and retired to Narbonne, laden with spoils, and taking a great number of captives. He then directed his forces against Aquitania; besieged Tolosa, which was then on the eve of surrendering, when the Duke Eudon appeared on the field with a numerous army to defend it. The encounter was a fearful one, and for a long time the issue was uncertain, until the death of As-samah decided the victory in favour of the Christians. Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Abdillah Al-ghafeki, an Arab leader who more greatly distinguished himself in the battle, reorganised the fugitives, and although persecuted by Eudon, was able to save his men and retire to Narbonne. He was acclaimed Ameer by the soldiers, and met with some opposition from Anbasah Ibn Sohaym, who had been entrusted with this post by As-samah, but he was compelled to yield, as the election was approved by the Ameer of Africa. However, soon after this, being accused of prodigality by his enemies, Abdu-r-rahman was dismissed, and Anbasah nominated in his stead, who probably had conspired to his fall. The new Ameer of Spain commenced his rule by imitating his predecessor in organising the affairs of government; and he also imitated him later on in his martial undertakings. With an army more numerous than the forces of As-samah, and which he commanded in person, he entered France, took possession of Carcasonne, and later on of Nismes; while a body of horsemen went into Burgandy and destroyed Autun. At this epoch the inhabitants of Septimania were collecting together forces, and with these they proceeded to meet the Saracens, whom they encountered, with the same result as in Tolosa. Anbasah was routed, and fell

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mortally wounded. Pending the nomination of a successor by Beshr, the Wali of Africa, the Saracen chiefs elected in place of Anbasah, to govern Spain, Odhrah Ibn Abdillah Al-fehri. This post was later on filled by Yahya Ibn Salmah Al-kelbi. The new governor united in his character military genius, martial energy, severity and justice in defending the Christians against the violence of the Mussalmans. This latter trait gave great discontent to the Mussalmans, and caused him to be deposed and his post successively filled by Hodheyfah Ibn Alahwass and Othman Ibn Abi Nesah, whose administration appears to have been greatly harassed by the turbulent spirits of the Mussalman chiefs who came from the Moghreb to establish themselves in the Peninsula. After a short term of government Othman was substituted by Al-haytham Ibn Obeyd, a cruel, hard, and vindictive Arab. Annoyed by the discontent of the Mussalmans, Al-haytham put them under an iron yoke, with the pretext, true or false, of protecting the Mosarabes from their persecutions. Conspiracies followed, which were discovered by the Ameer, who punished the conspirators by torture and death. At length the dissatisfaction rose to such a pitch that it reached the ears of Hixam, who was then Caliph, and induced him to send Mohammed Ibn Abdillah to Spain to investigate the conduct of the Ameer, and if found at fault to punish him. Mohammed arrived to Cordova and examined fully all the bearings of the case, with the result of casting Al-haytham into a dungeon, from whence he was taken to parade through the streets riding on an ass with his arms tied behind him, in order to be jeered by the populace. After this indignity he loaded him with chains and sent him to the Wali of Africa.

For the space of two months Mohammed held the reins of government for the Peninsula, during which time he endeavoured to arrange public affairs and select a new Ameer. The choice fell to Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Abdillah, the same person who had saved the remnants of the Arab army close to the walls of Tolosa. The Ameer at once began to organise the administration and remedy the abuses which had crept in. He demanded strict accounts from the ministers and public officials, and dismissed those who had transgressed. He gave back to the Christians their temples and which belonged to them in virtue of the treaty drawn up at the time of the conquest, but at the same time he ordered that all edifices erected by suborning the magistrates should be levelled to the ground. When he had settled all public affairs and things were in peace, he prepared to make war in the land of the

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Franks, a name given by the Arabs to the territory beyond the Pyrenees.

When his predecessor, Othman, was dismissed from his post of Ameer, he had the command given him of the troops on the frontier of Gallias, and had formed an alliance with the Duke of Aquitania, to whom, it is said, he gave his daughter in marriage. Trusting to the protection of his father-in-law, Othman, who was a Berber by race, and consequently a political adversary of Abdu-r-rahman, himself an Arab, endeavoured to establish an independent government at the foot of the mountains to the north of the territory of the Franks. Abdu-r-rahman, however, foresaw his designs, and unexpectedly sent against him a force which compelled him to retreat into the Serras, where he was captured and put to death. His head was cut off and sent to the Caliph. When the news of this event reached the ears of Duke Eudon, he endeavoured to ward off an invasion of Saracens. But mustering an army greater than any which had hitherto entered Gallias, Abdu-r-rahman crossed the Pyrenees. All resistance proved futile. The Saracens reached up to Garonne, close to which they met the Duke of Aquitania and his forces, and in a fearful battle the latter were completely broken up. Bordeaux fell into the hands of the Arabs, who sacked and burnt down their temples. After this, following the Dordogne, they destroyed and appropriated a large extent of territory, casting down churches and burning towns. Directing his steps to the north, Abdu-r-rahman blockaded Tours. Meanwhile Karl, son of Pepin of Heristal, and Duke of Austria, whose aid Eudon had solicited, was crossing the Loire with his army of Franks in order to defend Tours. The Saracen army were undisciplined, and Abdu-r-rahman, fearing a defeat, retired. He was followed by Karl, and met near Poitiers. The battle lasted two days, and ended in the Saracen army being completely destroyed, and Abdu-r-rahman left dead on the battle-field (732). The remnants of the Mussalman army retreated to the Pyrenees. The news of this event spread consternation throughout Spain, and when it reached to Africa the Wali Obeydullah at once sent a new Ameer in the person of Abdu-l-malek Ibn Kattan Al-fehri—a nomination which was approved of by the Caliph. However, owing to his great age (being ninety years old), or either through deficiency of military tactics, or on account of the dispirited condition of the soldiers, Abdu-l-malek was unfortunate in all his ventures to further the war of Afrank. This impelled the Caliph to send a successor. He therefore sent Okbah

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Ibnu-l-hejaj, who in Africa had successfully carried on a war against some of the tribes of Barbary which had risen. Okbah came to Spain as Ameer. He was a man strictly just, but extremely severe. He commenced his administration by dismissing all the public officials guilty of any act of violence against the people. He regulated the administration and the tribunals, founded mosques and schools, and placed the Peninsula under a firm and uniform organisation. Leaving to his predecessor the command of the northern frontiers, and preparing to cross the Pyrenees, he was re-called to Africa to subdue again the Berbers. After four years he returned to Spain. The good he had previously effected had been in part destroyed during his absence. The Walis of the various districts were engaged in petty discords with each other, meanwhile that the Duke of Austria was putting an end to the Saracen dominion in Septimania, and at the same time extending his conquests towards Provence, and entering into treaties with the inhabitants, who, Gallo-Roman by origin, preferred the rule of the Arabs to that of the barbarian Franks. Soon after his return Okbah died, or was put to death in Cordova, while dissensions raged between the district governors, the rival conquering races, the Arabs, and the Moors. The aged Abdu-l-malek then assumed power, but which he did not long retain, owing to the events which at that juncture were taking place in Africa. Two of the Arab commanders, Balj Ibn Beshr and Tha'lebah Ibn Salamah, were routed by the natives of the Moghreb in Africa, who, after the death of Okbah, had again rebelled. These had taken refuge in Ceuta, with the object of passing over to the Peninsula. This Abdu-l-malek tried to prevent, as he feared it might lead to complications. However, when the Arabs of Spain knew of it, they effected a passage, and resolved to put down the Ameer. On the other hand, the Berbers, a great number of whom were established in the Peninsula, elated by the victories achieved by their brethren in Africa, resolved to follow their example, and shake off the yoke of the Arab race. They rose up in rebellion, but on all sides were unsuccessful. Yet peace was not established. Balj Ibn Beshr received an intimation to quit the country. He resisted the orders of Abdu-l-malek, feeling that he was sufficiently strong, and summoning the troops whose principal strength consisted of the Assyrian element which he had brought over with him, he marched against Cordova. The inhabitants of Cordova, who probably were in treaty with Balj, then rose up, crucified the aged Ameer, and

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opened the gates to his adversary. As might be expected, Balj was proclaimed Governor of Andalus.* Spain then became divided into three bands or factions. Tha'lebah, who accompanied Balj from Africa, disputed the power with him, on the plea that the election of the Ameer to the Peninsula rested with the Caliph, or with his delegate, the Wali of Moghreb. The majority of the resident Arabs sided for Umeyyah, son of Abdu-l-malek, and the Wali of Narbonne, Abdu-r-rahman, declared for him with the Berbers, who took this opportunity to refuse allegiance to an Arab. Then Abdu-r-rahman marched with a large army against Balj, and notwithstanding that his forces were weakened by the defection of Tha'lebah, did not retire, but met him in battle on the outskirts of Calatrava. In this combat the new Ameer fell by the hand of Abdu-r-rahman himself. The remains of the vanquished army joined Tha'lebah.

The Wali of Africa, Hondhalah Ibn Sefwan, had meanwhile subjugated the Berbers. With the object of diminishing their strength, he sent 15,000 Berbers to Spain, and likewise a man capable of restraining the civil wars raging in that province. He named Abu-l-khattar Hussam Ameer, and sent him with the forces. At first all ceded to him, but new causes of perturbation arose. Tha'lebah passed over to the Moghreb, while his brother Thuabah Ibn Salamah placed himself at the head of a rebellion organised by a certain As-samil. The question was solved at the first combat. Abu-l-khattar was vanquished and cast into a dungeon in Cordova, and Thuabah assumed the title of Ameer. As soon as the son of Abdu-l-malek, and Abdu-r-rahman, who had acknowledged the authority of Abu-l-khattar, became acquainted with the imprisonment of the Ameer, they assisted him to escape, and he soon after was again master of Cordova. Thuabah and As-samil then marched against the Ameer, who came out to receive them, but finding himself suddenly assailed in the heat of the battle by the people of Cordova, who had rebelled and joined the enemy's flanks, he lost the battle, and with it his life. Thuabah then assumed the government of Cordova, and As-samil remained Wali of Zaragoza.

The dominion of the conquerors, however, was not yet large. The provincial governors made themselves independent. The various Mussalman races which had successively come to colonise Spain grouped

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* *Andaluz*. The name by which Arab historians commonly designate Spain.

themselves separately within their districts. The emulation which rose up among them was the principal cause of the civil wars which then were raging. The whole of the Peninsula became divided into parties—the Arabs of Yemen, the Modharites, the Egyptians, the Assyrians, and the Berbers.

While all this was going on, the Christian monarchy founded by Pelagio in the Asturias, and ruled over by Alfonso I., was profiting by these rebellions, and gained new forces. The Gothic soldiers descended the mountains and began to spread towards the south and the east the empire of the Cross, while the Saracens, occupied with their internecine disputes, neglected to raise barriers to stem that torrent which later on was to submerge them. At length, out of the excess of evil came the remedy. The chiefs among the Arabs resolved to put a term to anarchy by choosing a head whom all should obey, one having sufficient power to establish peace. The choice fell on Yusuf Ibn Abdi-r-rahman Al-fehri, a man of renown, who was respected by all parties, yet had never leagued with any. He accepted the charge of Ameer, and completely dedicated all his energies to the fulfilment of the duties imposed upon him, and to restoring what the wars had destroyed. The effects of his good government were not of long duration. Many of the chiefs who had taken part in the previous disputes began to conspire and incite rebellion. Although fortune had ever favoured him, and he had succeeded in quelling four or five revolutionary attempts, which had invested his rule with a sort of halo, his power was gradually becoming weaker. His election had been effected independently of the Caliph of Damascus, the Prince of Believers, and this was held illegitimate by public opinion, and in a certain sense authorised the rebellion. The most influential men among the Mussulmans thought to remedy this circumstance by seeking a prince as ruler who would unite the moral gifts of Yusuf to an authority sanctified by a purer origin.

At this period of our history the Abbasides had expelled from the Caliphate the family of the Beni-Umeyyas, successors to the Prophet. A grandson of the Caliph Hixam, who had escaped from the cruelty of the Abbasides, wandered in the deserts of Africa constantly persecuted by his enemies. He was a youth of twenty, whose span of life, so full of hardship and vicissitude and misfortunes, had taught him in his wanderings how to support the storms of the world. Being almost miraculously saved from great perils, Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Muawiyah,

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as he was called, came to seek shelter among the Berber tribe called Zenetes, where he had relatives on his mother's side. It appears he then became acquainted with the discords existing in Spain, and resolved to profit by them to his advantage. His attempts proved successful. The Arab chiefs, as we said above, were predisposed to dispossess Yusuf on the very ground which would move them to accept Abdu-r-rahman as their prince. All things being prepared, the proscribed youth crossed the sea, accompanied by one thousand knights of the Zenetes who desired to follow him. Those who covertly had connived at his coming now joined him, and in a short time he found himself at the head of twenty thousand men. Yusuf had just concluded putting down the rebellion. He resolved to resist, and began to war against him, but after being defeated in several combats, he at length submitted, but again rebelled, and perished in a miserable manner. His two sons kept on the resistance for some time, but were vanquished and made prisoners, thus leaving Abdu-r-rahman the peaceful master of the Peninsula (760).

This peace was of short duration. Abdu-r-rahman desired to depart for the eastern frontier, where the successes which had attended the preceding disorders naturally called him. The Mussalmans, engaged in their deplorable quarrels, had abandoned the defence of the territories they possessed beyond the Pyrenees; and the Franks were not long in taking possession of the lands conquered by the Arabs, not excepting Narbonne. In this way the mountains once more became the frontiers of Islamism. It was, no doubt, the intention of the Ameer to increase these possessions, but events followed which prevented its fulfilment. The Abbasides were dissatisfied that the throne of Spain should be occupied by a scion of the race of Beni-Ummeyyah. Almansor, the successor of Abu-l-abbas, who had transferred the seat of the empire to Bagdad, ordered the Governor of Africa, Al-ala Ibn Mughith, to labour in reducing the Peninsula to the dominion of the Caliphate And in effect Al-ala passed over to Andalusia. All the malcontents joined him, and this enabled him to take possession of the Gharb, or Western Provinces, while he daily increased his forces by offers of gold and the influence of the name of the Caliph. Abdu-r-rahman, to whom was given the epithet of Ad-dakhel (conqueror or invader), marched against him. In a battle which took place near Seville the Governor of Africa was routed and slain. The remains of the conquered army then divided and formed themselves into bands. These parties

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attacked the open places, and even attained to take possession of Seville, which, however, they could not yet defend. Toledo offered a longer resistance, but at length fell also. It was, however, found impossible to stamp out completely the marauders which the long-sustained wars had induced to come over, and which were continually reinforced by the Berbers sent from the Moghreb. This state of affairs lasted nearly ten years; then Abdu-r-rahman was able to gather together the insurgents, and exterminated them in a battle which they were driven to undertake. Once securely settled in the dominion of Spain, the descendant of the Beni-Umeyyas directed all his efforts towards constructing a fleet sufficiently powerful to prevent the Africans from effecting a landing, and to repress any attempts on the part of the malcontents, and of the Christians of Asturias, who had taken advantage of the long-continued dissensions of the Saracens to increase and strengthen their arms.

But a greater danger menaced, not only Abdu-r-rahman, but also Islamism. Karl, the son of Pepin, renowned in history under the name of Charlemagne, was reigning in France and over a large portion of Germany. Some of the Walis of Spain, of the eastern divisions, were discontented with the Ameer of Cordova. These Walis sided with the Prince of the Franks in order to satisfy their political revenge, and even offered him their allegiance should he desire to cross the Pyrenees with an army. Two divisions of the army of Karl traversed the mountains, one of which was commanded by the son of Pepin himself (778). On nearing Pampeluna the Wali of the city, who was a confederate, opened the gates to him. From thence the son of Pepin marched on to Zaragoza, where the second division of Franks had reached. Suleyman Ibn-Arabi, the Wali of the city, and one of the principal agents of this invasion, could no longer deliver it up. His treachery had so irritated the people that they unanimously took to arms and defended Zaragoza. Karl, finding his expectations frustrated, judged that he ought no longer to continue the war in a land whose people had risen as one man to oppose his designs, and he began to retreat, constantly followed by the Saracens. On his return to cross the Pyrenees or Serras through the defiles of Roncesvalles, the Basque, its savage mountain dwellers, descendents of the ancient Iberians, became so excited at the sight of the spoils which the invaders were carrying away with them that they attacked the rear-guard of the army. Some say that this attack was initiated by Lupo, the Duke of Aquitania, who

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was an irreconcilable enemy of Karl. From the mountain heights the Basques hurled large blocks of rock down on the Franks, who in that narrow ravine were marching single file, and a fearful slaughter ensued. Although the disastrous ending of this expedition did not altogether restore to the Saracens their conquests in Gallias, nevertheless it prevented for years any attempt on the part of the Franks to recross the Pyrenees; while it served to consolidate permanently the power of Abdu-r-rahman, who, moreover, had no need to take part in the wrestling.

It seemed destined that the Ameer should not enjoy long days of peace. Mohammed Abu-l-aswad, the son of Yusuf who had been in the dungeons of the tower in Cordova, made his escape, and took refuge in the mountains of Jaen, where he very soon gathered together some six thousand malcontents. Abdu-r-rahman at the head of his troops marched against him, and quickly dispersed the insurgents; but it was difficult to bring them to a decided combat, though they at length became totally destroyed.

After these events peace and union reigned in Arab Spain. But Abdu-r-rahman felt that his end was near, and in his latter days directed all his efforts to the peaceful duties of state. He visited Lusitania, whose inhabitants were principally Egyptians and Berbers, and ordered the erection of a large number of temples in the provinces. The renowned Mosque of Cordova, which still exists, was also founded by Abdu-r-rahman. Before his death, he convened all the Walis of the six provinces which composed the Mussalman territory and the Governors of twenty-two of the principal cities, and in his palace at Cordova, in presence of the Wazirs and the Hajib (First Minister), and of the Diwan (Council), declared as his successor his third son Hixam, to the exclusion of his two elder sons, Suleyman and Abdullah, whose characters and dispositions he judged were not suitable to cope with the difficulties of government. Soon after this meeting Abdu-r-rahman died in Merida, at the early age of fifty-nine (787).

When Hixam ascended the throne he found his states at peace. The good name of his father secured him the affection of the people. With the exception of the Asturias, whom the Mussalmans held in little esteem, as an inhospitable, miserable state, the whole of the Peninsula acknowledged his authority. But the fire smouldered beneath the ashes. The Berber race was subjugated by the Arab, and a mutual hatred existed between them. On the other hand,

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Suleyman and Abdullah could not brook the thought that they were subject to a younger brother, and it was not long before they rebelled against his authority. After routing and defeating Abdullah he submitted, but Suleyman still continued the war for some time. Forsaken at last by his own partisans, he found himself compelled to seek the clemency of the Ameer, who forgave him on condition that he quitted the Peninsula.

After repressing some minor dissensions, and with the object of occupying the turbulent spirits of his people, and at the same time revive the glory of the Moslem arms, Hixam proclaimed a war against the Christians. Two armies were at once formed. The first, led by Yusuf Ibn Bokht, entered the State of Galicia, which had already become united to the Monarchy of Asturias, and destroyed and sacked all before them. The second division, commanded by the Wazir Abdu-l-malek, proceeded to the Pyrenees, with the object of invading France. Gerona, which had fallen years before into the power of the Franks through the treachery of its inhabitants, was now retaken, and its dwellers put to the sword. After this, Abdu-l-malek marched against Narbonne. At this juncture Ludowig, King of Aquitania and son of Karl the Great, was in Italy with the principal forces of the province. Narbonne was taken and sacked, while its inhabitants shared the same fate as those of Gerona. The Christians were defeated in a battle near Carcasonne, and the Arabs returned to Spain laden with spoils. A fifth part of these spoils belonged to the Ameer. This portion was assigned to finish the magnificent construction of the Mosque of Cordova.

The states of Asturias, which during their early stage were held in such small account by the Saracens, and which later on we find the Arab historians scarcely mention, commenced in the reign of Hixam to command more serious attention. The reason of this was due to the fact, as we shall see farther on, that Alfonso II., a martial, energetic prince, was reigning in that province. In the year following the war of France (793) a body commanded by Abdu-l-kerim marched to destroy the castles erected by the Goths, probably in Bardulia (Old Castille), while Abdu-l-malek attacked Galicia on its western side. At the time a Berber tribe of Takerma were rebelling on the south of the Peninsula, but Abdu-l-Kader, the General sent by Hixam against them, not only reduced but exterminated the race; and the territory remained for years deserted of inhabitants.

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The victories gained by the Ameer, joined to his merciful, generous disposition, endeared him to the followers of Islam, but caused him to be feared by his enemies. He promoted the progress of letters and civilisation among the Moslems, as among the Christian Mosarabes; and the science of agriculture was his greatest delight. His approaching death was announced to him by an astrologer, and in consequence he had his son Al-hakem proclaimed successor. The prediction proved correct; he died soon after in the prime of life, beloved and regretted by all as a model prince.

Al-hakem ascended the throne when scarcely twenty-two years of age. He was brave, comely, and clever, but of a stern, choleric temperament. His uncles, Suleyman and Abdullah, had not dared, during the lifetime of Hixam, to take part in any event, but now they judged the time opportune for renewing their former pretensions. Not satisfied with inciting the spirit of rebellion in the provinces of Toledo, Murcia, and Valencia, Suleyman proceeded to the Moghreb to gather together stipendiary troops, while Abdullah went to the Court of the Frankish Emperor to beseech his aid, which he obtained, but the conditions are not known. The Saracen returned to this side of the Pyrenees with Hludowig, the youthful King of Aquitania. All things being ready, the revolution broke out. Abdullah took possession of Toledo and several strongholds; while Suleyman landed on the coast with a body of Africans, and proclaimed himself sovereign. Al-hakem did not lose time or hopes. At the head of his mounted troops he proceeded to Toledo, where Suleyman and Abdullah had already met. On the way the Ameer was apprised that the King of Aquitania had taken possession of Narbonne and Gerona, and crossing the mountains was coming towards the Ebro. He was also told that the Walis of Lerida and Huesca had offered their allegiance to them, and that the Wali of Barcelona had already been to the Court of Karl to ask the great favour of investiture of its government as a defender of the Empire. Al-hakem at once ordered a body of cavalry to join the Wali of Zaragoza. Meanwhile Pampeluna was falling into the hands of the Franks.

On hearing of so many reverses, Al-hakem appointed Amru Kayid of Talavera, and left him to defend Toledo while he proceeded with the flower of his knights towards the frontiers. The presence of Al-hakem changed the aspect of the war. Lerida and Huesca were restored, the Christians compelled to retire, and Barcelona and Gerona surrendered. Then, crossing the Pyrenees, the Ameer retook Narbonne, where he

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indulged the ferocity of his character by ordering the defenders of the city to be put to death, and the women and children made captives. The revolution was, nevertheless, progressing in the south of the Peninsula, and spread itself along Toledo, Murcia, and Valencia, although combated with variable fortune by the Walis of Cordova and Merida. The arrival of Al-hakem improved the state of affairs. The rebel troops, gathered from all parts, and more numerous than the army of Al-hakem, were disorganised, and could not resist his martial, well-disciplined troops. On all sides they were defeated and broken up, and the rebels were forced to take refuge in the *serras* of Murcia and Valencia.

Amru was able to retake Toledo. The war continued for some time longer until Suleyman was conquered and dead; Abdullah was put to flight in a decisive battle, but came forward to tender his submission to his nephew, who generously pardoned him and all his partisans.

The ninth century dawned in the midst of these events, and with it arose fresh causes for apprehension. Alfonso II., King of Oviedo, who obtained some advantages from the Arab Kayids placed on the frontiers of Asturias, besought the protection of Karl by sending to Hludowig, King of Aquitania, part of the spoil collected during his raids against the Mussalmans. Bahlul, the General of Al-hakem, who governed the frontiers, banded with the Franks, although his motive for doing so is unknown, and proceeded to facilitate a passage across the mountains. After reconquering the towns and territory of Gallias which Al-hakem had taken possession of, the Franco-Aquitano army entered into the Peninsula. Hludowig took several towns on the southern brow of the mountains, and established a district (Mark) dependent on Aquitania, taking all the necessary precautions to defend it. He garrisoned it, and nominated as its governor a Frankish Marquis (Markgraf) called Borel. Owing to the conquest of Barcelona, which after a long resistance fell into the power of the King of Aquitania, who personally directed the conquest, the kingdoms of Hludowig began, in 802, to acquire a great importance.

Al-hakem, who appeared remiss in succouring Barcelona, proceeded with a numerous army to attack the Aquitanos. Yusuf, son of Amru, Kayid of Talavera, who formerly had quelled the rebellions of Toledo, was then Wali of the city, and had greatly irritated the inhabitants

by the fierceness of his character. The populace rose up against him, but were pacified by the more prudent ones. The Wali endeavoured to wreak his cruelty upon them, and the very ones who had saved him from the populace now arrested him and brought their complaint to the Ameer, explaining why they had arrested him. Al-hakem showed himself indifferent to the result, and removed Yusuf to another administration, nominating Amru to succeed his son. Amru conceived the thought of revenging the insult offered to Yusuf, and began to harass the people in every way. Not satisfied with this, he proceeded further. As Abdu-r-rahman, the son of the Ameer, was passing through Toledo with five thousand horsemen to join the army on the frontiers, Amru invited him to a splendid supper, to which were asked the *élite* of the city. Deceived with the festivities, they fell into the snare. As the guests arrived amid the bustle of the banquet they were conducted to the subterranean chambers of the Alcasar, and there decapitated. Four hundred fell victims to his treachery. Since then the name of Al-hakem, to whose orders this deed is ascribed, became execrated by the Toledans. Soon after this occurrence the Wali of Merida, Esbaa, brother-in-law of Al-hakem, rebelled against him on account of some feud. The Ameer marched against Merida, but a good understanding was established between them through the intervention of Al-Kinza, wife of Esbaa, and sister to the Ameer, and the Ameer forgave the Wali, and even allowed him to continue in his post. The District-Governor of Beja, who also had rebelled, and was proceeding to Lisbon, was routed by the Ameer. Meanwhile Kasim, the son of his uncle Abdullah, warned him to return at once to Cordova. The people of that city, who were ever restless, and moreover dissatisfied with the rigid government of Al-hakem, were taking advantage of his absence to revolt. They thought to find in Kasim, who was a representative of the most ancient line of princes excluded from the succession, a leader who would carry out their scheme. He listened to their proposal, and pretended to enter into their designs, but he proceeded to apprise his uncle of the conspiracy, and even revealed the names of three hundred of the chief conspirators. The Ameer retired to Cordova, and at dawn on the day when it was arranged the rebellion should break out, three hundred heads were found suspended from the turrets of the Alcasar. At the moment when the news of this crime was known, the bloody proof of the retribution appeared.

After these events the attention of Al-hakem was directed to the

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obstinate war which the Christians were making, not only in Asturias, which was of less importance, but by the Franco-Aquitanos, which was of greater moment. In 809 an army, consisting of two divisions, left for Barcelona. One division, personally conducted by Hludowig, went against Tortosa; and the other, commanded by Borel, Markgraf of Gothia—a name given to the Frankish district on this side of the Pyrenees—and by Bera, Count of Barcelona, proceeded to the margins of the Ebro, and joined the troops of the King of Aquitania on the ramparts of Tortosa. The youthful Abdu-r-rahman, son and successor to the Ameer, and who already served in this war, marched jointly with the Wali of Valencia to fight against the besiegers, and compelled them to raise the siege and retreat to Barcelona, from whence Hludowig departed to the other side of the Pyrenees. Meanwhile the Christians of Asturias, who probably were in league with the Franks, descended their mountains, crossed the Douro, and laid waste the north of Lusitania. Al-hakem sallied forth to meet them, defeated the Asturian troops which had advanced close upon Lisbon, but was unable to subjugate completely the Galicians of Braga, who constantly made attempts, but without coming to a decisive battle.

The attention of the Ameer was now drawn to a more serious danger. A new expedition of Aquitanos was leaving Barcelona against Tortosa, and ended with the same result as the former one. But Al-hakem, troubled by the Christians of the West, and fearing lest the repeated attempts of Karl, whose name was now renowned throughout the world, should prove fatal to Mussalman Spain, sent envoys to the court of Aquisgran proposing a truce, which was accepted. About this time (812) the war with the King of Asturias (Alfonso II.) ceased. The Ameer then abdicated in favour of his son Abdu-r-rahman, and delivered up to him the duties of government, while he himself retired to his Alcasar to rest amid delights. The youthful Ameer had already signally distinguished himself by his martial spirit and bravery during the preceding engagements. The ex-Ameer, who hitherto had been so punctual and assiduous in performing his duties, now gave himself up to licentiousness and banquets, at which, against the laws of the Koran, flowed strong wines. A part of the tributes collected were spent in these dissolute feasts, while the indignation of the people against Al-hakem daily increased. He was surrounded by a body-guard of five thousand men composed of Christian Mosarabes and slaves, which on the smallest suspicion he would sentence to death. During one of these executions

the people of one of the districts mutinied and attacked the guards of the Ameer, whom they compelled to retire into the Alcasar. Al-hakem felt his old courage revive. Heedless of the pleadings of his son Abdu-r-rahman and of the Wazirs, he placed himself at the head of his guards and furiously assailed the mob. The people fled in terror back to their district, where they attempted to resist him, and blood flowed in streams. Three hundred heads were nailed to posts along the river shore. For three days the district was sacked, the inhabitants all expelled, and the town levelled to the ground. After wandering about, these hapless people after some time settled in Toledo, while a few crossed over to the Moghreb and helped to populate Fez, a city which was being founded under the auspices of the Ameer Idris Ibn Idris.

The voice of conscience, however, avenged the terrible deed carried out under the influence of wrath by the Ameer. From that time a furious madness took possession of Al-hakem, and its paroxysms ended in a profound melancholy. After four years of great moral and physical suffering, this prince, whose ending was as dark as his early years had been brilliant, died a slow, painful death after a reign of twenty-six years (822). Then his son, Abdu-r-rahman, ascended the throne, which he had virtually filled since he was acknowledged heir during the life of his ill-fated father. Abdu-r-rahman was surnamed Al-modhaffer (the victorious). He was an indomitable warrior, but gentle and merciful in peace, and ever ready to protect the weak and the lowly. To these moral gifts he united intellect and education, and the physical ones of a handsome figure and comely countenance. Scarcely had he been acclaimed Ameer than his prowess was called anew into action. The aged Abdullah, uncle to Al-hakem, still survived, and lived in Tangiers. When he heard of the death of his nephew, he was fired anew with the ambition of reigning, and, mustering all the men he could, crossed the sea. He entered the Peninsula, and as he proceeded on his march declared himself Ameer. Abdu-r-rahman at once sallied out to meet him, broke up his forces, and compelled him to retire towards Valencia. Persecuted and driven towards the sea, Abdullah resisted for some time in the capital, but at length convinced of the futility of his attempt, a reconciliation was effected with Abdu-r-rahman through the intervention of his own sons, who had continued faithful to the Ameer. Then, in order to gratify the old man's ambition, the prince granted him the Governorship of Murcia for life, a post he held for two years.

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Delivered from the anxiety of these domestic wars, the Ameer was able to turn his attention to remedying the reverses sustained in the interval on the Christian frontiers, more particularly on the Frankish side. The Counts of Aquitania had effected an inroad into the Mussalman territory, where they left deep traces of their passage. Abdu-r-rahman marched towards Barcelona, which he placed in a state of seige for a time. The Arab historians say he took possession of it, but the Christian chroniclers doubt this assertion. From thence he proceeded to Urgel, which fell into his hands; the enemy was defeated on all sides, and forced to take refuge on the mountains. Satisfied with these triumphs, he returned to Cordova. At this juncture he received a proposition from the Basque, a race which had never bowed to any yoke, to form an alliance against the Franks. The powerful Ameer accepted the proposal, which proved a useful alliance. An army of Aquitanos entered as far as Pampeluna, and, attacked by the generals on the frontiers, and by the new allies of the sovereign of Cordova, were destroyed in the ravines. One of the chiefs of this expedition was taken captive and conducted to the capital with a great number of prisoners.

While this war took place Abdu-r-rahman was sending his cousin Obeydullah Ibnu-l-balensi against the Asturians. The raids effected by Alfonso II. had seriously disturbed the Mussalmans. According to Arab historians, the war waged by Obeydullah was attended by happy results, and compelled the King of Oviedo to take refuge in the defiles of the mountains and in fortified places.

Scarcely, however, had the Saracen general returned to the capital than the Christians sallied out from their hiding-places and renewed the attacks on the territories of the Ameer, and compelled him to sustain a perpetual war against this indomitable, restless people, whose raids and devastations were a presage of the lightning-flashes which later on would strike down and destroy the Mussalman Empire in the Peninsula.

On this occasion Aizon, a Gothic Count, had rebelled against Hludowig, who, after the death of Charlemagne, had succeeded to the Frankish throne. Aizon had taken possession of some territorial boundaries of the Saracens, and sought the aid of Abdullah against Hludowig. Arab troops were already on the road to aid him, and the Ameer was preparing to follow to take the command in person, when an unforeseen circumstance altered his plans. This prince was liberal

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to excess. On all sides he multiplied works and erected sumptuous buildings, and rendered the capital splendid. Not satisfied with this, he lavished upon all who contributed to his pleasures the enormous sums of money which daily poured into the State coffers through heavy taxations. The people grew weary of these exactions, and became discontented. Hludowig was aware of this, as is proved by a letter to the people of Merida inciting them to rebellion. The inhabitants of the capital of ancient Lusitania were principally Christian Mosarabes, who were greatly irritated by this taxation. The revolution broke out in Merida. At the head was one Mohammed, formerly a collector of taxes dismissed by the Ameer. The houses of the Wazirs, or Ministers, were attacked and destroyed, while the people flew to arms to prevent devastation. By order of Abdu-r-rahman, the garrison of Toledo and the troops stationed along the Gharb came to besiege the rebels. The Ameer, fearing lest this wealthy and populous city should be destroyed, were he to allow the armed forces to enter in, decided not to attack those inside, but to confine them by encircling the walls closely. Within the besieged city discontent began to reign, and at length the city was delivered up through treachery, while Mohammed and some of the ringleaders saved themselves.

But the same causes of discontent existed in other places besides Merida, and the luckless issue of this first attempt did not discourage the people irritated by this oppression. Toledo followed the example set by Merida. The ancient capital of the Monarchy of the Visigoths was principally peopled by Christian Mozarabes and rich Jews, and among them was soon found a leader in the person of Hixam Al-atibi, one of the most opulent young men of Toledo. Money and arms were soon distributed, and the Moorish guards of the Alcasar suborned. The revolution then broke out. The Wali was then absent from the city, but as soon as he knew of the outbreak he sent word to Abdu-r-rahman, who, without loss of time, sent his son Umeyyah against Toledo. Meanwhile the rebels garrisoned the city with their less experienced soldiers, and proceeded to sally out and meet the troops sent to repress them. Fortune favoured the Toledans, which encouraged them to continue the rebellion. This state of discord lasted three years, during which Umeyyah was unable to obtain any decisive advantage against the Toledans, until the latter fell into a snare laid for them near the river Alberche, and a great number perished. The fugitives took refuge in Toledo, which, in spite of the repulse, they continued to defend.

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The Wali of Merida came with his men to assist Umeyyah, and they obtained a signal victory. The fugitive Mohammed had collected some forces in the district of Lisbon, and aware of the absence of the Wali of Merida, and, moreover, that the city was insufficiently defended, proceeded to the capital. By degrees his followers introduced themselves into the city, and he was able to effect an entrance and took possession of Merida. When this became known, Abdu-r-rahman in person marched with his men and came to Merida, where at first he met with an active resistance, but at length the rebels were forced to yield, and the Ameer took possession of the city, out of which once again the rebel Mohammed was able to escape.

Notwithstanding the example of Merida, Toledo still resisted. For the space of nine years the dexterous Hixam preserved the city independent of the Ameer, resisting all the generals which the latter sent against him, and even destroying whole forces. At length, reduced and driven with his men to occupy solely the town itself, and being wounded, he fell into the hands of the Wali Abdu-l-ruf, who directed the siege, and reduced Toledo to the last extremity. The Wali ordered Hixam to be decapitated, and took possession of the city.

The death of Hixam put an end to the revolution, and the sway of Abdu-r-rahman remained undisputed. The news of peace filled with joy the spirits of those who already were weary of this continued civil war; but the martial spirit of the Ameer did not allow him a long rest. The troops of the Gharb received orders to proceed to the holy war against the King of Galicia (as the Saracens denominated the Monarch of Asturias), and the troops of Axarkia, or of the east, to attack the Christians from the land of the Franks. These wars, which caused so many ravages on both sides, were sustained by the Mussalmans rather with the object of preserving the troops in good martial order than for glory, or to extend their dominions, which were already becoming narrowed.

At this juncture appeared on the coasts of the Peninsula, for the first time, new and unexpected enemies for the Christian as well as for Mahommedan Spain. These were the Normans. Those barbarians of Jutland, who left the Baltic in fragile barques, were already spreading terror along the shores of England and France. Crossing the Bay of Biscay, they came to visit with robberies and death and desolation the maritime parts of the Peninsula.

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When the Normans attempted to land in Corunna (853), Ramiro I., who was then reigning in Oviedo, sent against them forces which repulsed them and destroyed some of their barques. Meeting with no success with the Christians, they followed the sea coast towards the Gharb. Fifty-four Scandinavian pirates entered the Tagus and effected a landing at the mouth of the river, devastating the outskirts of Lisbon. From thence they continued their terrible voyage, going from place to place sacking all the open spots, and even dared to ascend the Guadalquivir up to Seville, which they partly destroyed. Repulsed by the people of the adjacent lands, who had all collected together to resist the incursion, they sallied forth again before they were captured by a squadron of fifteen war-ships sent by Abdu-r-rahman to hinder their progress. The pirates then returned by the same way they came, and continued to assault the coasts of the Gharb, meanwhile that Abdu-r-rahman sent orders to the Kayids of Santarem and Coimbra to garrison the shores and beach, and drive away these disagreeable visitors, against whose sudden assaults resistance nearly always arrived too late. Convinced that the only way to destroy the Normans was by sea, Abdu-r-rahman ordered the construction of a fleet in Cadiz, Carthagena, and Toledo, intrusting the naval affairs to his son Yacub, and taking every precaution possible to succour promptly any part assailed by the Normans.

From that time Abdu-r-rahman turned his attention to adorning Cordova and other cities with useful and superb buildings. When sixty years of age he had his son Mohammed proclaimed successor, and soon after died, esteemed for his active character, cultured mind, a valiant captain, and the most illustrious Ameer who had as yet ruled Moslem Spain.

Mohammed was thirty years of age when he ascended the throne, and was endowed with similar gifts to his father. Desirous of adding lustre to the Saracen arms, he ordered the Walis of Merida and of Zaragoza to attack respectively the Christians of Galicia and the Franks. His plans, however, were frustrated by the ever-turbulent spirit of his subjects.

Musa Ibn Zeyad, a renegade Christian and Wali of Zaragoza, and his son the Wali of Toledo, had been, it was said, dismissed by the Ameer. A desire of revenge induced them to seek an alliance with the Christians, which when once secured, they mutinied in their respective districts, and took possession of many important cities,

establishing a kind of independent government, which included the territories of Zaragoza, Tudela, Huesca, and Toledo, and extended to one-third of the Peninsula. While Lupo or Lopia Ibn Musa, the son of Ibn Zeyad, was collecting forces in Toledo to resist Mohammed, his father dared to wage war against the Franks. In consequence of this, Musa allied with Navarre, a kingdom founded in the ancient Province of Aquitania on this side of the Pyrenees, and over which the successors of Karl, or Charlemagne, had assumed a dominion, which the new allies of Musa opposed. The latter passed over the mountains and ravaged the south of Gallias with such success that the Franks were forced to offer him terms of peace.

Meanwhile the Ameer proceeded on to Toledo, and although he caught the enemies in a snare laid for them and there was a great slaughter, he was unable to reduce the city, and retired to Cordova, leaving his son Al-mundhir, who had just entered the profession of arms, to continue the siege.

The siege continued for a long time; but the aid which Musa Ibn Zeyad afforded Lupo or Lopia compelled the generals of the Ameer to raise the siege. The civil war was prolonged. At length Musa was overthrown by Ordoño I. in a fierce battle which took place near Clavijos, a battle due to the arrogant Wali having ventured to enter the territories of the King of Asturias to found in the Rioja the Castle of Albayada, and this engagement so weakened him that he was forced with the remnants of his army to retire to Zaragoza, while Toledo capitulated, and Lopia was compelled to seek aid from the conqueror of his father to succour him against Mohammed, and was constrained to seek an asylum in the land of his new ally.

Soon after the submission of Toledo, the Normans, a second time repelled from the coasts of Galicia which they attempted to infest, renewed their attempts to enter along the sea-coast of Mussalman Spain. After causing great havoc, and driven by the cavalry of the Ameer, they re-embarked, and proceeded to spread the terror of their name on the shores of Africa, the Balearic Islands, and even as far as the Sea of Greece. Then, laden with spoils, they dared to return to winter on the coasts of the Peninsula, from whence they went back to Scandinavia in the spring.

Meanwhile the King of Oviedo, encouraged by the victory in Clavijos, proceeded towards the south-east to reduce to arms Coria, Salamanca, and other towns. Mohammed, disquieted by the progress

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of the Christians, sent against them a large army commanded by Al-mundhir, who encountered them on the shores of the Douro, and, according to Arab historians, broke them up. From thence Al-mundhir marched to the eastern frontier, or the land of the Franks, where, after obtaining new successes against the Christians, he retired to Cordova. There was no respite of combats between the two inimical races. Ordoño made an onset to the south of Lisbon. The Ameer, in revenge, invaded Galicia with the troops of Andalusia, and proceeded as far as Santiago. But very quickly did the civil war prevent him from continuing his inroads on the Christians. Disturbances and revolutions, it appears, had taken place in the eastern provinces, and part of the forces of the Ameer were directed to combating the insurgents. These frequent eruptions were unavoidable in Mussalman Spain, where a deficiency existed of political institutions sufficiently strong to maintain a social union. The mutual aversions springing from the diversities of races, not only of Arabs and Berbers, but between these and the Christian Mozarabes (the natural enemies of these two classes of conquerors), separated by a diversity of origin, belief, and the subjection of a conquered people. The narrative of the civil wars which arose during the last years of the reign of Mohammed as Ameer is told by Arab historians in such a confused manner that it would be impossible to verify their statements within the narrow limits of this sketch without falling into grave errors. It seems, however, certain that at this juncture commenced the first attempts at revolution initiated by Omar Ibn Hafssun, the renowned general who played so conspicuous a part in the Peninsula during the reign of Al-mundhir.

As soon as these civil disturbances would permit it, Mohammed directed his forces against the Christians in the kingdom of Asturias, whose importance and power was daily increasing. The death of Ordoño I. aroused internal contentions, which the Saracens took advantage of. A fleet was despatched to the coast of Galicia, while the Walis on the frontier were diverting the attention of the Christians. The attempt, however, failed, owing to a terrific tempest, which wrecked the Saracen fleet on reaching the mouth of the Minho. Alfonso III., who was already reigning peacefully in Asturias, drew courage from this event to invade the Mussalman territories, took Salamanca, and besieged Coria. Repelled by the Saracens, who effected an entry into Galicia, they were, however, destroyed at a turn of a narrow defile with great loss of life. Alfonso III. proceeded anew towards the

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south, and took possession of the more important cities of the modern Province of Beira. The forces of the Ameer had been divided, owing to the Wali of Zaragoza having rebelled, and a brother of his made himself master of Tudela. The prince Al-mundhir, who marched against them, could not obtain any decisive advantage, and meanwhile the turbulent Toledans acclaimed as Wali, Abdullah, son of Lopia, their former chief in the past disturbances. The political horizon was dismal indeed for the Ameer. Musa, the Wali of Zaragoza, was assassinated by his own partisans, while Abdullah, vainly expecting assistance from the King of Oviedo who felt he was insufficiently prepared to resist the forces sent against him, fled, leaving the Toledans to the mercy of Mohammed, who generously forgave them.

The unsuccessful attempt against the Christians of Asturias, added to famine and the pestilence which at the time was devastating the Peninsula, induced the Ameer to hold a truce with Alfonso III., but hardly had the term expired than the latter invaded farther than the Christians had ever reached—that is to say, to Sierra Morena. There he broke up the forces which opposed him, and subjugated various towns of modern Portugal, and then retired to his States. These triumphs were mainly due to the disturbed condition of Mussalman Spain. The rebel Omar Ibn Hafssun was actively labouring to muster together both Mosarabes and Christians. The news of the progress effected by the Asturian arms compelled the Ameer to turn his attention to that frontier, leaving the punishment of Omar Ibn Hafssun to Al-mundhir, and to Abu-Abdullah, the celebrated chief of the former revolution, and who attempted, and in fact was, re-instated in the favour of Mohammed. This able but turbulent soldier had almost concluded putting down the rebellion, when, disappointed of obtaining the post of Wali of Zaragoza, he, with the city, rebelled and joined the partisans of Hafssun, against whom he had formerly fought. Al-mundhir then marched against him; but unable to effect the surrender of Zaragoza, he contented himself with attacking Alava and Old Castille, provinces which were already in the possession of the King of Oviedo. Meeting with a resolute resistance from the Counts who defended that frontier, he proceeded against Leon; but apprised that Alfonso III. awaited him on vantage-ground, the prince retreated to Cordova, desolating some of the towns on his way.

The war between Christians and Saracens was long and active. Both desired peace, more particularly Mohammed, who was harassed

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by the rebellion of Abu-Abdullah. He made proposals of peace to the King of Asturias, which were accepted, a truce being held in Cordova between Mohammed and the envoys of Alfonso III. (833). But if the Mussalman and the Christian rested awhile from their combats, the clangour of their arms did not cease. Omar Ibn Hafssun, allied to Abu-Abdullah, was an adversary strong, and capable of offering a protracted resistance against the government of Cordova. After three years of skirmishes and encounters the forces of Mohammed were broken up in a battle, and its commander Abdu-l-hamed taken prisoner, leaving the insurgents, for a time at least, secure.

In the midst of these wrestlings the year 876 commenced, which was to see the death of Mohammed, who, besides the good name he left behind, as well as his father the Ameer, was lamented for his high reputation as a talented poet, a gift highly valued by the Arabs, and a clever caligrapher, a gift no less esteemed by them. He possessed a deep knowledge of the exact sciences, and was a consummate orator. The continued wars and perturbed state of Spain were the only causes which prevented him from promoting the progress of civilisation as from his talents would be expected of him.

Two years previous to his death, Al-mundhir had been declared successor to the throne. The long service which he had rendered to Spanish Islamism and to the Ameer fully entitled him to this reward. From his earliest years, it might be truly said, he was clothed in mail. And now that he was raised to the Ameership it was not granted to him to rest from his past fatigues. During this time Omar Ibn Hafssun succeeded in removing the obstacles existing between him and the other insurgent chiefs. In this way he was able to employ the united forces under his obedience, and which daily increased. At the head of ten thousand knights, besides foot-soldiers, he proceeded towards Toledo, where he secretly had made friends. The inhabitants, ever seeking new excitements, received him with demonstrations of joy. Al-mundhir apprehended the danger of daring attempts on the part of Omar, who already styled himself Ameer, and ordered the garrisons of Andalusia and Merida to join together, sending before them, against Toledo, Hixam, with the flower of his cavalry. The rebel, fearing a long, unequal combat from his well-disciplined guards, resorted to deceit. He proposed a truce to enable him to retire into private life, engaging to deliver up Toledo, and showing signs of repentance for the

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attempts. Hixam joined in persuading the Ameer to accept the proposal, and, in fact, Omar quitted the city, pretending to forsake it altogether; while he, meantime, left all things prepared for carrying out his designs. Leaving the troops of the Ameer to garrison Toledo, the hajib returned to Cordova. He had scarcely left than Ibn Hafssun returned, and assisted by his confederates, who had remained concealed within the city, he retook Toledo, and also the neighbouring castles which had been abandoned. The news of this event cost Hixam his life, and his two sons their liberty, because Al-mundhir, who had never felt any predilection for the old minister of Mohammed, now accused him of complicity with the rebels. The Ameer then in person marched against Omar; but the latter had distributed his troops at all the castles and fortified places of which he was now master. With varied success this war was prolonged for over a year, until Al-mundhir was slain when assaulting the Castle of Bixter, or Zobaxter, one of the greatest strongholds possessed by Hafssun (888). Thus ended the sixth Ameer of Spain of the race of Beni-Umeyyas in an inglorious combat, and after only two years' reign.

Abdullah, brother of Al-mundhir, who was in the army, at once proceeded to Cordova, where he was acclaimed Ameer without meeting any opposition. One of his first acts was to liberate the sons of Hixam, who had been unjustly punished, and he entrusted to them important charges. This proceeding occasioned new dissensions to break out, and this time in the very bosom of his own family. His own son, who was a personal enemy to the sons of Hixam, leagued himself to his brother Al-asbagh, and their uncle Al-kasim, against the Ameer. The latter, apprised of the plot, sent Abdu-r-rahman Al-modhaffer or Al-mutref, another son of his, to labour in reducing the rebels. The attempt proved a useless one. Mohammed rose up with the Province of Jaen at the same time as the Ameer was marching against Ibn Hafssun, and routing him close to the margins of the Tagus, severed the communication between the two flying corps of the insurgents and Toledo, and narrowed the circle of the siege. He then received the news of the unsuccessful mission of Abdu-r-rahman, and likewise of the two seditions which had burst out in Lisbon and Merida. In the midst of these conflicts Abdullah did not lose courage. A fleet was sent to the Tagus commanded by the Wazir Abu Othman, while he himself proceeded with an army of forty thousand men to Merida, which he reduced to obedience. Apprised of

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the rising in Jaen, he then marched towards it, destroyed the troops which came out to oppose him, and took possession of Jaen. Leaving Abdu-r-rahman Al-modhaffer in charge to disperse the remaining partisans of Mohammed, he went to Toledo to strengthen the siege. The combat between the brothers was long, but he who fought for his father caught his brother and uncle in an engagement. The captive prince did not long survive his imprisonment by his brother, who, it is said, poisoned him. A portion of the conquered fled to the mountains, and the rest went to swell the ranks of Omar.

Omar sustained an obstinate resistance against the Ameer, and the war was prolonged in spite of all the efforts of Abdullah. The ranks of the son of Hafssun were daily strengthened, and assuming an importance which was increasing.

One of the Generals of Omar called Ahmed felt himself sufficiently powerful to attack the King of Oviedo, who, since the time of Mohammed, had been at peace with the government of Cordova. Alfonso III. defeated Ahmed in a sanguinary battle near Zamora, and advanced against Toledo with no better success than Abdullah. These events, which united in closer bonds the fellowship between Oviedo and Cordova, and from which it might appear good results would accrue to the Ameer, only, however, engendered evils. The enemies of Abdullah took religion as an occasion to promote popular discontent against him. They accused him of being a bad Mussalman on account of his alliance with the Christians, which gave them the opportunity of spilling the blood of the true believers. This accusation had the desired effect. Symptoms of sedition began to appear. They spoke of refusing to pay tributes, and Kasim, the rebel uncle of Abdullah, whom he had forgiven, was already inciting the people of Seville to disobedience. The Ameer then ordered him to be taken prisoner and poisoned, and had the chiefs of the rebellion banished from Seville. Meanwhile Omar did not rest, and the war grew fierce between his own partisans and those of Abdullah. Defeated by the Wali Abu Othman, he retired to Toledo, where the forces of the Ameer had not ventured to attack for three years. Prince Al-modhaffer, who had succeeded in pacifying the districts of the south, now besought the post of governing Merida, held by Abu Othman, with the intention of infusing spirit into the war of Toledo. The aged Wali acceded promptly, but nevertheless the thorn of ill-will against his successor rankled within. Nominated Captain of the Guards of the Alcasar in Cordova, he unceasingly labou ed

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to induce Abdullah against the interests of Al-modhaffer, to name as his successor the youthful Abdu-r-rahman, son of the Prince Mohammed who died in prison. He had been brought up by his grandfather, who bore him great affection on account of his moral gifts and the intellectual powers which dowered him. Abu Othman succeeded in his wishes. Feeling that his death was approaching, Abdullah summoned Al-modhaffer to agree to the election of his nephew. Whether through generosity of heart, or from remorse for having poisoned his brother, the prince not only consented, but moreover promised to protect and defend the new Ameer as his own son. Soon after this event Abdullah died (912), and Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Mohammed, in accordance with the wishes of his grandfather, was acclaimed, being then in the twenty-second year of his age. He was the third of the name of Abdu-r-rahman, and Arab superstition drew from this circumstance presages that the youth would equal in glory his two illustrious predecessors of the same name. The hopes reposed in him induced the Mussalmans to invest him with the title of *Amir-al-Mumenim* (Prince of Believers), a title which belonged to the Caliphs of Bagdad and to the Ameers of Spain. Shortly after was superadded that of *Imaum* (Pontiff), which, added to his other title, was equal to being called Caliph, or Supreme Chief, religiously and politically, of Islamism. This proves that the decadence of the Beni-Umeyyahs was beginning to be felt. And, in truth, while civil wars were multiplying, and threatened to destroy the union of the Mussalman Empire in Spain, the Christian Monarchy of Asturias was gaining ground and strength to the point of effectually combating against those who, but a century earlier, had held her with no greater esteem than as a despicable association of miserable adventurers.

The first business the Caliph attended to was putting down the revolution of Omar. Forty thousand men, picked from among those who had volunteered to take part in this affair, accompanied Al-modhaffer and his nephew to the district of Toledo. The castles fortified by the enemy all fell successively into his power, but the ancient capital of the Goths resisted. Omar, meanwhile, was approaching with an army which exceeded in numbers that of the Caliph. Al-modhaffer went out to meet him, and a battle ensued. The two armies fought valiantly, and for a long time the victory was undecided, but at length Abdu-r-rahman won the day, the battle-field being covered with ten thousand slain. The fugitive Omar took refuge in Hins-Conca.

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The youthful Caliph returned to Cordova, and Al-modhaffer continued unrelentlessly to pursue the partisans of the Hafssuns.

The partisans of Omar were principally Berbers, and were numerous enough to offer a long resistance to Abdu-r-rahman. After meeting with several repulses, and when Zaragoza had already submitted, Omar ventured to propose to Abdu-r-rahman to allow him to reign in peace over the eastern frontiers, which he would defend against the Christians, while he, on his part, would deliver up Toledo, with all the strongholds and places which were under his authority along the west of Spain. The Caliph indignantly rejected these proposals, declaring to the envoys of Ibn Hafssun that the only manner of obtaining peace would be by a speedy submission. This reply induced the rebel to draw new strength, and he desperately continued to defend himself until his death. He left two sons, Jafer and Suleyman, who, inheriting their father's energy and martial spirit, continued to wage war against Al-modhaffer, who took upon himself to conduct this war. Disturbances rose up in the district of Jaen, due not only to the turbulent spirit of the people, but also to the exactions and taxes and to the undisciplined condition of the soldiers. To these evils were added famine and pestilence, which were desolating Africa and Spain. All these adverse circumstances and evils seemed to belie the hopes which the election of Abdu-r-rahman had inspired, but at length the situation began to improve. The disturbances in Jaen were put down, and the Toledans, driven to despair by one of the longest sieges known in history, and seeing their neighbouring districts all destroyed, and they themselves forsaken by Jafer who had shared and borne with them so many trials, at length threw open the city gates to the Caliph (927). He took possession of the capital, and generously pardoned the inhabitants.

But while the Caliph was sustaining these civil wars the Christians of Oviedo and Navarre continued the wars against him, and the Moslem arms were not always victorious. In another part of this history we shall have occasion to consider the military successes which occurred during the reign of Ordoño II.

By the death of Ordoño, the Christians, who were themselves engaged in domestic dissensions, were precluded from rigorously prosecuting the Saracens, although they effected some raids into the enemy's territory whenever their internal disturbances allowed them to direct their forces against them. The same occurred with the

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Mussalmans. It appears that Abdu-r-rahman was not very willing to combat the Christians, whose indomitable valour and ferocity rendered them formidable foes, and whose territories, moreover, were not considered sufficiently rich or cultivated to afford the Mussalmans rich spoils with which to indemnify themselves for the robberies and damages effected by the Christians in the Mussalman States, which were more opulent and cultivated. For this reason Ramiro felt himself secure on his throne, and continued to follow the policy of his two predecessors, Alfonso III. and Ordoño II. His first care was to form an army sufficiently strong to inspire terror in the States of Abdu-r-rahman. He then effected an unexpected entry as far as Magerit (Madrid), which he laid waste, and returned unscathed to Leon. The success of this undertaking was mainly due to the fact that the attention of the Caliph was drawn away to other affairs, which we shall briefly narrate, in order that the reader may comprehend the events which followed.

The reader who has patiently followed us in the narrative of the series of revolutions which Spain suffered from the date of the Arab Conquest, will perceive that the weakness and want of harmony of the political institutions founded on the false or incomplete doctrines of the Koran, the diversity of races united by the one moral bond of a common belief, and the unlimited despotism of the supreme powers were the primary causes of the violent state of the social body, the continued agitation of which causes on the spirit a kind of vertigo.

We have seen nought else pass before our mental view during the last two centuries but rebellion, battles, dismemberment of States, following one another rapidly. We see civilisation proving insufficient to oppose barriers to these disorders, which are daily renewed, transported, multiplied, and taking every change of aspect and seeking new pretexts. The scene which Spain presented to us is reproduced in Africa and repeated in Asia; indeed, wherever the sectaries of the Prophet carried the Moslem faith, and the organisation founded on that belief. While Christianity was laying the basis of peace and order amid the semi-barbarian and ferocious people of the West who adored the God of Calvary, the Mahommed people of the East, who were far more civilised, were retrograding towards barbarism and dissolution, beneath the shadow of the blood-stained standard of Islamism.

The Moghreb, or Western Africa, had been likewise the theatre of

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events similar to those enacted in the Peninsula. As the particulars of these events do not enter into the plan of this work, it will suffice to state that about this epoch a powerful empire was founded on the ruins of a former one which the blast of political storms had laid waste. This was the Empire of the Beni-Idris; the other, the Fatimitas. Since remote ages the Beni-Umeyyas of Cordova were allied with the Idrisitas by a common identity of blood and interests. Abdu-r-rahman viewed with anxiety the progress of Obeydullah, the chief of the Fatimitas, who had already assumed the title of Imaum or Amir-al-Mumenim. The Spanish Caliph was seeking a pretext for effecting a rupture, and the opportunity soon came. The partisans of the Idrisitas, who still retained some of the sea coast, besought the aid of Abdu-r-rahman, who promised to accord it, asking as surety the cities of Ceuta and Tangiers, which were actually delivered up, and which he garrisoned, at the same time sending a fleet to the coast of Africa, and a powerful army to oppose the captains of Obeydullah. These reinforcements were, however, useless to re-establish the Beni-Idris, because the Monarch of Cordova had in view his own interests, or rather his own stability, in waging war against the Fatimitas. Musa, one of their generals, held the command of the government of Fez, the centre of the Moghreb-al-aksa (central Moghreb) and of the ancient dominions of the Idrisitas. The Spanish Caliph had found a means of attaching him to himself, and through his intervention in a short time he was acknowledged sovereign of all that part of Africa (932), thus deriding those who had afforded him such an easy conquest.

Three parties now disputed the dominion of the Moghreb—the partisans of Obeydullah, those of Abdu-r-rahman, and the representatives of the ancient dynasty of Idris. Fez was successively taken by each of these parties, and acknowledged the rule of Abdu-r-rahman during the last years of his reign, and which he transmitted to his son and successor, Al-hakem, along with the Caliphate.

The destruction of Madrid by the King of Leon roused the indignation of the Mussalmans. They mustered together in great numbers, and effected an entry into Castille, carrying desolation and devastation wherever they went. Count Fernando Gonsalves, who then governed the province, sought and obtained the aid of Ramiro, who at once joined him, and both marched against the Mussalmans, and defeated them close to Osma. As at this time the strength of the forces of the Caliph was engaged across the sea, the triumph of Ramiro was rendered

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easier to win, and helped to kindle the spirit of rebellion among the Saracens. The Wali of Santarem, who felt he had ample cause of complaint against Abdu-r-rahman for having put to death his brother, the Wazir Mohammed Ibn Isak, now rose up in rebellion, but not feeling equal to combating single-handed against the sovereign, he, with the principal nobles of the Gharb, besought aid from the King of Leon. On the plea of aiding him, Ramiro took advantage to effect an entry into the territories of the south, which he devastated, and then retired laden with spoils. The aged Al-modhaffer, who still survived, then entered with a body of cavalry into Galicia, while the Caliph, who was preparing to level a tremendous blow to the Leonese power which stood in his way, soon followed, heading a more serious attempt by marching against the Christian king with a force of one hundred thousand men. Ramiro did not hesitate to meet the enemy near Simancas, when a fearful battle took place, and where it appears the Saracens did not fare best. This battle, however, did not prove a decisive one. The uncertain events which followed this attempt, and the retirement to Cordova of Abdu-r-rahman, at least proved that his hopes and designs were frustrated. In one word, the cities on the frontiers which the King of Leon had lost during the first onslaught of the Mussalmans were soon after restored to his dominion.

The strife between these two inimical races still continued, but with no material difference to influence the political situation of the Leonese and the Saracens. At length, weary of these ravages, Abdu-r-rahman and Ramiro concluded a treaty of peace for the term of five years (944). On the expiration of this term the King of Leon effected an entry as far as Talavera, near which he destroyed the forces that came out to oppose him. In revenge for this outrage, the Caliph in the following year invaded Galicia; his adversary, being on his death-bed, was unable to oppose him. And, in truth, Abdu-r-rahman required to be released from such a harsh assailant, since new civil disturbances were arising within the bosom of his family. He had elected his eldest son Al-hakem to be the successor, and had even received the oath of allegiance from his subjects, who acknowledged him, when his second son Abdullah took umbrage. This prince was ambitious, and considered himself possessed of higher talents and in every way superior to his brother. Taking advantage of his popularity, and the right possessed by the sovereigns of the house of Beni-Umeyyas to elect their successors independent of the law of primo-

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geniture, he decided to oppose his brother. Instigated by one Ibn Abdi-l-barr, a shrewd, covetous man, Abdullah commenced to form a party in order to dispute the crown at the death of his father. These plots reached the ears of the Caliph. With the advice of Al-modhaffer, who still continued to influence public affairs, Abdullah ordered that his son and Ibn Abdi-l-barr be arrested. The latter committed suicide in prison, and Abdullah was sentenced to be beheaded (949). The father turned a deaf ear to the pleadings of Al-hakem, whose natural affection prompted him to forgive the attempt, and to his. own promptings as a parent to save his life, but who judged that State reasons, and the fear of future disturbances in the kingdom, precluded him from granting a reprieve. To this fearful tragedy was added the death of Al-modhaffer, which took place soon after this event, and which increased the deep melancholy which already filled the soul of Abdu-r-rahman on account of the fearful punishment visited on his son.

The truce of peace was now ended, and from all the mosques resound again the summons to join in the *djihed*, or holy war. These wars had as yet assumed no greater importance than frequent raids and entries, and one encounter of greater moment near Talavera, a town which Ramiro II. unsuccessfully attacked, although he defeated in its neighbourhood a body of Saracen troops. The death of the King of Leon, and the subsequent successes against the Christians, prevented these for some time from devastating the territories of the Caliphate. On the other hand, the Mussalmans took advantage of this to penetrate into Galicia, whose wealth was beginning to be more valued, and might indemnify them for the losses they had sustained.

Ordoño III., who firmly secured the crown of Leon, which had been so disputed, took revenge for the damage done to his subjects, by invading the Gharb, penetrating as far as the mouth of the Tagus, and took Lisbon, although he abandoned it after sacking the city. He then returned to Galicia laden with spoils. This proceeding encouraged reprisals from the Saracens against Castille, where they effected great inroads. Meanwhile the Mussalman arms had obtained considerable advantages in Africa, and they had concluded to subject the greater part of Mauritiana to the dominion of the Spanish Caliph, whose tribes he held in subjection by ruling them with a sceptre of iron. But notwithstanding all this, the war waged against the Fatimitas was no less violent by sea and by land, and the Mussalmans of

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Andaluz obtained glorious victories for their co-religionists of Africa. The name of Abdullah resounded throughout the globe, and embassies from the Empires of Greece and Germany came seeking his friendship, returning to their lands bearing witness to the greatness and power of the Caliph of Cordova. In their civil disputes the Leonese themselves would resort to the protection of the Mussalman prince. Sancho I., who had been expelled from the throne by Ordoño the Bad, besought, and obtained from him, succour to enable him to regain his own dominions; and Ordoño himself had to take refuge in the States of Abdu-r-rahman, who was ever ready to afford a generous hospitality to the oppressed.

But while glory and prosperity surrounded the aged Caliph, great reverses meanwhile tempered these gifts of fortune in Africa. Jauhar, the general of the Fatimite Prince Muizz, was routing the sheiks of the tribes subject to Cordova and the captains of the Andalusian troops, carrying all before him at the edge of the sword. He took possession of the cities of the Moghreb, without excepting Fez, the capital of the States of Mauritiana dependent on Spain. But Abdu-r-rahman, nevertheless, watched over the integrity of the Empire. A fleet with troops crossed the sea, and in a short time all things returned to their former subjection. Fez resisted for a length of time, bravely defended by the Fatimitas, who, however, had to give in after great losses on its being scaled by the conquerors. The name of Abdu-r-rahman again resounded in the mosques at the *chotbah*, or hour of prayer, under the title of Pontiff and *Amir-al-Mumenim*, or Prince of Believers.

Soon after these successes, death terminated the long and glorious government of the Caliph (961) in his seventieth year, and fiftieth of his reign. He died in the Palace of Azzahrat, or Zahra, five miles from Cordova, a magnificent residence erected by him, and whose extension is like a vast city. During this long period the superior intelligence of Abdu-r-rahman had repressed the revolts which menaced the complete dissolution of the Caliphate. Moreover, he had extended his dominions in Mauritiana, restraining the conquering spirit of the Leonese, who even appealed to him in their domestic contentions. The splendid Court of Cordova was frequented by the most celebrated men in science and letters possessed by Islamism; while the renown and glory of the Caliph induced the most powerful reigning heads of Europe to send their envoys and seek alliances with him. He spent

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large sums in erecting Azzahrat and many other monuments, and yet he left huge treasures amassed during his peaceful prosperous years, collected from the tributes levied on the victories obtained from the Leonese and the Saracens. But, notwithstanding all these gifts of fortune, he left written down in a kind of diary wherein he recorded the events of his life, that during his long reign, beloved as he was by all, feared by his enemies, and satiated with delights, he had scarcely enjoyed fourteen days of supreme happiness—an astounding proof of the vanity and misery of human greatness.

On the death of Abdu-r-rahman, his son Al-hakem was proclaimed Imaum and Amir-al-Mumenim. The new Caliph had already attained his forty-seventh year. His chief delight was literature, and he amassed a library of four hundred thousand volumes as a testimony of his love of letters, in which he was renowned. Peace still subsisted between the King of Leon, and Al-hakem, whose character was essentially peaceful, continued to follow his studies, although only as a relaxation from the graver duties of government. This state of things, however, lasted but a short time. The Counts of Castille were disturbing the Mussalmans by their assaults and raids on the boundaries. Al-hakem was compelled to punish them and invoke a holy war against them. The result of this ended in the defeat of the Count and the loss of various important towns. His imprudence compelled him to seek the mediation of the King of Leon, to whom he was subject, to effect a reconciliation with Al-hakem, and who, naturally being of a peaceful disposition, granted it, and turned again to his literary studies, and to reforming the abuses which had crept into the administration and customs.

Some years of profoumd peace followed, and the reign of Al-hakem appears on the pages of history like an oasis in the midst of the desert, offering the student a period of gladsome repose after the protracted spectacle of continued wars and devastations presented to us by the annals of the Saracens of Spain. Events in Africa, however, occurred to shadow the scene, and to cast once more the Empire into agitation and war. Balkin Ibn Zeiri, General of the Fatimitas, invaded the territories of Mauritania, which acknowledged the supremacy of the Caliph of Cordova. Balkin successively took possession of the principal coasts of the Moghreb, destroying the tribes and the Andalusian troops distributed along the African Provinces. The Ameer of the Idrisitas, called Al-hassan Ibn Kanun, who governed

those districts under the authority of Al-hakem, and who possessed the confidence of the Prince, now declared himself in favour of the Fatimitas. The news produced a deep sensation in Cordova. The Caliph, a lover of peace, nevertheless was ever prompt to resort to arms when needful, and he at once sent a fleet from Ceuta, with troops commanded by the Wazir Mohammed Ibn Al-kasim, to proceed against Al-hassan. A fierce battle ensued, in which the Spaniards were defeated, and the General Mohammed left dead on the battle-field. This reverse manifested to Al-hakem the necessity of employing the forces of the Caliphate towards re-conquering that portion of the dominions bequeathed by his father. Collecting together money and soldiers, he manned a fleet under the supreme command of his leader Ghalib, a man of singular bravery and skill. The Caliph bade him depart, telling him to return only as conqueror or dead from the expedition.

Ghalib carried out the wishes of the Caliph. Suborning the sheiks of the Berber tribes, and routing those who would not agree to his terms, the Cordovese General soon made himself master of the greater part of the Moghreb.

Forsaken by his own people, Al-hassan retreated to the Castle of Hajaru-n-nasr, which Ghalib at once besieged. Provisions and water failed the besieged. They proposed terms of surrender on the most advantageous conditions possible under the circumstances. Ghalib accepted the terms, desiring to reduce them to obedience, and to establish peace in that government. The Idrisitas were granted their lives and goods, but under the condition of coming to reside in Cordova; and the Moghreb once more acknowledged the dominion of the Beni-Umeyyas. After residing in the Peninsula for a length of time, Al-hassan obtained leave from Al-hakem to return to Western Africa, flying to the Court of the Fatimite Caliph, who secretly was partial to him.

Two years after these events Al-hakem died (976), at the age of sixty-three, and in the fifteenth of his reign, during which the glory and power of the dynasty of Beni-Umeyyas rose to its highest pinnacle. He was justly famed as one of the noblest characters and most cultivated minds among the Mussalmans of any period. From his death dates the decadence of the Empire of Cordova, notwithstanding all the efforts made by many energetic men to save it. Providence had decreed the restoration of Christianity in the Peninsula, and Its

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decrees had to be fulfilled, although at times events occurred which appeared to oppose their execution.

On the death of Al-hakem, his only son Hixam was declared Caliph. Hixam was barely ten years of age, and too youthful to take the reins of the government of such a vast Empire. His mother, Sobha, was greatly loved by the late Caliph, and had gained unlimited influence. Her secretary, Mohammed Abi Amir Al-maaferi, was also her favourite, and his affability, good manners, and mental gifts had gained for him the esteem and confidence of both Sobha and Al-hakem. During the minority of the prince, Mohammed was raised to the rank of Hajib, or Prime Minister, and tutor to Hixam. In union with Sobha, he became in reality the Caliph, not in name, but virtually in power. He endeavoured by every means to acquire popularity, declaring his intention to sever the truce of peace with the Christians by fighting against them until he should reduce them completely to the obedience of his pupil. For this purpose he made peace with Balkin Ibn Zeiri, who was again reconnoitering the Moghreb, and had besieged Ceuta. The latter engaged to send annually a certain number of Berber knights, under reciprocal conditions, and a fixed sum of money. These preliminaries settled, Abi Amir proceeded towards the eastern frontiers, and bade the Walis and Kayids to hold a conscription yearly, in order to effect twice a year a raid on the lands of the Christians. Then, proceeding towards the western frontiers, he ordered the forces of the Gharb to advance, and made the first attempt in Galicia. The Galicians, taken by surprise at this unexpected onslaught, were defeated. He devastated the country, set fire to villages, robbed the herds, took captives, and returned highly satisfied with his first attempt in the war of extermination waged against the enemies of Islamism.

From this epoch until the end of the tenth century the wrestling against the Christians continued, and the implacable Hajib reduced them to the greatest straits. In these combats Mohammed was nearly always victorious, and Christian blood flowed freely. Captives and rich spoils were taken, and the terror of his name invested him with the character of being one of the greatest captains of his time. He wielded supreme power in such a manner that, during the last few years of his life, Mussalman Spain seemed to forget that she was being ruled by only a phantom, with no real authority or power.

Al-makkari, one of the Arab historians, narrates the commencement and growth of power of the famous Hajib, Mohammed, who, elevated

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from a Kadi to the post of Wazir, took advantage of this step to usurp the power of the youthful Hixam. Assisted by Jafer Ibn Othman Al-muchafi, a Hajib of the Caliph, and by Ghalib, the Governor of Medina-Celi, and also by the eunuchs of the palace, he put to death Al-mugheyrab, brother of Al-hakem. He forbade the Wazirs to hold communications with the Prince, and only on stated occasions to salute him, but to retire without conversing with him. He paid the soldiers liberally, and to the learned he gave important posts; and in this way effectually put down seditions. In one word, he wielded supreme authority without in reality possessing any. He married the daughter of Ghalib, the celebrated general of the late Caliph. He erected a castle for his residence called Az-zahirah, in which he placed his treasures, and founded a kind of arsenal. He then assumed the title of Hajib Almansor (the victorious minister), and in his decrees employed terms and expressions used only by sovereigns, all decrees being given under his own name; in fact, he left to Hixam nothing but the prerogative of being mentioned in public prayers, and having his effigy stamped on the coins of the realm.

The victories Mohammed gained against the Christians in Galicia, Leon, and Castille bore out his assumed name of Almansor, by which he is more generally known in history. The province of Moghreb required likewise the attention of the Hajib, and he had in part to withdraw from Cordova the resources of the Caliphate. The Caliph of the Fatimitas instructed his General, Balkin, to favour the attempts of Alhasan, the former Ameer of the Idrisitas, to reconquer the sovereignty of that part of Africa. Protected in this way, Al-hasan actually took possession of a portion of his late dominions, and even laid siege to Ceuta, where Omar, the brother of the Hajib, dwelt.

As soon as Almansor was acquainted of this, he sent his young son Abdu-l-malek with an army against the Idrisite, who, not daring to resist, gave in his submission. His surrender was of no avail to save his life, for the Hajib ordered him to be assassinated. Abdu-l-malek was then made Governor of Moghreb, and assumed the title of Almodhaffer.

Later on, Abdu-l-malek returned to Spain, and new complications ensued in Africa. Balkin took possession of Fez, which was disputed, and after many encounters and battles fought by the various tribes, Abdu-l-malek went to Africa, and once more subjugated the Moghreb to the dominion of Almansor, and returned to the Peninsula.

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During the height of his power and triumphs Almansor was ambitious to render his name illustrious in science and letters, as had been those of Abdu-r-rahman and Al-hakem. When proceeding to war he always took poets to recount in poetry his successes, and sing his victories. His palace was turned into an academy, where all the learned were welcomed.

The term of his greatness and prosperity came to an end during one of the most terrible scourgings, given by the Spanish Christians, since the first Arab invasion. The eleventh century had commenced, and in the spring of 1002 new relays of soldiers from Africa arrived to the Peninsula in order to start further invasions. This proceeding aroused the terror of the Christians, and laying aside their private disputes, all joined together to defend the common cause. Leonese and Castillians, Navarrese and Basque, and even troops from across the Pyrenees, mustered together to await Almansor close to the rise of the river Douro. The battle was a fierce one, and the result undecided, but the Saracens retreated during the night after sustaining an enormous loss. The greater loss was, however, sustained by the Hajib, who was either wounded or fell ill, and was taken to Medina-Celi, where he expired. The command of the troops was then taken by his son Abdu-l-malek. Almansor at the time of his death was sixty-five years of age, and had governed Cordova twenty-five years.

Sobha, the mother of Hixam, still survived. Hixam continued in the enforced state of infancy to which he had been condemned. His existence was passed in the perfumed gardens of Azzahrat, regaled with music and feasts, the dances of slaves, banquetings, and delights. The aged Sultana, faithful to the memory of her favourite Almansor, declared his son Abdu-l-malek first Hajib. Wishing to revenge the death of his father, he renewed the attack on the Christians. His first campaigns were attended by only one important success, the ruin of the city of Leon. But after two years had elapsed (1005 to 1007), the war was continued with great damage, many towns being destroyed. The Christians took their revenge on the following year (1008), when they destroyed an army commanded by Abdu-l-malek as it entered Galicia, and he himself was forced to retreat to Cordova, where he died, it is supposed, by poison.

Abdu-r-rahman, the second son of Almansor, was elected to succeed his brother. Abdu-r-rahman was of a totally different temperament from his brother. He neglected the duties of his state, and spent his

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days in military exercises, and his nights in revels. He was on friendly terms with Hixam, and as the latter was childless, he was induced to name Abdu-r-rahman his successor. As soon as the Beni-Umeyyas became aware of this plot against their dynasty and succession, they persuaded him to prevent it. The youthful Mohammed, cousin to the Caliph, and who expected to succeed him, placed himself at the head of the resisting party. The hatred against the family of Almansor smouldered beneath the ashes, kept under by terror. The principal nobles were partial to Mohammed, and in a very short time he found himself at the head of a numerous and strong party. They attempted, and successfully took possession of Cordova, at the moment when Abdu-r-rahman had quitted it to lead an expedition against the Christians, and captured Hixam, whom they compelled to abdicate.

Apprised of what had taken place in the capital, and trusting to his popularity, the Hajib immediately returned. It was an easy task to enter Cordova, but on approaching to the plazas of the Alcasar, the troops of Mohammed, as well as the nobles and the mob of the city, all opposed his entry, and a bloody affray took place.

Abdu-r-rahman, who had confided in the favour of the crowd, and which now rose against him, lost hopes, and though he tried every effort, he fell into the hands of Mohammed, who condemned him to be crucified. Thus ended ignominiously (1009) the successor of Abdu-l-malek, and son of the renowned Almansor.

Revolutions followed, and took new phases. The crowds detested the Africans, which constituted the larger part of the troops, in particular the numerous guards of the Caliph. Mohammed at once ordered these to quit the Alcasar, and also the city; while all the suspected Walis were changed. He then decided to put an end to the Caliph. Vadhed, chamberlain to Hixam, dissuaded, it is said, Mohammed from carrying out his intention, but resorted to an expedient which was no less atrocious. An individual was sought for who resembled the Prince, was captured and strangled during the night, and then placed in the royal bed; and the hapless Hixam was securely imprisoned and put away. After this farce was enacted, Mohammed judged himself securely placed on the throne of the Beni-Umeyyas. Subsequent events, however, proved his hopes to be vain.

The Africans were too powerful in numbers and popularity, and too brave, to accede to this unjust treatment. They took up arms and

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attacked the Alcasar, demanding the head of Mohammed, whom they accused of tyranny, and with the assassination of Hixam.

The Caliph sallied out with the Spanish troops. The people, remembering the pride, and perchance the violence, experienced at the hands of foreigners, rushed against these and attacked them. The combat lasted the whole day and night and the following morning. The streets and plazas of the vast and populous Cordova were steeped in blood and covered with the slain. The leader of the Berbers, Hixam Ibn Suleyman Al-raxid, was taken prisoner, and his head soon after was flung out of one of the turrets into their midst. Indignation impelled the outlaws to declare the cousin of the dead leader, Suleyman Ibn Al-hakem, their chief; but he, feeling that his forces were too weak to combat against Mohammed, retreated to the frontiers of Castille to obtain aid and form an alliance with Count Sancho Garcez. Fortified by a body of picked Christian knights, the African General went forth with his troops to menace the capital. The Caliph met him with his army, and, after a long combat, Suleyman won the victory with a loss of nearly twenty thousand Cordovese. Mohammed retired to the district of Toledo, whose Wali was his son Obeydullah. He there found means to benefit himself by resorting, like his adversary, to alliances with the Counts of Barcelona and Urgel.

Meanwhile Suleyman was approaching Cordova, and Vadhed, the saviour of Hixam, and who acted like a mediator between the different parties, persuaded the inhabitants to offer no resistance. The African guards then entrusted him with the government of the city, and encamped outside the walls to avoid any encounters between the soldiers and the irritated inhabitants. Later on he entered the city to be acclaimed Caliph. All the towns on the frontiers of the district of Toledo down to Tortosa on the east, and to Lisbon on the west, had declared for him. The governments of Algesiras and Ceuta, which were the two keys of the strait between Spain and Africa, were respectively entrusted to the brothers Al-Kasim and Aly, two young warriors already renowned, of the illustrious family of the Idrisitas.

Envy and emulation among their followers, particularly the Sclaves and Christians, gave Suleyman no peace. Vadhed revealed the existence of Hixam, whom he advised should be vindicated and restored to the throne. Suleyman endeavoured to conceal him all the more, placing stricter guards over him.

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Meanwhile Mohammed, aided by his party and strengthened with Christian troops led by the Counts of Barcelona and Urgel, marched with an army of some forty thousand men against Cordova. Ten miles beyond the capital he was encountered by Suleyman, who had come out to meet him, with, however, a force much inferior to his, but determined to wage war. The battle was fierce, and the Africans were routed, and after passing the celebrated Palace of Azzahrat, which they sacked, they wended their way towards Algesiras, intending to cross over to Africa.

Mohammed was received enthusiastically by the people of Cordova as their liberator, for they deeply hated Suleyman. Mohammed, elated by this triumph, and heedless of the fatigued state of his army, turned to further pursue or follow the fugitives. These had encamped in the neighbourhood of Algesiras. Mohammed came upon them so unexpectedly that they could not avoid the conflict. The Africans roused up their forces, attacked Mohammed, and triumphed. The troops of Mohammed then turned back, and were pursued by Suleyman to the very capital. It appears the Christian troops covered the retreat, since they arrived after Mohammed, who had endeavoured to reinforce himself. The outposts and watchguards of the Africans were already appearing on the heights surrounding Cordova. Discontent was rising among the inhabitants, while want of provisions and disease contributed to increase their aversion against the Caliph. Vadhed now attempted a revolution, and induced the former Caliph, Hixam, who still survived, to come forward, and presented him to the people, who, with every sign of joy, received him as their legitimate sovereign. Mohammed, comprehending that it was all lost for him, endeavoured to conceal himself, but being discovered, he was led to his cousin Hixam, who, aggrieved by his many and long-continued misfortunes, ordered Mohammed to be beheaded, and his head sent to Suleyman in order to bring him to submission. Suleyman, however, was not disposed to yield up his hopes of assuming supreme power, and had the head embalmed and sent it to Obeydullah, the Wali of Toledo, who was a son of the dead man, with the offer of assisting him to revenge the assassination. The offer was accepted, and together they began to collect troops and joined the Africans. Vadhed, who in reality governed Cordova, left the charge to other hands, and proceeded to side with the Count of Castille, who had drawn him to his party in exchange for some castles which he ceeded to the Christians. Assisted by him, they

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attacked and took Toledo, whose Wali had gone to join the Africans, and had left the city undefended.

As soon as Obeydullah heard of this he retreated to those parts; while Vadhed, leaving the city to the care of one Ibn Dhi-n-nun, sallied out to meet him, where he was routed, taken prisoner, and sent to Cordova, when he was beheaded. The conquering army proceeded then to the capital, while Suleyman endeavoured to obtain succour from the Walis of Zaragoza, Medina-Celi, Guadalajara, and Calatrava. With the Africans, and the troops which the Walis had afforded him, Suleyman continued to agitate Cordova. Provisions were failing, pestilence was devastating Andalusia, and the people, who attributed these scourges to punishment from Heaven on account of the alliance effected by the Hajib with the Christians, murmured and conceived hatred against him.

Vadhed, it is said, began to hold secret communications with the African General, and when this came to the knowledge of Hixam, he, losing confidence in those around him, ordered Vadhed to be arrested, and, finding papers in his possession which justified his suspicions, instantly ordered his head to be cut off, appointing Khayran, a Sclave of high birth, and an officer renowned for his bravery and skill, to the post of Governor of Almeria.

Up to a certain point Khayran was able to restrain the suspicious, cruel nature of Hixam, but could not succeed in pacifying the general discontent. Suleyman, who had formed a party within the walls of the city, now attacked it, and, favoured by the abettors within, entered in. The valiant Hajib disputed the victory with him, but, being wounded, the enemy broke in, and took possession of the Alcasar and of the person of the Caliph, who probably was assassinated secretly, as he was never more seen. The city was sacked for three days, many nobles were cruelly put to death, and then Suleyman proclaimed himself anew the Caliph.

Although Khayran fell wounded, he was able in the confusion to escape disguised from Cordova, proceed to Orihuela, where, collecting together men and money, he at once regained his former post of Wali of Almeria. From thence he went to Ceuta, where he assured Aly Ibn Hamud that Hixam was still living, although a captive of Suleyman. He induced him to cross the strait and join his brother Al-Kasim, Governor of Algesiras, and both would together effect the liberation of Hixam, who had elected him, Aly Ibn Hamud, for his successor. Aly

took the supreme command of the united forces, and proceeded to restore Hixam. Suleyman, who feared they would besiege him in Cordova, made an attempt to stop their advance near the ancient Italica, but he was unsuccessful, and was defeated in two battles, when he and his brother were taken prisoners. Aly then entered Cordova, and took the father of Suleyman prisoner. He then ordered the three into his presence, and bade them reveal the hiding-place of Hixam, and on their declaring that they knew not where he was concealed, he himself, with his own hand, decapitated the three.

This victory enabled the Idrisite, Aly, to ascend the throne of the Beni-Umeyyas (1016). The sovereignty was passing from hand to hand, by means of revolution and fierce battles; and signs of dismemberment were already visible in Mussalman Spain. The Wali of Denia made himself independent, and took possession of the Balearic Islands, meanwhile that the Governor left in his place was doing likewise.

The elevation of Aly to the throne, and the example set by Denia, prolonged the civil war. The Walis of Seville, Toledo, Merida, and Zaragoza refused to acknowledge the new prince, while his disagreements with Khayran, who had turned against him, soon enkindled anew civil wars. Incited by the former Wali of Almeria, and leagued with the Governor of Zaragoza, the Kayids of Arjona, Baeza, and Jaen raised an army with the object of placing on the throne a Caliph of the race of Beni-Umeyyas. Khayran marched at the head of this army against Cordova, but was defeated. A great-grandson of Abdu-r-rahman the Great was then elected Caliph. He was rich, virtuous, and beloved, and, moreover, bore the same name as he who had left such a glorious renown. The Governors of the western districts at once acknowledged Abdu-r-rahman Ibn Mohammed, with the exception of the Wali of Granada, who remained faithful to Aly-Khayran, and with his party marched against the one whom they held as a usurper to the throne.

Aly was a skilful captain, and Khayran and his men were defeated and dispersed; yet this reverse was not sufficient for the Walis of Zaragoza, Valencia, Tortosa, and Tarragona, and they still refused to acknowledge the supreme authority of Abdu-r-rahman. The fugitive Hajib had taken refuge in Almeria, and Ibn Hamud laid siege to the city, and after taking it he slew Khayran. He then returned to Cordova, and was preparing to open the campaign against Abdu-r-

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rahman, when he was assassinated in his bath by the Sclavi who served him, and who were probably suborned by the Prince Benu-Umeyya.

The African captains at once acclaimed their former Wali of Algesiras, who was now Wali of Seville, Al-kasim Ibn Hamud, and, followed by four thousand knights, suddenly appeared in Cordova. Meanwhile the son of Aly, called Yahya, as soon as he heard of the assassination of his father, left Ceuta with what troops he could muster, among which was the excellent cavalry corps of negroes from Sus, fully determined to dispute the Caliphate of his uncle. His youngest brother Idris marched towards Malaga with a portion of the army, while his brother proceeded to Cordova. Yahya speedily entered Cordova. These family wars among the Idrisitas could only end in the complete triumph of Abdu-r-rahman. They came and endeavoured to be reconciled. Yahya, who was proceeding to succour Idris, returned to Cordova with the consent of Al-kasim, who undertook to combat the party of the Beni-Umeyyas, and when once vanquished to divide the power between uncle and nephew. Al-kasim then proceeded to conduct the body of Aly to Ceuta, where he intended to give him an honoured burial. While performing this fraternal act, Yahya returned to Cordova, and proclaimed himself Caliph without regard to the convention made with his uncle, and declared that he alone had a right to the throne. After this act of treachery Al-kasim crossed over the sea to proceed against his nephew, who happened to have his best troops away in an engagement against Abdu-r-rahman, and therefore did not attempt to oppose him; thus, without bloodshed, Al-kasim found himself master of the capital. His occupation was of short duration, for he had to fly for his life soon after this, owing to a popular revolution. By their own energetic efforts the inhabitants of Cordova freed themselves of the African yoke, and were on the eve of acclaiming the Benu-Umeyya Caliph, when they received the news of his death in an encounter with the generals of the Idrisitas (1023). The popular disappointment was very great, but they chose yet another Abdu-r-rahman, a brother of Mohammed, who was a Caliph also. The prince-elect was a virtuous, enlightened youth, and these very gifts occasioned his fall. His first act, after assuming the supreme authority, was to check the unbridled state of the army, particularly of the Sclave Guards.

The resentment which this gave rise to among the men favoured

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the ambition of Mohammed, cousin to the new sovereign. A rebellion, instigated by him, broke out, and Abdu-r-rahman fell dead in his own Alcasar, pierced through by the swords of assassins. With hands still embrued in the blood of his relative, Mohammed was acclaimed Caliph by the soldiers. He acted in a totally different manner from his predecessor. He allowed the soldiery full rein to their corruption, and favoured their leaders. He then retired to the Alcasar and yielded himself up to a luxurious life, and when his treasures were exhausted, levied new and heavy taxes. The people detested him. Cordova was a prey to tumults. The guards turned against him, and accused him of parsimony. The Walis of the Provinces refused to obey him, and amid civil wars they each endeavoured to make himself independent. Anarchy reigned rampant, and the Mussalman Empire of Spain, which but a few years previously had been so brilliant and powerful, was showing every sign of a speedy dissolution. A terrible revolution at length broke over the empire, and assailed him in the midst of his pleasures in the palace of Azzahrat, and Mohammed had to fly for his life, and take refuge in the Castle of Ucles, where he was subsequently poisoned.

Disorder and agitation had reached their last stage. Like Rome in the days of her decadence, which afforded the hideous spectacle of a few Pretors building up and overthrowing the throne of the Cæsars at the mercy of party passions or momentary caprices, so do we behold in Cordova the last Caliphs, raised to-day to fall to-morrow, at the beck of an unbridled army, or of a mob no less unbridled.

Anarchy somewhat subsided after the expulsion of Mohammed, and the partisans of the Idrisitas took courage. Yahya, the son of Aly Ibn Hamud, was their chief, and after he escaped from the fury of Al-kasim, succeeded to make himself master of Malaga and Algesiras. In these districts, and in those of Africa which his father had possessed, he established an independent power, less brilliant, but more secure, and in some respects stronger than the dominion of the Caliph in Spain. But he had not yet forgiven Al-kasim the injury received. When a mob rose against him, and he, in his turn, had to fly from the capital, and was taking refuge in Xerez, Yahya sent a body of cavalry to arrest him. He was then brought before him, and sentenced to be thrown into a dungeon, where he died, although some say he survived several years. In this way the son of Aly remained the only representant of the ancient African dynasty, and of the disputed dominion of Cordova,

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which offered him for a short term a throne with no competitor to dispute the crown. The Cordovese, wearied of so much bloodshed, received him triumphantly. The Walis, however, of the Provinces refused their allegiance under various pretexts. Mohammed Abdu-l-kasim Ibn Ismail Ibn Abbad was the Wali of Seville. In punishing this one the Caliph desired to make an example of severity as a warning for the others.

Mustering some troops, he marched against Ibn Abbad. The Caliph fell, however, into the snare laid by the wily Wali, which caused his death and the destruction of his army (1026). The news of this event caused in Cordova a deep sensation, and filled the inhabitants with new apprehensions. It was needful to resort to prompt measures to evade another civil war taking place among the ambitious ones. In Ham-Albonte, leading a secluded life, lived Hixam Ibn Mohammed, the great-grandson of Abdu-r-rahman the Great, and to him all turned to save them, influenced by Jauhar Ibn Mohammed, the Wazir of the capital. The throne which was offered to him was so undesirable that the prince-elect manifested repugnance to accept the offer, but after a time he accepted. Instead of proceeding to the capital, of which he feared, he went against the Christians who had taken advantage of the discords existing among the Saracens to further their dominions.

He combated against the Christians with varied success, until Jauhar apprised him that it was expedient to visit Cordova, and find a means to reduce the Provinces to obedience, as their tributes had ceased to fill the State coffers. Hixam followed his advice, and wrote to the Walis and Kayids, manifesting to them that by pursuing their course of action and their divisions they were preparing the ruin of Islamism in Spain; but his endeavours proved useless. They made him promises, but their acts were contrary to their promises. He then resorted to harsh means to reduce the rebels, but rebellions surged out from every place, and the very ones whom he had entrusted with the government of important cities sooner or later followed their example.

Finding it impossible to set bounds to this torrent, the Caliph began to make concessions to the rebels with the object of at least establishing peace in some way; but this action occasioned public discontent, particularly among the Cordovese, who ascribed every evil to him, and tumults and discords increased. But the root of the evil lay in their own vicious institutions, in popular licentiousness, in their want of national unity among the races of varied origin and oftentimes inimical

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and all these evils were already manifest during the period of highest opulence and prosperity of the Caliphate, and truly did Hixam declare that the Cordovese could neither govern themselves nor allow any one to do so. At length public discontentment rose to such a pitch that, acting under the advice of Jauhar, the Caliph one night quitted the capital, when the revolutionary mob demanded his deposition or banishment (1031), and retreated to the Castle of Hisn Abi Cherif, in Sierra Morena. Persecuted even here by his subjects, he sought an asylum in Lerida, whose Wali, Suleyman Ibn Hud, afterwards Wali of Zaragoza, was his particular friend.

Thus reduced to live an obscure existence, he died after five years' exile, leaving the reputation of having been a merciful prince, brave and enlightened, and well able to have raised up the Empire were its salvation a work within human possibility. With his death ended the Caliphate of Cordova, and the dynasty of Beni-Umeyyas, which for nearly three centuries uninterruptedly occupied the throne, and had bequeathed to history some of the most illustrious characters in the annals of Mussalman Spain.

On the expulsion of Hixam, Jauhar was elected Ameer. Jauhar was shrewd, and took advantage of the times and circumstances. Accepting the more modest title of Ameer, he did not wish to assume, or seem to assume, the whole supremacy, and contented himself with presiding at the Diwan or Council composed of the Sheiks and principal men of Cordova who resolved the affairs of government. Yet his position as Ameer, and the superiority of his talents, invested him with the necessary influence to steer through the reforms needful to sustain the edifice of the tottering State. Like Hixam, he wrote to the Walis of the Provinces urging them to recognise his supremacy, or rather that of the Diwan which had been established, and, like his predecessor, he only received excuses from some, and indifference from others.

With no forces at command to bring them to submission, he disguised his situation, and even feigned to praise those who had refused to appear in Cordova under the pretext of important business. This proceeding on the part of the Ameer was really a tacit declaration that the unity of the Mussalman Empire in Spain was virtually at an end, being divided into many independent monarchies ruled by the Walis. The rapid decadence of Islamism and the increase of the Christian States were the consequences resulting from this disunion.

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We have said that the Idrisitas had established an independen government in Malaga, and that the brothers Beni-Hamud ruled between them in Africa, Ceuta, and Tangiers, and in the Peninsula, Malaga, and Algesiras. We also said that three members of that family, Aly, Al-kasim, and Yahya, obtained successively the Caliphate of Cordova. At the death of the latter his brother Idris succeeded him to the States of Malaga and Ceuta (1027), assuming the title of Amir-al-mumenim. To the brothers Alys (by which the dynasty is known) were allied the Wali of Granada, Habuz Ibn Maksan, and the Beni Berizila, lords of Carmona and Ecija. In Seville ruled Mohammed Abu-l-kasim Ibn Abbad, he who destroyed the Caliph Yahya in 1026, the epoch from whence dates the independence of the Ameership of Seville and its aggrandisement through the vast province of Andalusia.

From 1021 the race of the Alamiris reigned on the eastern coasts of Spain, extending from the dominion of Almeria in the interior up to the frontiers of Barcelona. The Ameer of Valencia, Abdu-al-aziz Abul-hassan, grandson to the celebrated Almansor, was a kind of suzerain of the Walis of this family, and of the Tadjibitas, lords of Zaragoza, who, later on, were substituted by the Beni Huds. In this way the Alamiris held possession of the various districts included in this wide territory, and to which were joined the Balearic Islands. The Province of Gharb, or ancient Lusitania, was in the power of the Tadjibitas family, and Abdullah Benu Alafftas declared himself sovereign, and established his Court in Badajoz. Hence modern Algarve remained outside their yoke, and constituted an independent principality, ruled over by the Wazir Ahmed Ibn Said, who was succeeded by his son-in-law, Said Ibn Harun, and, lastly, the Province of Toledo, under the authority of Ismael Ibnu Dhi-n-num, formed another independent Ameership, and one of the five principal states (Malaga, Valencia, Seville, Badajoz, and Toledo) which had resulted from the dissolution of the empire of the Beni-Umeyyas. This dismemberment of Mussalman Spain, caused by years of revolution, produced consequences easy to divine—the increase and gain of their enemies, the Christians. It suffices to say that after a series of continual combats, rebellions, treachery, sieges and conquests of cities, and repeated devastations over the greater part of the Mussalman territory, the Ameer of Seville, Abbad Al-mu-tadhed-billah, who succeeded his father, Mohammed Abu-l-kasim (1042), had become so powerful that his forces were superior to all the troops of the other Ameers joined

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together. The next in importance was Toledo. Its Ameer, Al-mamon, was a rival to the Ameer of Seville, and always at war with him, assisted by the Christian troops of Leon and Castille.

The Toledan Prince, among other states which he conquered, were those of the Wali of Valencia, while the Ameer of Seville brought to subjection the territories of the successors of Jauhar, that is to say, the Province of Cordova. During the war between the two potentates, all the lesser States had to acknowledge one or other of these two champions. The death of the Ameer of Seville did not alter the hapless state (1069) of Mussalman Spain, and wars still continued. Al-mamon took possession of Cordova and even entered the capital, while Mohammed Al-mutamed Ibn Abbad, the son and successor of the Ameer of Seville, was triumphing over the Idrisitas, lords of Malaga, and his ally, the Ameer of Zaragoza, menaced Valencia. Al-mutamed at once proceeded to Seville, and in a short time those who had besieged and taken the city were in their turn besieged and conquered.

The Ameer of Toledo, who in person witnessed that conquest, expired during the siege (1076). The death of Al-mamon altered the successes of the forces. His son or grandson, Hixam or Yahya Dhi-n-nun, was still too youthful to reign, and remained under the tutorship and protection of the King of Leon, Alfonso VI.

Ibn Abbad regained Seville and Cordova, and later on took possession of Valencia and Murcia, and subsequently expelled the Idrisitas out of the Peninsula. Meanwhile Alfonso VI., taking advantage of the dissolution of the Saracen Empire, took possession of Toledo (1085) and many other important towns. From this moment the political question became simplified, and the Mussalmans beheld into what an abyss their long-continued discords and sanguinary wars had cast them. The power of Alfonso VI. increased to such a degree that were all the Mussalman Princes to join together it would be a difficult undertaking to resist him. By general assent the Spanish Saracens then decided to invoke the aid of the Almoravides, whose power in Africa, due to their repeated triumphs, had rapidly increased. The influence which this resolution effected on the subsequent events which occurred in the Peninsula renders it necessary here to explain the origin of this sect, at once religious and political, and whose chiefs attained to bring under their dominion Mauritiana and Mussalman Spain, and by their conquests delayed the decisive victory of Christianity.

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The name of Almoravide is a Spanish corruption of the Arabic word *Al-morabethyn*, which signifies *hermits*. This sect was founded amid the Berber tribes of the desert south of Tarudante, better known by the common denomination of Zanagah—rude and ignorant tribes imperfectly converted to Islamism, but of which they scarcely knew more of its religious tenets than the simple symbol of the Mohammedan faith—*God only is God, and Mahomet is the envoy of God.*

In the year 1037, Yahya Ibn Ibrahim, the Ameer of these tribes, made a pilgrimage to Mecca, and on returning by Kairwan, he brought with him a certain Abdullah Ibn Iasin, a man well versed in the science of the Koran, and who purposed to civilise and illustrate those barbarian tribes of Zanagah. However, when they heard the new apostle sternly reprove them for their vices and brutalities, they turned away and treated him with contempt. He then retired towards the sea-coast, and erected a hermitage. The Ameer Yahya, who had brought him to these regions, now joined him, and others also followed. In a short time the disciples of Abdullah increased, and the renown of the wisdom of this fakir, or monk, drew towards him many proselytes, who then took the name of Morabethyns. When sufficiently powerful to employ the means of conversion so successfully exercised by the Prophet, that is to say, fire and the sword, he sent to the tribes who had refused to listen to his peaceful admonitions an army of some three thousand Almoravides (1042), and proceeded to the tribe of Kedala, and all who escaped with their lives became converted. The same treatment was followed among the Lamtunas and the Mozusas. After these examples the other tribes at once acknowledged the divine mission of Abdullah, who reserved to himself the dignity of Imaum, or Pontiff, with which he constituted a kind of dictatorship of a supreme order, and appointed as Ameer for temporal concerns the Chief, Abu Zakaria Yahya, of the tribe Lamtuna, because he who had more greatly contributed to his elevation, Yahya Ibn Ibrahim, had died.

Following the inspirations of the Imaum, or Spiritual Chief, the new Ameer continued the war, reducing to submission Sahara, or desert, and commenced the conquest of the land of the negroes, where he was slain. He was succeeded by his brother Abu-bekr, who extended the dominion of the Almoravides along the north of Africa, although the founder of the sect perished in a battle.

Having subjugated a large portion of Mauritania, or Moghreb, he

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went with his army to quell some disturbances among the Berber tribes. During his absence he appointed to govern the northern districts his cousin Abu Yacub Yusuf, an individual of great attainments, but ambitious. Taking advantage of the absence of the Ameer, he consolidated permanently in his own person the authority entrusted to him. When Abu-bekr returned Yusuf received him with every demonstration of joy and friendship, but at the same time made him understand that he would not yield. Abu-bekr, feeling that his forces were too weak to oppose him, resolved to legitimise the usurpation, and reserve to himself the dominion of the tribes of the desert. He perished shortly after, in a war with the negroes, and Yusuf was acknowledged Ameer of all the provinces of the Almoravides. He then founded Morocco, which he made the capital of his empire, and by renewed victories subjected the rest of Mauritania. It was after this event that the Spanish Mussalmans turned to him for aid. The glory of his exploits and the noble qualities of his character had invested him with a renown which eclipsed the most celebrated captains of the time. In the terror inspired by the renewed conquests of Alfonso VI. the Saracens of the Peninsula looked towards him as the only warrior who could deliver them from the power of the terrible Nazarene. Time manifested to them what in their hour of anguish they had not foreseen—that the salvation of their liberty and religion, which was threatened by the Christian, might be only purchased at the expense of their national independence.

When Yusuf placed a spoke in the wheel of fortune, which at the time appeared to turn favourably for the King of Leon, he had no other aim in view, perchance, but to add one more rich province to his vast empire. When we narrate the wars of the reign of Alfonso VI. we shall have occasion to enter into the principal causes which occasioned the protracted struggle sustained by this prince with the Almoravides, whose history from the end of the eleventh century claims all the successes achieved by Mussalman Spain.

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III.

Foundation of a new Gothic Monarchy in Asturias—Alfonso I. commences extend it—Victories of Fruela I.—Reigns of Aurelio, Silo, and Mauregato—Bermudo the Deacon labours to civilise the nation—Cedes the crown to Alfonso II. the Chaste—Wars with the Saracens, and progress of civilisation—Ramiro I.—His cruelty—Ordoño I.—Conquests of the Mussalman territories—Fruela the Intruder is assassinated—Alfonso III. ascends the throne—Long and glorious reign of this prince—Rebellion of his two sons, and abdication of Alfonso III.—Garcia I. and his brothers—Separation of Navarre—Ordoño II.—Invasions in the Mussalman dominions—Fruela II.—Alfonso IV.—Ramiro II.—Civil wars—Continuation of the war against the Saracens—Truces with the Caliph of Cordova—Ordoño III.—Sancho the Fat, expelled by Ordoño the Bad, is restored by the Caliph Abdu-r-rahman—Minority of Ramiro III., and regency of Elvira—The Government of Ramiro in Leon, and of Bermudo in Galicia—Civil wars—Invasions of Almansor—Bermudo II., and misfortunes of his reign—Alfonso V.—Regency during his minority—The government of this prince—Bermudo III.—Civil wars—Castille joins Navarre—Strifes between Castille and Leon—Bermudo loses the greater portion of his States—Foundation of the Monarchy of Castille—Battle of Carrion, and death of Bermudo—Ferdinand of Castille unites Leon to his crown—Brilliant reign of Ferdinand, surnamed the Great—The kingdom Castillian-Leonese is divided between the sons of Ferdinand I.—Wars and discords between the three brothers—Alfonso of Leon is conquered and expelled by Garcia the elder—Alfonso attains to unite the three crowns—Triumphs and undertakings of Alfonso VI. against the Saracens—The conquest of Toledo—Battle of Ucles—Death of Alfonso VI.

The revival of the Visigoths against the Arab domination commenced in Spain a few years after this conquest. Amid the rugged mountains of Asturias a few Goths who had not accepted the Mussalman yoke unfurled the standard of a war of religion and independence, this war lasting some seven centuries, or until the final overthrow of the Koran by the Gospel. The battle of Cangas of Onis, where the Infidels were defeated, was the first of a succession of combats which were continued to the end of the fifteenth century, when the last defenders of Granada, Ferdinand and Isabella the Catholic, conquered the capital of the last Moorish kingdom of the Peninsula.

The leader of these Goths, who had taken refuge in the Asturias, was Pelagio, who founded the first Christian Monarchy of Spain, known later on as Oviedo and Leon. The States of Pelagio continued, during his reign and that of his son Favila, to be circumscribed to the

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Asturian Mountains; but on the death of Favila, whose reign was short and obscure, he was succeeded by an extraordinary man, who, by repeated victories, extended the boundaries of the country, which never accepted the yoke of the Infidels. Alfonso I., the son-in-law of Pelagio, ascended the throne after Favila, and he soon penetrated into Galicia up to the Douro, and to Leon and Old Castille. Previous to this time the war, whether defensive or offensive, had always been carried on exclusively with the Christians; but in this epoch of Alfonso I. the desolated towns, with their temples reduced to ruins, began to rise up again. After a long and glorious reign, this prince died, and the Goths elected his son Fruela, or Froila, who rivalled him in bravery, but was a man of a violent character. In an encounter of small importance Fruela broke up the Arabs near Ponthumium.

Rebellions had arisen in Galicia, which he put down, and then quelled the Basques, to the north, who had risen against him. Suspicions against his brother Vimarano induced him to put him to death, but the justice of God followed him. Fruela was assassinated by the Goths, and following the ancient usage of the Visigoths to elect the successor to the throne, they refused to bestow the crown on his son Alfonso. A nephew of Alfonso I., called Aurelius, the son of his brother Fruela, ascended the throne, which he occupied for six years. During this period the States of the King of Asturias enjoyed external peace, but Aurelius had to combat against a rising of the Servi, which he repressed.

Canicas, or Cangas, was the capital of the Asturias since the time of Pelagio. Fruela founded Oviedo, to the west, and this State became later on the head of the monarchy. His successors, it appears, preferred Pravia, which lay to the north-west of Oviedo, where Silo, the successor of Aurelius, resided. Silo was chosen by the Goths on account of his wife Adosinda, daughter of Alfonso I. The reason of this is not told by the chroniclers, although they affirm the fact. According to the chroniclers of that time, peace subsisted with the Mussalmans during the reign of this prince, and at his death his widow wished the crown to be placed on the head of the youthful Alfonso, son of Fruela I.; but an illegitimate son of Alfonso I., called Mauregato, was elected by the malcontents, and he expelled Alfonso, assuming the crown of Asturias, which he held six years, and a peaceful reign followed until his death in Pravia.

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A brother of King Aurelius was then summoned to rule the Goths.* Bermudo had purposed to follow the religious profession, and had even received the order of deacon. This, which would exclude him from the royal dignity, according to the ancient institution of the Visigoths, did not, however, prevent his election. In those times, when the semi-barbarian existence of the Christians of Asturias deeply contrasted with the civilisation of the Mussalmans of Spain and Africa, the generous, enlightened spirit of Bermudo rises like a beacon in the midst of the surrounding darkness. Piety, clemency, and generosity are attributed to him by the most ancient chroniclers. Soon after he assumed supreme authority, in imitation of the example of some Visigothic kings previous to the Arab conquest, he appointed the son of Fruela, who had been twice repelled from the throne, to take a part in government, and thus secure the succession to the throne. As soon as the youthful prince had won the affections of the people, Bermudo, of his own will, returned to the sacred ministry, although, against the sacred canons of Spain, he had taken to wife Nunila, by whom he had Ramiro, the same who later on succeeded Alfonso II.

During the period which elapsed from the death of Alfonso I. to the abdication of Bermudo, the kingdom of Asturias continued peaceful side by side with the Saracen dominion. But in the third year of the reign of Alfonso II. we find this peace severed between the two races, and the Arabs invading the Asturias. This was caused by the raids practised by Alfonso against the Mussalmans, who were defeated. From this dates the renown of Alfonso II., known among historians by the addition of "the Chaste," from the fact that he always led a celibate life.

About this period Charlemagne was reigning beyond the Pyrenees. Alfonso sought an alliance with him, sending messengers with presents of rich spoils, said to be the results of raids effected from the Douro to the margins of the Tagus. He established the capital in Oviedo, which he enlarged and adorned with churches and palaces. A revolution expelled him from the throne, but which his party within a few months regained for him. Alfonso died in 842, and was succeeded by Ramiro, the son of his predecessor, Bermudo. The death of the aged

* The denomination of Goth, given to the descendants of the Visigoths after the conquest of Spain who took refuge in the Asturias, is not really correct, but it is generally received by the historians of the Peninsula, in the same way as the names of Saracen and Moor are both used to denote the Mussalmans.

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monarch caused, as may well be supposed, grave dissensions. Nepociano, a count of the palace, acclaimed himself sovereign in Oviedo, but Ramiro, who at the time was in Bardulia (Old Castille), rushed to dispute the crown with him. The army of Nepociano forsook him as soon as they saw him fall into the hands of Ramiro, who captured him near Pravia, and, drawing his eyes out, shut him up in a monastery.

Ramiro, securely seated on the throne, was successful in obtaining victories against the Mussalmans, and repulsed the Norman pirates, who were then beginning to infest the coasts of Galicia. The attempt to expel him from the throne was again repeated, but proved unsuccessful. Ramiro was of a cruel, vindictive character, and he secured the throne for his son without any contradiction. Ordoño I. was brave and victorious like his father, but did not possess his cruel character. He rebuilt various towns of Leon, Galicia, and the parts called *Campos Gothicos*, such as the city itself of Leon, which later on became the capital of the province, and Tuy, Astorga, and Amaya.

The Gothic renegade Musa, whom we mentioned elsewhere, and who had attempted to render himself independent of the Ameer of Cordova, now dared to enter the territories of the Christians, and erect the fortress of Albaida, or Albelda, in the modern Rioja. The King of Oviedo came out to meet him, and defeated him close to Clavijo, taking Albelda. He also repulsed a new attempt of the Normans along the coasts of Galicia, and then effected several raids on the lands of the enemy, subduing the Basques, who, ever restless, had rebelled again. He took Coria and Salamanca from the power of the infidel, reconquering Orense, a city of Galicia, which they had taken possession of. Ordoño died in the year 866. Before his death he had proclaimed his son Alfonso successor. Meanwhile Fruela, the Count or Governor of Galicia, aided by the nobles of the province, assumed the title of King, and marched at the head of an army to the capital. The subjects of the son of Ordoño forsook him, and Alfonso fled from Oviedo towards Castille. The reign of Fruela was very short. A rebellion broke out in the Court, and the nobles who were against him slew him in his own palace. The son of Ordoño then returned, and was proclaimed King.

After this the Basques rebelled, and King Alfonso III. had for a long time to fight against them with varied success, and the war only terminated, according to Basque traditions, when a concession of independence was granted to this indomitable race.

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After three years of peace, followed a fierce war with the Saracens along the south and south-east line of demarcation of the Douro, which divided the Mussalmans from the Christians. Alfonso crossed the river and occupied Salamanca, then besieged Coria, which was in the power of the Goths, and compelled them to retire. The Saracens, as they were forced to retreat, entered the Christian provinces, but were ensnared in the ravines, where horsemen were useless, and completely defeated.

For a period of twelve years the history of the reign of Alfonso III. was a series of combats on both sides, defensive and offensive, but in which the Christians were generally victorious; and their territories were chiefly extending towards the ancient Lusitania. Lamego, Viseu, and Coimbra fell into the power of the King of Oviedo, devastations reaching as far as the districts of Idaña and Merida. After this, it appears, Alfonso retired to his former States of Asturias and Galicia. The battle of Polvoraria, near the river Orbiego, when the Mussalmans were defeated and put to flight, brought a cessation of hostilities for three years, and then the war recommenced. The King of Oviedo retired to the Asturias after entering as far as the Sierra Morena, where he broke up the Arab forces which came against him.

The Infidels took their revenge, and assailed Old Castille, where the Asturian dominions had been consolidated by their many fortified places and castles, from whence the name of Castille is derived. The Christians resisted on all sides within their strongholds, and Al-mondhir, the Arab General, penetrated towards Leon. When Alfonso was apprised of this he turned to the south-west, and camped near Orbiego, from whence he returned to Cordova. The Saracens soon after renewed hostilities, ravaging Navarre, and descended towards Castille and Leon; but finding themselves repelled on all sides with great losses, they retreated to Cordova. Wearied by so many devastations during these protracted wars, the Goths and the Saracens seriously bethought them to establish peace, which was done, and the treaty signed by the Ameer of Cordova and Alfonso III. This peace continued during the rest of the reign of Alfonso, a period of twenty-seven years. The demarcation of the limits of the Christian territories was definitively settled to the south and south-east of the Douro; and the King of Oviedo was thus able to improve the interior state of his dominions, which already included nearly one-third of the Peninsula. He restored order in Leon and in Old Castille he raised out of the

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ruins the more important towns, and fortified them, on the frontiers, Zamora, Simancas, Donas, and Touro. The great improvements he effected, and the victories gained, invested him with the surname of "the Great."

But while Alfonso III. thus laboured in the interior, a new war arose to disturb the peace of the Christians. Dissensions among the Saracens had severed the unity of the Mussalman Government. Cordova was still the centre of Moorish Spain, but some of the provinces bordering on the State of Alfonso had rebelled and become independent. Ahmed Ibn Al-kithi, or Alchaman as he is called by the Christian chroniclers, had gone over to the party of Omar Ibn Hafssun, the most powerful enemy of the Ameer of Cordova, and been entrusted with supreme authority over the territories of Toledo and Talavera. Out of these mutinied districts of the territories averse to the Ameer, and even from Africa, Ahmed gathered together sixty thousand men, and assailed the lands of the King of Oviedo, who, owing to the long peace, had neglected to prepare, and was taken by surprise. The Christians who were able to save themselves fled to the fortifications of Zamora, which Al-kithi at once besieged, while the Government of Cordova hastened to assure the King of Galicia that the invasion was disapproved by him.

Meanwhile Alfonso III. marched against Ahmed. The two armies met on the fields of Zamora, and after a well-sustained battle, the Arabs were vanquished with tremendous loss. In this engagement perished Ahmed and his brother Abdu-r-rahman, the Wali, or Governor, of Tortosa. The King of Oviedo, wishing to continue his victories, proceeded to Toledo, intending to reconquer the ancient capital of the empire of the Visigoths; but the difficulties which presented themselves during the siege were such that he was induced to accept a large sum of money as a ransom from the inhabitants, and he returned to Asturias, destroying on his way some of the Saracen towns.

The Christian King did not enjoy long in peace the fruits of so many victories. Domestic disturbances took the place of the strifes with outsiders. Garcia, his eldest son, assisted by his brothers, and even by his mother, and instigated by his father-in-law, Nuno Fernandes, Count of Castille, conspired to dethrone him. When Alfonso learned this attempt on the part of his son, he arrested him in Zamora, and loading him with chains, sent him to the Castle of

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Gauzon. This act proved a signal for rebellion, wherein the King of Asturias beheld other members of his family taking part.

Civil war followed, and resulted in the forced abdication of Alfonso III., who survived this blow less than a year, but during which time he made another entry into the lands of the rebel Hafssun, simply as a general of his son. On retiring from this campaign he died in Zamora, in the year 910, leaving in the pages of history the most distinguished place of all the successors of Pelagio.

Of the cities raised by the great captain from their ruins, Leon, the ancient Legio of the Romans and of the Goths, appears to be the most considerable. Garcia established his Court there, leaving his brother Fruela to govern the Asturias, and Ordoño Galicia, if not as separate kingdoms, at least with a certain degree of independence. This equivocal situation of the two princes was, perchance, the reason why the King of Oviedo changed his title to that of Leon, and which appears in the reign of Garcia as the first attempt towards dismembering the Spanish Monarchy. Previous to this, in the reign of King Alfonso III., Navarre, always rebellious, had shaken off the Asturian yoke.

Alfonso entrusted its government to Sancho Inigo, Count of Bigorre, called by the Basque Arista, which means in their language *oak*, or *strong*. At his death the Navarrese proclaimed his son Garcia Sanches successor, an election which the King of Oviedo was powerless to oppose. Since that period Navarre remained an independent State, and therefore the victories and events which took place in that portion of the Peninsula cease to have any immediate reference to the origin of the Portuguese Monarchy.

The reign of Garcia in Leon was of short duration. At first he waged war against the Saracen party of Hafssun, devastating the district of Toledo; later on he dedicated himself to the rebuilding of the frontier towns of his wide dominions, such as Osma, Coruña of Conde, and Gormaz. After only three years' reign he died, and was succeeded by his brother Ordoño.

Ordoño was of a brave and warlike spirit, and after three years of peace he recommenced the raids in ancient Lusitania, on both sides of the Tagus up to the Guadiana, spreading ruin and slaughter on all sides. The inhabitants of Merida, terrified by the ferocity of the Christian king, offered him large sums of money to pacify him. Ordoño accepted them, conscious of the difficulty of conquering the fortified

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places of that large town, and returned to Leon loaded with spoils, and carrying terror wherever he passed. He soon after invaded the Mussalman territories, reducing Salamanca to ashes.

The forces of the Mussalmans were then directed against the King of Navarre, whose independence, no doubt, was acknowledged by Leon and Asturias, as we find Ordoño combating in Junquera side by side with the Navarrese prince. The Christian camp was broken up, with great loss of life, and Ordoño, with the remnants of his army, fled towards Leon, forsaking the King of Navarre, who took refuge within the solid walls of Pampeluna. The Saracens, inebriated by these victories, passed the Pyrenees, and, skirting the suburbs of Tolosa, returned to Spain. The losses they sustained, particularly in the defiles of the Sierras, forced the Ameer to retreat to his capital.

While the Saracens were thus invading the South of France, Ordoño, adding fresh troops to the remnants of his army, effected an entry into the interior of Mohammedan Spain, penetrating to the eastern districts of Andalusia. The martial character of the King of Leon, and the absence of his conquering army in Junquera, renders this event probable, although no mention is found in Arab historians. Ordoño died in 923, in Zamora, and was buried in the Cathedral of Leon.

Although the King left four sons, his brother Fruela was elected King. Fruela II. reigned scarcely one year. Alfonso, son of Ordoño, succeeded to the throne of his father, notwithstanding that Fruela left three sons. Alfonso IV. was of a peaceful disposition and of a religious nature. Barely had he reigned six years when he summoned his brother Ramiro, who was governing the district now called Bierzo, to come to the Court, and, with the consent of the nobles of Zamora, he abdicated in his favour, and then retired to the monastery of St. Facundo, or Sahagun. Ramiro was a turbulent, martial character, and on ascending the throne at once began preparing to renew the war against the Saracens. An event occurred, however, which altered his designs.

Alfonso IV., who had retired to the monastery, now quitted Sahagun, proceeded to Leon, and acclaimed himself again King. Ramiro, who was still in Zamora, at once started to the capital. He fought day and night until he effected an entrance, took his brother prisoner, loaded him with chains, and cast him into a dungeon.

The three sons of Fruela took the part of the captive, and tried to

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capture Ramiro by a snare. As soon as he heard of this plot he arrested them, and cast them into the same prison with Alfonso IV., ordering their eyes to be plucked out. In this miserable state Alfonso survived two years, leaving a son called Ordoño, better known by the epithet of "the Bad."

Ramiro II. started an invasion into Arab Spain, which penetrated as far as Madrid, and some say Talavera, which served as a stronghold on the frontiers to protect the Christians from entering Toledo. The town was entered into, sacked, and its inhabitants were either killed or made captives, and the place remained desolate. From thence Ramiro returned to Leon. The Saracens were unable to oppose his passage. Then the Saracens attacked the province of Castille with a powerful army. Count Fernando Gonçalves, who was then Governor, besought the aid of Ramiro, who quickly arrived. If we credit Arab narratives, the Mussalmans had time meanwhile to devastate the Christian territories as far as Galicia. However, on their passing the Douro, near Osma, they were met by Ramiro, but the encounter did not decide the victory, although the battle of Osma left the forces on both sides greatly broken up, as they had to agree to a truce of peace for the term of three years, at the expiration of which hostilities recommenced more vigorously than ever.

At this period Umeyyah Ibn Isak Abu Yahya was Kayid of Santarem, and his brother Mohammed Wazir, or Councillor, at the Court of Cordova. The Caliph had reasons to be displeased with Mohammed, and put him to death. The Kayid of Santarem, indignant at this act, leagued himself to Ramiro along with a great number of Saracen knights, and offered their submission, delivering up to him the castles of the Gharb dependent on him. By this alliance the King of Leon was enabled to devastate ancient Lusitania, taking the route from Badajoz to Merida, and returning by the neighbourhood of Lisbon, from whence he proceeded towards Galicia loaded with spoils. It appears his progress was somewhat disturbed by the enemies who attempted a raid beyond the Douro.

As soon as the Caliph of Cordova, Abdu-r-rahman, knew of the devastations which the Leonese King had effected, he resolved to employ all his forces against the Christians, and endeavour to annihilate their power, which was daily becoming more formidable against Islamism.

By command of the Caliph all the Walis and Kayids with their

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respective troops marched towards Salamanca, whence Abdu-r-rahman in person took the command of the forces, which numbered over one hundred thousand men. This numerous army crossed the frontiers of the enemy, and after desolating the plains, and levelling to the ground several castles, camped around the walls of Zamora.

Ramiro II., on his side, had collected together in Burgos all the forces of Leon, Asturias, Galicia, and Castille. Garcia, the King of Navarre, came down to succour him, and Abu Yahya likewise assisted him with a large body of Mussalman cavalry. In this way the Christian army was rendered powerful enough to compete with that of the Caliph. Then the Christian army marched against the Caliph.

Abdu-r-rahman quitted Zamora, leaving twenty thousand men to guard it, and proceeded with eighty thousand to meet the enemy on the margins of Pisuerga, close to Simancas. The two armies advanced and met, but the first encounter was a short one. For two days the Saracen and the Christian armies remained passive, as though appalled by the importance of the undertaking, and which was further heightened by an eclipse of the sun. On the third day the cavalry of the Gharb opened the battle, and Ramiro advanced with his squadron. The engagement continued till night, with equal fury and bravery on both sides, and with varied success. At nightfall the battlefield was strewn with the dead and broken arms, yet the victory was undecided. The Arab chroniclers say the losses sustained on the Mussalman side were greater than on that of the King of Leon, and that, had the battle been renewed on the following day, the Christians would certainly have won. However, acting on the advice of Abu Yahya, the King retired during the night. No doubt, as we are led to believe, Yahya had already repented of helping the enemies of the Koran to spill the blood of the Mussalmans, and for this reason advised the King to retire.

The Saracens did not attempt to persecute the Leonese army, but returned to the camp of Zamora. There is so much confusion in the narrative of the Arab historians that does not tally with the Christian chroniclers that it is impossible to assert with truth the particular successes which followed the battle of Simancas. What appears probable is, that the Saracens took possession of Zamora, because Abdu-r-rahman retired to Salamanca, appointing a governor and garrisoning Zamora; but he later on allowed this important town to

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fall into the hands of the Leonese, who there captured the Kayid of Santarem, Abu Yahya, the prime mover of all the war, and who in this short space of time had joined his co-religionists.

In that same year (939) Ramiro passed the Douro to consolidate the Christian dominion on the territories which had been the scene of the preceding engagement.

Salamanca, Ledesma, Peñaranda, Gormaz, Osma, and many other places on the frontiers had been ruined and deserted. These he rebuilt, and garrisoned their forts.

From this date commenced the real aggrandisement of the Counts of Castille, wherein principally the above towns were situated, an aggrandisement which caused many perturbations in Christian Spain, and which quickly roused up the rebellions of the Counts Fernando Gonçalves and Diogo Nunes, whom Ramiro brought to submission, and after a period of imprisonment forgave them.

Ramiro sent envoys to Cordova in 944 to make terms of peace with the Caliph, and the latter sent also his Minister, or Wazir, Ahmed Ibn Said, to Leon with the same object. The treaty of peace made at the time continued in force until 949, the last year of the reign of Ramiro, when he made an entry as far as Ebora, now called Talavera, but which he was unable to take, although in its immediate neighbourhood he broke up a body of Saracens after much bloodshed and took many captives. This attempt was replied to by Abdu-r-rahman, who effected a raid on Christian territory, while Ramiro II., bowed down by his last grievous illness, was dying in Leon on the first days of the year 950, having abdicated in favour of his eldest son Ordoño III.

Scarcely had Ordoño III. ascended the throne than his brother Sancho disputed the possession. He was at the time Governor or Count of Burgos, and a youthful warrior. The turbulent Count of Castille, Fernando Gonçalves, favoured his party, and both proceeded to Leon with their respective armies; but Ordoño was forewarned, and the allies were compelled to give up the attempt. The revenge of Ordoño was reduced to repudiating his wife Urraca, daughter of the Count of Castille, who later on wedded Ordoño the Bad.

This attempt of Sancho was repeated in Galicia, but the King of Leon at once went with a large army against the rebels, who were speedily put down. Ordoño then proceeded to effect an entry into the lands of the infidels. He passed the Douro and descended along the Mussalman territory, now called Beira and Estremadura, to the mouth

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of the Tagus, took Lisbon, sacked it, and returned to Leon rich in spoils and captives.

Meanwhile the Saracens were entering Castille, causing great damage. Ordoño III., after governing five years and a few months, died, and was succeeded by his brother Sancho, who coveted the crown. Sancho I. reigned but a short time in peace. He was called Sancho the Fat on account of his obesity. Ordoño, son of Alfonso IV., who lived a retired life in Leon, leagued himself to the ever-rebellious Fernando Gonçalves, whose daughter, forsaken by the King Ordoño III., he had taken to wife, and rebelled against his brother. Assisted by the father-in-law, he was able to expel him from the throne. Sancho took refuge in Navarre, and from thence went to Cordova to seek protection from the enemy of his father, the illustrious Abdu-r-rahman.

He did not seek or trust in vain the generosity of the famous Caliph. The Mussalman Prince accorded him the needful succour to regain his States. At the head of a Saracen army Sancho I. re-entered his capital, from whence Ordoño the Bad fled, trusting to defend himself in the mountains of Asturias. Sancho did not allow him any repose until he expelled him out of his territories. Ordoño was therefore compelled to take refuge among the Saracens, where he, no doubt, ended his days in obscurity, since no further mention is made of him by historians.

From the epoch of the restoration of Sancho I. to the throne in 961 to the second year of the Caliphate of Al-hakem, son and successor of Abdu-r-rahman III., peace subsisted among the Christians and Saracens. The raids of Fernando Gonçalves along Mussalman Spain enkindled anew the war. Al-hakem entered Castille, and levelled to the ground Gormaz. He took possession of various other towns, and laid Zamora in a state of siege, then devastating it, returned to Cordova.

Probably the war was continued by the generals of the Caliph, because in the year 965 Sancho I. sent envoys from the frontier Counts of Castille to offer terms of peace. These messages proved that the combats were effected by Fernando Gonçalves, without the approbation of the Leonese king, who remained only a spectator to these strifes. Al-hakem acceded to the prayer of Sancho, and peace was established, and continued until the termination of the government of this prince.

Various Counts of Galicia, conjointly with the Bishop of Compos-

tella, effected a rising, which compelled Sancho I. to punish with a firm hand that province. Gonsalo Sanches, one of the rebel leaders, being unable to resist, pretended to yield, but in a conference held with the King of Leon, was bidden to poison him. Thus ended the reign of Sancho I., towards the end of the year 967. His son Ramiro, aged five years, was chosen to succeed his father, under the regency of his aunt Elvira.

Some minor civil disturbances and the landing of Norman pirates in Galicia were the most notable events of the regency of Elvira. Fernando Gonçalves died in 970, and during the long period he held the government of Burgos, the capital of Castille, he scarcely ever laid aside his arms, being always engaged in some encounter with the Saracens, or instigating rebellions against the kings of Leon. Al-hakem died in Cordova, and his son Hixam, as we have seen, inherited the throne under the regency of his mother, Sobha, who entrusted the reins of the government to Almansor.

The first attempt of the Hajib against the Christians proved a long *algara*, or steady raid, in Galicia, and repeated later on in combats with the Christian troops of Galicia and Castille. The civil discords of Gothic Spain afforded every opportunity to the Saracens to become victorious. Ramiro III. on attaining his majority gave proofs of being self-willed, restless, and proud, which quickly alienated the good-will of the nobles and the public.

At an advantageous moment Bermudo, grandson of Fruela II., assisted by various Counts of Galicia, and even those of Leon and Castille, proclaimed himself king in Compostella. Ramiro, at the head of an army, at once marched against him, and they met near Monteroso, where the two rivals fought a desperate battle (but with no definite success) lasting the whole day, after which Ramiro returned to Leon, and Bermudo to Compostella.

At this epoch Almansor was scouring the frontiers of Galicia. Bermudo seems to have sought an alliance with him, and induced him to attack the territories of his adversary. The Hajib penetrated to the margins of Ezla, which flows into the Douro near Zamora. Ramiro went out to meet him, and one day, when the Saracens were reposing in their camps, he unexpectedly assailed them with such fury that Almansor was nearly defeated; but the energy of his character saved utter ruin, since the Leonese, at first victorious, at length had to retire to their coasts.

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The Hajib followed them up to Leon, and would have taken the capital had not suddenly a terrible snow and hail storm broken out over them, and, according to the testimony of both Christian and Arab writers, prevented them from continuing the combat at the moment when the Saracens were already cleaving with their lances the gates of the city. Fearing the severity of the winter which had thus far favoured the Leonese, Almansor retired to Cordova.

The civil wars among the Christians of Galicia and Leon continued for two years, and were only interrupted by the second entry of Almansor in the spring of 984 into Leon, which he came to besiege, and resolved to take at any cost, and thus secure the very centre of the enemy's dominion.

Ramiro, it appears, had died, and Bermudo, who was reigning, fled towards the Asturias, taking with him the most precious objects of Leon and Astorga.

While the successor of Pelagio was forsaking the capital of the monarchy to the fury of the infidels, the Alcaide, or captain of the city, was preparing to offer a stubborn resistence. In truth, the Saracens were beaten with enormous loss during successive combats to take the town; but Almansor, following out his first resolve, would not desist until he took the stronghold by scaling the walls. He sacked the town, put to death the captives and inhabitants, and then ordered the walls and castle to be levelled to the ground. The capture of Astorga was followed by that of Leon, notwithstanding the brave resistance of its defenders. Almansor wished to follow up his victories by himself entering into the rugged Asturias, but repulsed from the castles of Luna, Alva, and Gordon, he retired to Cordova, satisfied with leaving in ruins some of the most notable towns on the enemy's land.

The fiercely disputed crown of Christian Spain on the south at length was carried by Bermudo II. without a rival, but converted into a crown of thorns. The Saracens were scouring victoriously through Leon, Castille, and Galicia, devastating the latter to the very sea-shore, and only stopping their course on the north by the insuperable barriers afforded them by the rugged Sierras, or Mountains of the Asturias. The reign of Bermudo, surnamed the Gouty, was a continued agony, as year by year he witnessed the infidels desolating the territories, and the most beautiful cities of his dominions wrecked. The terrible Hajib seemed to have sworn to extinguish the Christian name in the Peninsula. He had conquered on the north the Catalans and the Navarrese,

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and he was reducing the southern States to their last extremity. During his long regency in the name of Hixam, he turned into a wilderness Castille, by taking and ruining the most notable towns; and he did likewise in Galicia, whose frontiers, since the invasion of Ordoño III. in ancient Lusitania, had extended as far as the Mondego.

In the year 987, Coimbra, the Medina Coimbra of the Arabs, fell into the power of Almansor, who destroyed it, and after seven years of ruin repeopled it with Saracens. Civil wars meanwhile were disturbing the towns, and multiplied evils to Spanish Christianity. Sancho Garces, son of the Count of Castille, Garcia Fernandes, was taking arms against his father, and Gonsalo Menendes rose up in Galicia against the authority of Bermudo. In the midst of these revolts the Hajib entered into Castille, and after two days of furious battle completely destroyed the united armies of Count Garcia Fernandes and of the King of Navarre, who came to his aid: the dying Count fell into the hands of the Saracens, and in spite of every care they were unable to save his life.

Almansor continued his victorious march to the Province of Leon, where he broke up the Leonese troops; and the Saracen army returned to Cordova for the winter.

About the year 996, Bermudo, harassed by domestic strifes, and his dominions constantly assailed by the indomitable Hajib, endeavoured to establish peace with Almansor, who in reality was master in Cordova; but although he at first appeared to agree to the terms, nothing was effected, and in 997 hostilities recommenced. A *ghaswat*, or holy expedition, as the Arabs denominated the wars against the Christians, was started by sea and land, intending to destroy Compostella, and extending from the south to the north of Galicia. This project was secretly supported by the various Counts unfriendly to Bermudo. While the latter was traversing the territory of the modern Provinces of Castillian Estremadura, Salamanca, and Alta Beira, where his Christian allies joined him, a fleet from the Alcacer (Al-kassr Abu Danés) was porting in the mouth of the Douro to convey near Oporto (Bortkal, Portucale) more troops and ammunitions of war. All the forces of the Hajib joined him here, and with them he crossed the part of ancient Galicia which is now called Entre Douro and Minho, and overcoming every obstacle which men and the ruggedness of the mountains had placed before him, he reached the walls of Compostella.

The city was unprotected by the inhabitants, and the Saracens

entered into it without meeting any resistance. They broke down the walls, levelled the Castle, and the celebrated Church of Santiago, called by the Arabs the Kaaba of the Nazarene, as though to say the Temple by excellence of the Christians, as Mecca was of the Mussalmans. From thence he advanced towards Coruna, where, if we credit the Arab historian Al-makkari, the Saracens had never yet reached. The fatigued state of the cavalry prevented the Hajib from advancing farther north, but he returned to the Province of Leon, which he newly assailed, and retired to Cordova, after making large presents to the Christian Counts who had assisted him, and whose territories he had carefully respected.

In the midst of these wars the century came to an end, as well as the reign of Bermudo II., who died in 999. The brilliant star which had guided the steps of Pelagio, of the first three Alfonsos, and of Ramiro II. was nearly obscured during the long reign of Bermudo II.

The eleventh century dawned with sad forebodings. Poverty, depopulation, and general depression were visible everywhere. Alfonso, the infant son of Bermudo, succeeded to the throne, for the Goths had neglected to preserve their right of electing the king; and at the present moment an individual was needed at once diplomatic and military, competent to control civil discords, save the Leonese monarchy, and in some way put down with a strong hand the inroads of the terrible Hajib of Cordova.

Hence under melancholy auspices was the youthful Alfonso V. acclaimed king in Leon, which the Christians had begun to rebuild. Fortunately, the helm of public affairs was taken by Menendo Gonsalves, the Count of Galicia, and by Sancho Garcez, Count of Castille, uncle to the king, and both illustrious knights. The widow of Bermudo, Geloira, or Elvira, a high-spirited woman, exercised a great influence over the administration of the nation, and at the Councils of State she presided jointly with the two Counts.

The war pursued in Africa had withdrawn Almansor for a time, and the Christians meanwhile were able to lay aside their arms. Nevertheless, in the year 1000 he attempted an incursion to Castille, which was prevented by Sancho Garcez, and he then passed on to the part of ancient Lusitania which was united to Galicia, and took the Castles of Aguiar and Montemor. It was not until 1002 that the Hajib determined to reduce definitely Castille to the Mussalman dominion.

These preparations on the part of the Saracens filled the Christians with terror. The tutors and councillors of Alfonso V. were making arrangements to meet the strife. Sancho, the King of Navarre, who was surnamed *Quadrimano* from his expedience and activity, came with the forces of Navarre and from the South of France, and likewise the independent Basques joined themselves to the troops of Leon, Galicia, and Castille. The fields of Lorca witnessed for the first time the meeting of those men who professed the same creed, yet had been severed by years of continual political strifes and passions.

The Saracens advanced, following the course of the Douro to the east, and devastating every place as they passed. Near the spot called by Arab historians Kalat-al-nosor, or the Pinnacle of the Vulture, they suddenly came upon the Christian camp, whose numbers filled with astonishment the Mussalmans. A slight skirmish was the result, but at daydawn the battle commenced. The encounter was a terrible one, and lasted the whole day, yet at nightfall neither army had retreated a single step. Darkness put an end to the slaughter, but the victory was undecided. During that night Almansor, finding that the best of his officers and knights had perished, lost courage to proceed with the battle, and ordered what remained of his army to cross the Douro. The Christians, who had experienced equal losses, did not even attempt to pursue the fugitives. The Hajib could not outlive this dishonour. Grief, age, and the wounds he had received, all conspired together, and he expired ere he had scarcely crossed the frontiers of Castille. Abdu-l-malek Al-modhaffer, the son of Almansor, was appointed Hajib.

In the spring of 1003 the new Hajib opened the campaign by attacking Catalonia, and in the autumn he assailed the Leonese monarchy, and captured the city of Leon, which was beginning to be restored, and which he destroyed anew. During the year 1005 these raids ceased on both sides, and a suspension of hostilities was arranged, which lasted until 1007, when Abdu-l-malek entered into Castille, and from thence to Galicia, where he carried everything before him by fire and the sword. The lands remained desolated, and the Castles of Osma and Gormaz levelled to the ground. Following the course of the Douro, the Hajib returned to Cordova laden with spoils.

But the advantages obtained by the Saracens were speedily revenged. In the following year Al-modhaffer advanced to Galicia with a powerful army, whose principal strength consisted of a picked cavalry corps. The Christians came out to meet them, and the combat

was long and bravely sustained, but the Hajib lost, and returned to Cordova, where he died.

The death of Abdu-l-malek produced serious disturbances, and civil wars followed. In the combats which deluged with blood the *plazas* of proud Cordova, the African troops composing the bodyguards of the Caliph Hixam were averse to Mohammed Ibn Hixam, who had taken possession of the Caliphate, and they were forced to quit the capital, driven by the Spanish Mussalmans, and retire to the frontiers of Castille. Suleyman Ibn Al-hakem was their commander, and he proposed to the Castillian Count to deliver up to him certain castles in his possession on the frontiers if he would assist him against Mohammed. The Count accepted his proposal, with what result is seen elsewhere.

Sancho Garcez in this manner obtained from Suleyman some places as a remuneration for past services, to which were soon added San Estevan, Osma, and Clunia, serving meanwhile the adversaries of the Africans. In this way, taking advantage of circumstances, the untiring spirit of the Count of Castille was able to secure during his lifetime the integrity of the Castillian territories restored and almost independent.

It was between the years 1012 and 1016 that discords arose between Alfonso V., who was barely twenty years of age, and his uncle Sancho Garcez; and these discords continued to 1021, when the death of the Count took place. He left an infant son, Garcia Sancho, as his successor. It appears Alfonso V. did not take advantage of the minority of Garcia to annihilate the importance of the Castillian Counts, because we find that his only son Bermudo married Urraca, a younger sister of the young Count, and the latter married Sancha, sister of Bermudo.

Ancient records afford us but a vague description of the wars of Alfonso V. with the Saracens, and the great victories achieved by this prince; but it is certain that he passed the Douro, and proceeding towards the north of the Gharb, besieged Viseu, which had probably remained in the possession of the Mussalmans from the time of Almansor. He perished during this siege in the prime of life. It appears that, being a very hot summer's day, he cast off his coat of mail, and was simply clothed in a cool linen tunic. The king was riding round the walls, when a well-directed arrow shot from the turret tower wounded him mortally, and he fell from his horse. He

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was taken to his tent, but Alfonso V. ceased to live shortly after. He was in his thirtieth year.

Bermudo III., son of the late King Alfonso V., ascended the throne. The nobles of Castille, probably the tutors of Garcia, sent envoys to him with proposals of marriage between the youthful Count and the Infanta Sancha, and begging the concession of using or assuming the title of king. It appears Bermudo consented to this, because we find soon after that the nobles of Burgos went to Leon with their ward to effect the marriage which was to terminate the discords between the king and his too powerful vassal.

Bermudo, meanwhile, had left for Oviedo. When the Castillians reached to Leon and found the king gone, they were proceeding on to the city of Oviedo to confer with him, when an unforeseen event prevented them from doing so. The brothers Vigilas, or Velas, who fostered deep hatred against the family of Count Sancho Garcez, collected together a large army of soldiers near Asturias, and, marching all night, entered Leon at daybreak, where, meeting the youthful Count, they assassinated him and many of the Castillians and Leonese who attempted to save him. Quitting the city, they proceeded to the frontiers of Castille, and took refuge in Monzon, a stronghold erected on a cliff, which overlooked the river of Carrion.

The aged King of Navarre, Sancho, he who had married the eldest sister of Garcia, judged it his duty to succeed him and revenge his death. He entered Castille with an army, and besieged Monzon, which he took possession of, putting to death its defenders, and ordered Velas, whom he there captured, to be burnt alive. He then proceeded to Burgos, and acclaimed himself the successor of Garcia Sanchez in union with Castille and Navarre, thus forming one of the most powerful monarchies of Christian Spain. Nevertheless, peace was but of short duration between Leon and Navarre. The project of rebuilding Palencia, which the Navarrese intended to do, as it was situated within the limits of the county of Castille, first broke the peace. Bermudo opposed this as being within the limits of the Leonese district. Sancho, who was a hale, martial old man, at once penetrated into the dominions of his adversary, and took possession of the whole tract between the rivers Cea and Pisuerga.

Bermudo was at the time in Galicia, engaged in putting down tumults in that ever-restless province, and the enemy was enabled to cross the Cea and run along the fields of Leon. The Leonese, however,

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took up arms, and Bermudo came to their aid with an army of Galicians. The two kings made terms of peace on condition that Ferdinand, the second son of the King of Navarre, should wed Sancha, the promised wife of the dead Garcia, and Bermudo to yield up the territory conquered by the Navarrese between Cea and Pisuerga. These events, which rendered Sancho the most powerful among the Christian princes of Spain, took place in the year 1032, but his ambition would allow him no peace. We find him in the year 1034 entering Leon in a hostile manner, under what pretext is not known; but he subjugated the whole of the country as far as the frontiers of Galicia, and perchance part of it, and these conquests he retained to the date of his death in the following year. He died in the seventieth year of his age, and sixty-fifth of his accession.

The death of Sancho engendered civil wars. His vast States had been divided among his children. These States included modern Navarre, both Spanish and French; the county of Aragon, then not so extensive as the present province; and Castille—that is to say, two-thirds of the Spanish territory released from the Saracen yoke. Navarre was given to his eldest son, called Garcia, who at the time was away in Italy. Aragon fell to Ramiro, and the new kingdom of Castille, with the portion of Leon situated between Cea and Pisuerga, to Ferdinand, because Bermudo had taken possession of the other side. Ramiro, whose portion was the smallest, owing to being, it is said, an illegitimate son, took advantage of Garcia's absence to ally himself to the Walis of Zaragoza, Huesca, and Tudela, and then entered the States of his brother with the intention of conquering them. Garcia, on receiving the news of his father's death, at once returned to Spain, and when he learnt of this attempt on the part of his brother, sallied out to encounter him with all the forces he could muster. Fortune proved adverse to Ramiro, who was thus pursued by his brother, and barely able to escape, leaving behind many Saracen and Aragonese troops. Ramiro owned himself vanquished, and besought peace, which was granted to him, retaining the small portion of the paternal inheritance.

In a short space of time after the death of Sancho of Navarre, Bermudo recovered the province of Leon, due, it appears, to the spontaneous act of the counts and governors of the castles, without requiring to conquer them. Bermudo had now attained to manhood. He was a high-spirited youth, brave, and a lover of justice. His long minority had necessarily engendered many abuses. The first year of

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his government he spent in remedying past evils, and in the next one (1037) he resolved to re-establish the former limits of the Leonese territory, and invade the districts between Cea and Pisuerga, which he had been compelled to yield up. With an army of Galicians and Leonese he entered that district. His cousin, Ferdinand, King of Castille, finding that his forces were inferior, besought the aid of Garcia, who immediately came down from Navarre to assist him. The two brothers sallied out to meet the invader near the river Carrion. A battle ensued, which, it is said, was the best fought ever witnessed in Spain. Many feats of arms took place, and Bermudo particularly distinguished himself by his bravery and skill. Breaking through the Navarrese and Castillian wings, the audacious son of Alfonso fell into the power of the King of Castille, at whose hands he perished, if we credit the inscription over the sepulchre of Bermudo in the Cathedral of Leon, or that of Garcia of Navarre, recorded by the ancient chroniclers.

The victorious Ferdinand at once marched against the capital, whose inhabitants attempted to resist him. By the right of succession, which by degrees had taken the place of election practised by the Visigoths, the crown belonged to Ferdinand of Castille by his mother Sancha, sister and heiress of Bermudo, the latter having died childless. The inhabitants of Leon, therefore, apprehending that the result of this strife would end in having to acknowledge as their king the Prince of Castille, yielded to the conqueror, and Ferdinand was acclaimed King of Léon and Castille.

The new monarch was indeed worthy of the double crown. His character and intelligence during epochs of peace and war invested him in course of time with the surname of "the Great." During the first years he made it his duty to repress the constant rebellions of the Spanish nobles, and established peace, strengthened the laws of the country, and promulgated new ones. The monarchy of Leon and Castille enjoyed exterior peace up to the year 1050 with the Christian princes of Eastern Spain, and with the Saracens, whose empire, ever a prey to discords, was falling into complete anarchy.

Garcia, however, now stepped forward with his ambition to interrupt this calm and prosperous state. He had established his Court in Naxera and was in ill-health. His brother Ferdinand I., through fraternal affection, went to visit him; but he had barely arrived than Garcia ordered him to be taken prisoner. Apprised in time of this

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treacherous act, the Castillian king was able to save himself. Soon after this occurrence Ferdinand was taken ill, and, perchance to disarm suspicions, proceeded to visit him in his turn. Ferdinand did not lose this opportunity of revenging himself. The King of Navarre was arrested, and placed in the Castle of Cea. His captivity was of short duration because, by means of bribing his guards, he effected his escape, and took refuge in his States.

War was rendered inevitable after this proceeding. Garcia commenced furious attacks on Castille, destroying all by fire and sword. His brother then mustered together a large army, but before proceeding against him he sent envoys with proposals of peace, and offered to condone the past.

The King of Navarre turned a deaf ear to all proposals, and after ill-treating the envoys, dismissed them with terrible threats, and he immediately proceeded to Burgos.

The King of Leon and Castille came out to meet him a few leagues from the city, and tried once more to avoid a combat. But the King of Navarre, trusting to the prowess of his army, the large number of paid Saracen troops, and to his own individual skill and bravery for which he was renowned, refused all conciliation. At daybreak the two armies encountered each other with equal fury; but a small party of picked knights, which the Leonese king had placed in ambush in a neighbouring wood, now cast themselves, when the battle was at its highest, with lowered lances on to the wing where Garcia was fighting, and clearing all before them, reached the king, wounded him, and he fell dead, or nearly so, from his horse. As soon as this event became known, the Navarrese deserted the field, pursued by their adversaries; but Ferdinand bade them respect the lives and liberty of the Christians, yet to take prisoners, or put to death without mercy, the Saracens who were allied to Garcia. After this he sought for the dead body of his brother, and gave him an honoured burial in the Cathedral of the city.

The forbearance of Ferdinand I. after the victory, which, even in our days, is worthy of admiration, is rendered far more praiseworthy when we take into account the rudeness and the excessive ambition of those times. The crown of Navarre lay at his feet, yet he did not place it on his head, because we find Sancho, the eldest son of Garcia, succeeding his father to the throne, which he filled for many years.

These events took place about the end of 1054. In the following year Ferdinand I., who was in possession of the greater and richer

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portion of Christian Spain, beheld the kingdom of Cordova a prey to long and fierce civil wars, which were dismembering it into as many states as there were districts. He resolved to take advantage of this juncture to extend his own dominions at the costof the sectaries of the Koran. He therefore crossed the Douro near Zamora, and proceeded towards the west, entering into the modern province of Beira, whose castles had so often been lost and regained alternately by Christians and Saracens. The Castle of Seia (Sena) was the first he took, ravaging its outskirts, and reducing all other less important castles.

He continued this war each succeeding spring, and successively conquered (1057) Viseu, Lamego, Tarouca, and other strongholds. Changing afterwards the theatre of war to the frontiers of Castille, he continued for years a series of conquests and triumphs, until he laid siege to Alcalá of Henares, situated in the interior of Arab Spain, not far from Toledo.

Al-mamon, the Ameer of Toledo, was besought by the inhabitants of Alcalá to save them. He elected to accomplish it by means of supplications and large bounties rather than at the price of blood. Satisfied with the gifts and the humiliation of Al-mamon, Ferdinand left the Saracens to enjoy peace for a time, and returned to Zamora, which he completely restored the following year.

His martial, restless character would not permit him to lay aside his arms for any length of time. Effecting a new entry towards the west, he reached to the city of Coimbra, the most important town on the Mussalman frontiers, and besieged it.

Coimbra was a stronghold and well garrisoned, and the siege lasted six months. At length the Saracens were forced to surrender, either from want of provisions or because the state of their walls after these months of continued warfare were not in a condition to warrant a more lengthened defence, and in this way Coimbra fell into the power of the Christians, never more to leave it.

These events took place in 1064.* During the subsequent year

* The epoch of the taking of Coimbra by Ferdinand the Great is one of the most disputed chronological events in the history of Spain. The opinion of Fr. Henrique Flores, who assigns this conquest to the year 1058, is at the present day most generally received, but those who say it took place in the year 1064 appear to us to have better foundation, and therefore we prefer to follow it. Those who desire further to investigate this matter may consult "España Sagrada," T. xiv., p. 90, and foll.; "Ribeiro Diss. Chron.," T. i., p. 1, and foll.; "St. Bonaventure Hist. Chron. and Crit. d'Alcobaça," p. 154, and foll.

Ferdinand I. reached to the extreme south of Mussalman Spain, that is to say, Valencia, where none of his predecessors had ever attempted. This incursion, from its extraordinary undertaking, would be difficult to credit were it not referred to by both Christian and Arab historians.

Ever since Al-mamon, the Ameer of Toledo, had established peaceful relations with the King of Leon and Castille at the siege of Alcalá, he had always retained his powerful alliance with him. In the midst of the civil wars which were raging in Mussalman Spain, he was called away to war against the Ameer of Valencia, and he besought aid from Ferdinand the Great. The invasion of the territory of Valencia by Al-mamon took place, according to Arab historians, in this year. These affirm that the succour sought for was in reality afforded to him, and the conquest of Al-mamon was the same as the victories ascribed by Christian chroniclers to the Leonese king when the Ameer of Valencia was expelled.

Before the wars of the Ameer of Toledo were concluded, Ferdinand, feeling very unwell, returned to Leon, where he grew worse, and died in December, 1065. Previous to his death he summoned a council to declare that each of his three sons and two daughters should inherit a portion of his vast States. To Sancho, the eldest son, he gave Castille, with the title of King; to Alfonso, the kingdoms of Leon and Asturias; and to Garcia, the province of Galicia, constituted as an independent kingdom.

His daughter Urraca he constituted Sovereign of Zamora, and Geloira, or Elvira, of Touro, with many other estates in the dominion of her brothers, and, what was of more importance, the seigniority of all the monasteries held under the patronage of the crown. The title of Queen was also continued to them, and very probably gave rise to that title being assumed by all the Infantas, or daughters of kings, a custom which we find in use during the first periods of the monarchy.

The three sons of Ferdinand, although dissatisfied more or less with their portions, yet lived in peace, due probably to the influence exercised by their mother, D. Sancha, whom historians depict as a model of virtue, urbanity, and good sense. After her death in 1067 the fire which smouldered beneath the ashes broke out into a flame, and under what pretext is unknown, but strifes commenced between Alfonso of Leon and Sancho of Castille. They made war against each other, and

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met near the river Pisuerga. The battle waged furiously with great losses, but at length Alfonso was defeated, and he returned to his capital, and hostilities were not renewed until the summer of 1071, a period of three years.

War was again declared, and the brothers met. When recounting this battle, the ancient chroniclers tell us that the forces of Alfonso were composed not only of Leonese troops, but of Galicians, which induces us to believe that Garcia was on the side of Leon and sent his aid.

The two armies met on the borders of Leon and Castille, by the shores of Carrion. The battle was more furious and obstinate than the former one. At the end of the day the Castillians broke up and fled, dragging Sancho along with them. Alfonso thus remained master of the fields of the King of Castille, and, satisfied with the success of the victory, forbade his army to pursue the fugitives.

But among the soldiers of Sancho there was a warrior who, already renowned for his singular prowess, now had kept his spirit clear in the midst of that melancholy stampede. This warrior was Rodrigo Didacide, or Ruy Dias, better known as the Cid, of whom so many legends are told.

Convinced that a sudden attack upon the unsuspecting conquerors might alter the fortune of that hapless undertaking, he persuaded the King of Castille to return at night, and at the break of day suddenly to throw themselves on the enemy, and win back the victory. The result proved the wisdom of that stratagem. Surprised, and only partly armed, the Leonese and the Galicians were easily defeated, and so completely were they punished that Alfonso himself fell into the hands of his brother, who captured him and sent him to Burgos; then, advancing with the conquering army, he took unresisting possession of Leon. The captive king was compelled to assume the monastic habit in the celebrated monastery of San Facundo, or Sahagun, to avoid a worse fate. After a time he was able to effect his escape, went to Toledo, and placed himself under the protection of Al-mamon, the former ally of his father.

While these strifes were taking place between the Castillians and Leonese, the States bequeathed by Ferdinand the Great to his third son were not enjoying tranquillity any more than those of his brothers. Garcia was reigning in Galicia, and over the territory which was already known by the name of Portugal, which comprehended all

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the part of the province south of the Minho and north of the Douro, likewise the district extending from the south of the Douro up to the Mondego, which had been conquered by the Saracens. Garcia was of a stern character, and preferred to govern rather by terror than by affection. Some of the Barons of Entre Douro and Minho, impatient under his yoke, rebelled, and, led by Count Nuno Menendes, were defeated between Brachara (Braga) and Cavado. An historian of the thirteenth century tells us that after this victory the King of Galicia became more tyrannical, and that Vernula, a favourite of the king, was assassinated by the nobles in presence of Garcia because he had informed against them, and that this event only redoubled his vengeance and the oppression of the Galicians and Portugalenses, who thereby became more greatly irritated against his rule. Sancho did not fail to take advantage of this state of affairs to wrench the crown from the younger brother, whom he was able to expel out of his kingdom without meeting scarcely any resistance. Garcia was accompanied by about three hundred knights only, and fled for refuge among the Saracens, and these later on favoured and assisted him to return to the district of Portugal, where he took possession of various castles. However, in one of the encounters with Sancho he was taken prisoner, loaded with chains, and cast into the Castle of Luna. The narratives of these events, which are repeated by the majority of modern historians, are deficient in accuracy, and involve some difficulties.

What appears certain, however, is, that if Garcia continued to govern Galicia and Portugal after the conquest of Leon by Sancho, it was acknowledged under the supremacy of his eldest brother.

In all these disputes Urraca had always taken the part of the King of Leon, and it was she who aided him to escape to Toledo.

Sancho took this pretext to deprive her of the seigniority of Zamora and besiege it. The inhabitants of Zamora attempted to defend it, notwithstanding the power of the King of Castille, and this they did so persistently that Sancho was unable to conquer them. The siege was continued, and the ambitious prince was resolutely determined to take the city at any cost, when an unforeseen event occurred which put an end to the strife. One day that Sancho was quietly riding outside the walls, and totally unprepared, a brave knight of Zamora, called Vellito Adaulfiz, or Bellido Arnulfes, rode out at full speed, lance in hand, and encountered the Castillian king, whom he cast down pierced from his horse, and swiftly fled behind the walls. This he did

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so quickly that no one was able to capture him. The wound proved a fatal one, and Sancho expired on the following day. The besiegers, who were composed of a heterogeneous mixture of Castillian, Leonese, and even Navarrese and Galician bodies, broke up in disorder after the death of Sancho and dispersed. Some discipline was maintained in the Castillian portion of the army, and these resisted the besieged, who had rushed out to pursue them, and were able to rescue the body of Sancho, which they conveyed with military honours to the Monastery of Onha, where he was interred.

These events took place about the year 1072. The unexpected death of Sancho completely changed the aspect of public affairs. Urraca hastened to beseech Alfonso to come and occupy the throne, which was undisputed, since the King of Castille had died childless.

After pledging peace and alliance with Al-mamon, his generous host, Alfonso proceeded to Zamora, where he was at once proclaimed, and acknowledged King by the Barons of Leon, and, according to some historians, by the Barons also of Galicia, and this appears to confirm the hypothesis that in the preceding reign the States of Garcia had fallen into a state of subjection to Sancho. If we credit the historians Lucas of Tuy and Rodrigo Ximenes, the Castillians exacted from him on oath that he had not been a party to the conspiracy to put his brother to death. As none of them dared to demand this oath from him, Ruy Dias de Bivar, or the Cid, stepped forward, and in the name of the Nobles of Castille exacted it. All these details may be only inventions to afford some historic foundation to the romances and poems of the Cid, which for a great length of time, and even down to the present day, are accepted by some as true narratives.

The date of the second reign of Alfonso VI. of that name in the series of Kings of Oviedo and Leon is laid to the commencement of the year 1073. It would seem that after he had regained his own lost crown and that of Castille he might have been content with his fortune, but it was not so. Garcia was reigning in Galicia, whither he had gone when he escaped from the Castle of Luna, and had barely ascended the throne than Alfonso VI., acting under the advice of his sister Urraca, deceitfully induced him to come to the Court, where he was cast into prison, from whence he was never released, although treated with every consideration. As neither of the provinces, Portugal and Galicia, refused to accept their new sovereign, Alfonso found himself in pacific possession of the whole inheritance of Ferdinand the

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Great, to which was added, three years later, Rioja and Biscay, which Sancho I. of Aragon yielded to him in exchange for being allowed to reign peacefully in Navarre, the greater part of which Sancho had taken possession of. It was not long before an opportunity offered itself to the powerful King of Leon, Castille, and Galicia to manifest his gratitude to the Mussalman Ameer who had so nobly befriended him in time of adversity.

Arab Spain was being torn asunder by the intestine wars which had arisen after the fall of the empire of the Beni-Umeyyas. The Ameer of Seville, who had obtained the dominion of the former capital of the Caliphs, invaded the States of Al-mamon. Without waiting for the Ameer to ask his aid, the Christian king marched to help Al-mamon. The Toledan and Leonese armies then entered the territory of the Ameer, desolating and burning all before them. At length Al-mamon succeeded in taking possession of Seville, and his ally Alfonso returned to Leon loaded with spoils. The aged Ameer died soon after, leaving his son and successor, or, as some say, his grandson, under the protection of Alfonso VI., who about this period (1077) took possession of Coria, a city which probably was subject to the Ameer of Badajoz.

Mohammed Al-mutamed Ibn Abbad (or, as the Christian chroniclers say, Benabeth) was the Ameer of Seville at the time when the King of Leon had fought as an ally of Al-mamon. As soon as Alfonso retired, Ibn Abbad laid Seville under siege when the Ameer of Toledo died. His death compelled the Toledans to surrender, and the capital of Andalusia, as well as Cordova, which had been conquered by Al-mamon, once more returned to their former masters.

Ibn Abbad only feared the Leonese king because, as one of the tutors of the Toledan Ameer, he might proceed against him, and hinder the continuance of his victories.

Ibn Omar, the Wazir or Minister of Ibn Abbad, was one of the most renowned diplomatists among the Arabs. It was through his intervention that the Ameer of Seville endeavoured to divert Alfonso VI. from forming an alliance with the successor of Al-mamon; but the King of Leon knew how far to correspond to the trust reposed in him by the deceased Ameer, and if not actively defending his ward, at least by not siding with his enemies.

In those days Toledo, after Cordova, was the most renowned city of Mussalman Spain. It had been the ancient capital of the empire of the Visigoths, and its central position, commanding situation, and

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wonderful development since the family of Dhi-n-nun reigned there had rendered it of such importance that Alfonso VI. ardently desired to possess it in order to establish it the capital of the kingdom of Oviedo, Leon, and Castille. During the five years which elapsed from 1080 to the taking of Toledo in 1085, Alfonso VI. had directed all his efforts towards that end.

Before actually besieging Toledo, the King of Leon pursued a system of weakening the capital, by every year twice assailing the neighbourhood, and devastating the open places, and taking what strongholds might prove dangerous to his scheme if occupied by the Moors. After three years of these raids and assaults, Alfonso at length encamped outside the walls of Toledo.

Yahya, the successor of Al-mamon, had done nothing to repulse the invasion of the Christians. The youthful Ameer was more fond of amusement and pleasure than of the duties of government and the harassing cares of war. When driven to the last extremity he sent messengers to Omar Ibn Mohammed, the Ameer of Badajoz, beseeching his aid. Omar actually sent his son Alfadl, Wali of Merida, with some troops, but with no result, as Alfonso not only prevented him from entering the city, but broke up his army and forced him to flee. Within the walls of Toledo there lived a number of Jews, Musarabes or Mostarabes. To the latter, the sway of their co-religionists, the Leonese, if not desirable, was not actually objectionable or to be feared; and to the Jews, who were indifferent spectators of the strifes between the two creeds and races which differed from their own, their only grave apprehension was losing the vast treasures they possessed should the city be sacked.

Impelled by hunger, which was now beginning to be actually felt, they began to speak of making some treaty. Some of the Mussalmans, who still preserved the traditions of the prowess of their predecessors, wished Toledo to be defended to the utmost; but the greater number of Saracens, broken down in spirit from privation, and despairing of obtaining aid, took the side of the Jews and Mosarabes.

Constrained by these counsels and the general opinion, the Ameer sent envoys to Alfonso VI. to remind him of his alliance with the family of Dhi-n-nun, and the benefits received from Al-mamon; and likewise to propose that Yahya should acknowledge the supremacy of the Leonese crown by paying him an annual tribute.

Alfonso rejected every offer, his fixed object being to take possession

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of the city, and he would only give an armistice to the Moors. When the reply was known the people mutinied, and there was no help but to yield. The conditions were advantageous to the inhabitants: complete tolerance to Islamism; no increase of tributes; perfect liberty to all who wished to follow Yahya; the judges to remain, and the civil laws of the Mussalmans to continue in force.

The Ameer left for Valencia with the principal Saracens, and Alfonso, after arranging all things necessary to ensure his conquest, went to reside in the Alcasar of the Mussalman princes, and established his Court there, as better suited for prosecuting the war against Islamism, and for extending the Christian dominion, than Leon. It was in the spring of 1085 when the former capital of Visigothic Spain was released from the Saracen yoke. All the castles and towns dependent on the Ameership of Toledo, which had not yet been taken by Alfonso VI., soon followed the fate of the city, and all things were tending towards the restoration of Christianity, and the Cross was now held triumphantly aloft over more than one-half the Spanish territory, due to the many conquests of Alfonso VI.

The Ameer of Seville, he who had laboured so much to obtain an alliance with the King of Leon, and to induce him to put down the power of Dhi-n-nun, was now filled with grave apprehensions of the fatal consequences to Islamism which his policy would bring, in view of the many and important conquests which Alfonso VI. was effecting.

He sent messengers to beseech him to be content with the possession of Toledo, and to cease from further conquests, reminding him of the conditions of the treaties celebrated between them. The King of Leon understood, or pretended to understand, that the Ameer was reminding him of the obligation to help him against his enemies; and, without discontinuing the war, he sent him five hundred knights, who, after staying only three days in Seville, proceeded to Medina Sidonia, where Ibn Abbad was at the time.

Never had the Christian soldiers penetrated thus far. Wrath and dismay filled the heart of the Ameer at the unexpected and unsolicited aid which Alfonso had presumed to send to the very southern limits of Arab Spain. From that moment Ibn Abbad concentrated all his efforts to placing a barrier to the aggrandisement of the Leonese king.

A general peace was now effected with the various Mussalman Ameers. In an assembly held in Seville, in which they all assisted or sent their Wazirs and Kayids to represent them, it was deliberated upon

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the best means to withhold the imminent ruin of Islamism. A resolution was taken, although energetically opposed by the Wali of Malaga, to summon to Spain the Almoravides. Who they were, and their Ameer Yusuf, has been already told. Ibn Abbad had been an ally of Yusuf when the King of Leon favoured the Dhi-n-nuns of Toledo, and the fleets of the Ameer of Seville had assisted by sea the African prince to subjugate Tangiers. Ibn Abbad had often incited him to cross the strait in the conviction that, with the assistance of the African, he could take possession of all the Mohammedan States of Spain, although yielding a kind of subjection to the Almoravide prince.

Yusuf was at the time in Fez—which he had just conquered—when the messengers from the land of Andaluz arrived. He replied to them that he would not go over to Spain until they delivered up to him the Castle of Algesiras, which would enable him to enter and leave the Peninsula at will, and that, in the event of his condition being accepted, he would at once proceed to assist him against the king. Being in an extreme plight, Ibn Abbad acceded to the condition, as he was master of the solicited castle, and gave orders at once for the stronghold to be delivered up to Yusuf; and soon after a large army, led by Abu Yacub in person, passed over from Africa to Spain, and proceeded to Seville.

After curtailing the territory of the Ameer of Badajoz, Alfonso VI. marched to the east and besieged Zaragoza. He was there apprised of the coming of Yusuf. He immediately summoned to his aid Sancho, King of Aragon, raising a new army in Galicia, Asturias, Leon, and Castille, and many knights also from the South of France. With these he proceeded to Seville, where all were to be gathered together in order to form an army sufficiently powerful to oppose the multitude of Saracens, who threatened to take rough vengeance for the affronts received by the Mussalmans of Andaluz.

The scheme of Yusuf, it appears, was to march against Leon and Galicia, carrying on the war to the very centre of the Christian States, because, instead of proceeding against Toledo, he went from Seville to Badajoz.

It was near this city that Alfonso VI., marching with his whole army from the new capital, beheld the Almoravide prince coming out to meet him.

The two armies sighted each other on the river of Badajoz (Nahar-Hagir). The Mussalmans occupied on the left shore the fields and hills called by Arab writers Zalaka, and by Christian chroniclers

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Sagalias, or Sacralias. The army of Alfonso VI. encamped on the right shore. The terrible prospect of the battle which was inevitable made the two armies hesitate, for we find that for several days they did not commence, but spent it in messages and menaces. These two armies facing one another were perhaps the largest Spain had ever mustered together since the entry of the Saracens. At last Alfonso resolved to encounter the Saracens, and passed the river at daybreak of the 23rd of October, 1086. The scouts came upon a body of Almogauars of Africa, which had been sent against them, and were compelled to retire. It appears that when the war opened, some of the Christian troops had fled, probably awed by the enormous number of the enemy.

The King of Leon then divided the army into two bodies, and gave the signal to commence.

With the vanguard he fell on the Almoravides; and the second division, commanded by Sancho of Aragon, or by a general whom the Arab writers call Albar Hanax (perchance Alvaro Eanes), went against the Spanish Mussalmans, whose camp was separated from the African field by a hill.

The Spanish Saracens were commanded by the Ameer Ibn Abbad, whose prowess was well known, but he very shortly found himself alone with the warriors of Seville, because all the other Ameers had precipitately fled, owing to the furious onslaught of the Christians. On the other side, the vanguard of the Africans were commencing to retreat in view of the power of the brave Leonese king. Yusuf then felt the need of dealing a decisive blow, and at once sent the army of Berbers, and the Almoravide leaders of Zenete, Mossamedes, and Ghomera, to succour the army of the Ameer of Seville, who, forsaken by the other Ameers, was sustaining on that side the whole brunt of the battle.

Then Yusuf made a *détour* of the battle-field, and placed himself in front of the Lamtunites, the most celebrated of the Almoravide warriors, and to whose race he belonged, and they valiantly flung themselves upon the imperfectly guarded camp of the Christians. Resistance was impossible. At the moment when the defeat of the Mussalmans was imminent, Alfonso was made aware of the destruction of his camp, not only by the fugitives which were arriving, but by the flames which rose up from the conflagration. The desire of revenge proved his loss. Forsaking the battle-field, where he had nearly conquered, he marched against Yusuf, who received him with much bravery.

The Saracens, who were retreating, took heart on beholding the

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Christians retiring, and attacked them. The Mussalman troops who had fled to Badajoz now returned to fight. Alfonso did not desist so long as soldiers were left able to fight; but at length he fell wounded, and was compelled to retreat, followed by scarcely five hundred men, and pursued by the Almoravides. Night fell, and the King of Leon was thus able to save himself and his few followers, who otherwise would have perished. Thus ended one of the fiercest battles ever fought in Spain.

Had the brave, skilled Yusuf Abu Yacub continued to lead the victorious Saracens of the Peninsula, the Leonese monarchy would most probably have been utterly ruined.

Happily for Christianity, on the same night of the battle a messenger arrived in the camp of the Almoravides, bringing the news of the death in Ceuta of Abi Bekr, the eldest son of Yusuf, to whom he was deeply attached.

This event compelled Yusuf to depart immediately for Algesiras, and cross over to Africa, appointing as general of the Almoravide troops the Kayid Seyr Ibn Abi Bekr.

While Ibn Abi Bekr and the Ameer of Badajoz were scouring the borders of Galicia, ravaging the open places, and taking various castles and strongholds which Alfonso had formerly conquered, Ibn Abbad was entering the territories of Toledo, and continued successively to expel the Christians from the principal cities of that province, such as Cuenca, Huete, and Consuegra. Close to Lorca, however, some Christian Alcaides came out to meet them, and broke up their army. From this success the turn of fortune once more inclined towards Alfonso VI. Not far from Lorca, where the Ameer of Seville retreated after the defeat, the Christians had taken possession of a castle which was well fortified, and called by Arab historians Alid. It is said that the Alcaide of that castle was the famous Ruy Diaz, better known as the Cid. This stronghold, erected on an almost inaccessible mountain in the centre of the States of Ibn Abbad, was perched like an eagle's nest, and from thence the terrible Ruy Diaz used to descend on the fields of Murcia and Seville, and destroyed everything. On hearing of his feats, the King of Leon hastened to send him succour.

Not a day passed but the raids of the Knights of Alid left their sad vestiges on the adjoining lands; and at times these incursions were continued as far as the territory of Valencia.

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The Ameer of Seville, wearied out by so many incursions, and without sufficient forces to repel them, appealed to Yusuf, who, after he had arranged his affairs in the Moghreb, returned to Spain in the summer of 1088.

Probably Yusuf depended on the troops he had left, and on those of Andalusia, for he proceeded towards Lorca with only a small army. He then summoned the Spanish Ameers to a ghaswat (holy war), but the greater number did not respond. Hence, with his small forces, he unsuccessfully besieged Alid, and for four months the Christians resisted. Some grave dissensions meanwhile began to rise in the besieged camp. On Alfonso VI. hearing that Yusuf had returned, and besieged Alid, he marched to meet him. Yusuf did not dare to encounter the Leonese army, and, moreover, irritated with the Ameers who had forsaken him, he embarked for Mauritania. The King of Leon, meanwhile, was approaching the neighbourhood of Lorca, and compelled the defenders of Alid to quit it; then he dismantled the castle, and returned to Toledo.

The Saracens of Spain began to fear lest their powerful ally of Africa should prove a more formidable foe than Alfonso himself, and that, not satisfied with the vast empire of Moghreb, he would wish also to take possession of the Ameership on the Spanish side of the strait. Time proved their fears to be well grounded. For the third time Abu Yacub returned to the Peninsula, but on this occasion he came accompanied by a great number of Almoravides (1090). He at once proceeded towards Toledo, whose suburbs he devastated, while Alfonso, enclosed within, was unable to oppose him. As yet not one of the Ameers of Spain had come forward to join their forces to those of Abu Yacub; and even Ibn Abbad, who in the previous campaign had not followed the common example, now remained quietly in Seville, while Yusuf made war against the Nazarene. By this proceeding he baffled the dissimulating Almoravides, whose intentions were really those attributed to them.

Suddenly leaving the Christian territories, he marched to Granada, where he soon deposed the Ameer Abdullah Ibn Balkin, who, it appears, was already secretly in league with the King of Leon against the Africans. After this Yusuf returned again to Morocco, leaving as his substitute the Alcaide Seyr to further his ambitious designs.

Ibn Abbad meanwhile strengthened his forces in Seville, and beseeching forgetfulness of the past, solicited the alliance of

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Alfonso, who, seeing in these strifes of the Mussalmans an occasion for his own aggrandisement, willingly acceded. On reaching Africa, Abu Yacub immediately sent to Spain a great number of soldiers, and these enabled Seyr to take possession of Jaen and Cordova, and ere scarcely a month had passed he was in possession of all the dependencies of the Ameer of Seville, and nothing remained to Ibn Abbad but his own capital. Alfonso had sent some forces against the Almoravides, but, after several encounters, they were compelled to retire, and, shortly after, Seville fell into the hands of Seyr. For twelve years did the Spanish Arabs endeavour to oppose the Almoravides, a resistance which only assumed some importance when a number of Ameers and Walis joined themselves together, under the leadership of the renowned Christian Ruy Diaz; but these years, consumed in constant warfare between the African Seyr and the Mussalmans of Andalus, only afforded to Yusuf the dominion of that portion of the Peninsula which was not Christian, with the exception of the territories of Zaragoza, whose Ameer had from the first established a powerful alliance with the Almoravides.

When, in the year 1103, the Almoslemym, Ameer or Prince of Mussalmans, a title which Yusuf had assumed, returned for the fourth time to Spain, he found himself the undisputed master of all the Mohammedan lands, from the limits of Zaragoza to the shores of the Tagus, for on the side of the Gharb it formed the barrier which divided them from the Leonese empire. It was a fact that the conquests of Alfonso VI. had reached to the very mouth of the Tagus. While the Saracens fought with each other, he was repairing his former losses by marching to the south, and taking possession of Santarem, Lisbon, and Cintra, during the summer of 1093.

Satisfied with having extended his dominions to the extreme west, in spite of his reverse at Zalaka, the King of Leon retired to Toledo, having then assumed the title of Emperor, and turned his attention to the government of his states, without entering into wars with the Saracens, excepting his usual raids and skirmishes of every spring.

A severe blow filled with sadness the heart of Alfonso VI. during the declining days of his life. The Infante Sancho, his only son by Zaida, daughter of Ibn Abbad, when just entering manhood, dearly loved by his father as the light of his eyes and the comfort of his old age, was unfortunately stricken down by the Saracens, and perished at their hands. This event happened in the last year of his reign, and the aged Alfonso VI. had to leave the glorious but heavy crown of

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Leon and Castille to his only legitimate daughter, by his second wife Constancia.

Abu Yacub Yusuf Ibn Taxfin died in Morocco in the autumn of 1106, and his son Aly Ibn Yusuf, the already acknowledged successor, took the reins of government of the vast Mussalman Empire of Africa and Spain.

The new Ameer, Almoslemym, after putting down the rebellion of his nephew the Wali of Fez, resolved to continue the holy war against the Christians. With this intention he sent across the strait the new Almoravide troops from the tribe Lamtuna in the summer of 1108, under the command of his brother Abu Taher Temin, Wali of Valencia, and later on of Granada. Hostilities recommenced with the siege of Ucles, a powerful city on the Christian frontiers, and although well garrisoned, it was scaled and entered into, and its defenders compelled to take refuge in the castle. Alfonso VI. at once sent an army to help the besieged. This army was commanded by the Infante Sancho, rather in name than in effect, as he was scarcely out of his childhood. The aged King of Leon had entrusted him to the vigilance and affection of his tutor, Count Gomes de Cabra, and who in reality was at the head of the expedition.

When Temin heard of the forces which were sent against him, he wished to retire, but the Kayids of Lamtuna insisted on his meeting the Christians. The encounter proved a fearful one, and the victory was in favour of the Mussalmans.

It appears that when the Christians were retiring, Sancho felt his horse totter beneath him, and cried out to Count Gomes, "Oh, father, my horse is wounded!" The Count ran to help him, and reached just as he fell from his horse. They were surrounded by Saracens. The Count then dismounted, and placing the Infante between him and his shield, defended him like a lion from the blows which were levelled from all sides, until a thrust from a sword severed his foot, and unable any longer to stand, he covered Sancho with his body to defend him to the end, and both perished, slain by the Saracens. The Christians meanwhile had fled, pursued by the Africans, who overtook them at a short distance, when seven Counts were killed, and the few remaining of the Christian forces returned to Toledo. Temin then redoubled the assaults against the Castle of Ucles, and although meeting with a brave resistance, they had at length to surrender. The losses sustained by the Almoravides was very great both in the battle and at the siege,

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and they were unable to pursue their conquests, although they derived but little from their victories.

Enfeebled by a long illness, the King of Leon, on receiving the news of the sad end of his son, fell into a state of deep melancholy, which aggravated his complaint, and at length he died in Toledo in the year 1109. He had reigned as King of Leon and Castille, after the death of his brother Sancho, thirty-six years. The death of this renowned prince produced grave perturbations, which we shall speak of only as far as they relate to the history of Portugal, since it was these very calamitous events which occurred in Christian Spain that gave rise to this history, and even served to favour its weak infancy.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FIRST.

1097—1128.

The districts of Coimbra and of Portugal at the middle of the Eleventh Century —Raymund and Henry of Burgandy, relatives of Alfonso VI.—The government of Count Raymund over the whole of Galicia up to Coimbra—Alfonso founds a county or province, "Portucalense," on the south of the Minho, and appoints Henry to govern it—His acts until he leaves for Syria, and his return to Spain—Ambitious designs of the two Counts—Death of Raymund, and pretensions of Henry—Death of Alfonso VI.—Consequences of this event—Proceedings of the Count of Portugal during the discords between Alfonso I. of Aragon, Queen Urraca, and the Infante Alfonso Raymund — Attempts at aggrandisement — Mutual treacheries—Influence of the Infanta D. Theresa, wife of Henry—Death of Henry—His views and policy—He lays the foundations for the independence of Portugal—D. Theresa governs the province after the death of her husband—Her schemes, and alliance with Alfonso of Aragon—Is styled Queen by her subjects—Portugal tends visibly towards separating from the Monarchy—D. Theresa acknowledges the supremacy of her sister, D. Urraca—In league with the Nobles of Galicia, she makes war—Assaults of the Saracens on the south—D. Urraca invades Portugal—Peace between the sisters—Alfonso VII. succeeds D. Urraca—Fernando Peres de Trava and his protection—First engagements of the Infante Alfonso, son of Count Henry and D. Theresa—Alfonso VII. enters into Portugal and compels the Infanta-Queen to acknowledge the supremacy of Leon—Hatred of the Portuguese against Count Fernando Peres—Plot and risings—The Count and D. Theresa are expelled—The Infante assumes the power—D. Theresa dies in exile—Her political character and government.

The limits of the States of Ferdinand the Great had extended towards the west, when he successively conquered Lamego, Viseu, Seia, and Coimbra. The province of Galicia, whose boundaries had altered in proportion as the Christian or Saracen ruled the day, now permanently extended as far as the Mondego. Coimbra, which, from its antiquity and as the military key of the territories between the Mondego and the Douro, was an important town, became established the capital of the new county or district.

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Hitherto the Galicians, in common with other provinces of the ancient Leonese monarchy, were governed by Counts who held one or more districts under their authority, and at times these Counts were in their turn subject to a superior Count or Viceroy of the province. Among these appears, about the middle of the eleventh century, the district or county *Portucalense*. Portucale was situated near the Douro, and from its antiquity, dating from the time of the Romans, and the strength of its position, stood at the head as the principal town of a territory which included, to the litoral north, part of the modern province of the Minho, and to the south extended as far as the Vouga.

Sesnando, or Sisenando, son of David, a wealthy Mosarabe of the province called Beira, Lord of Tentugal, and of other lands of the territory of Coimbra, had been admitted to the Court of Seville in the time of Ibn Abbad. His talents, and some important services rendered to the Saracen prince, had entitled him to the charge of Wasir in the Diwan, or Prime Minister or member of the Supreme Council of the Ameer. Sesnando had rendered himself feared in the wars with the enemies of Ibn Abbad, as he had always been successful. The reason is not known why he forsook the service of the Ameer to enter that of the Christian Ferdinand the Great, but his previous conduct convinces us that he received some affront from the Saracens. Admitted into the Court of the King of Leon and Castille, he soon perceived how advantageous it would be to invade the west of ancient Lusitania. The result justified his foresight, and the King of Leon remunerated this good service by appointing him to govern the district constituted by the newly acquired conquests, the Portuguese tract to the south of the Douro, and to the east the border-line of Lamego, Viseu, and Seia, and on the frontiers to the south-east, the northern declivity of the Serra da Estrella.

Thus the portion of modern Portugal to the north of Mondego and Alva was, at the date of Ferdinand's death, in the possession of the Christians (1065). The district of Coimbra, as we have said, included the tract from the Douro to the Mondego, while Oporto, dismembered from it in the land of Santa Maria (Feira), extended to the north and east, and perchance included Alto Minho, and a part of the province of Tras-os-Montes. Inclusively up to Galicia, the territory denominated in the documents and chronicles of the eleventh and twelfth centuries as *Portucale, Terra portucalenses*, commenced to appear as a distinct province.

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When Ferdinand the Great divided his vast States among his children, Galicia, which included Portugal and the new conquests up to the Mondego, fell to Garcia; and Sesnando continued to govern the territory of Coimbra, and Count Nuno Mendes that of Oporto.

The discords between the brothers caused the crown of Galicia to pass successively from Garcia to Sancho of Castille and to Alfonso of Leon, who ultimately possessed all the States of his father.

The sons of Ferdinand had respected the man whom he had entrusted with the government and defence of the territory called *Colimbriense*. Sesnando faithfully served to the end the cause of the Christian monarchy which he had embraced; and it even appears that he accompanied Alfonso VI. in 1086 to the ill-fated battle of Zalaka. His daughter Elvira married Martin Moniz, an illustrious knight, and who succeeded him in the government of Coimbra. Alfonso, on recruiting his army after the defeat of Zalaka, resolved to attack the Saracens on the west; and therefore, in the spring of 1093, he passed on to the south of the Mondego and beleaguered Santarem. This important town, which hitherto had been considered almost impregnable, soon fell into his hands, and in a few days Lisbon and Cintra followed, and in this way, by new conquests, the territory was extended to the mouth of the Tagus, when its government was given to Sueiro Mendes, brother to Gonsalo Mendes da Maia, who later on became renowned under the name of the Battler

Galicia, including the Portugalese provinces, which naturally were incorporated to the newly acquired territory of the Mussalman Gharb, constituted a vast State remote from the centre of the Leonese monarchy. The Counts who governed the districts of this vast tract were sufficiently removed from the immediate action of the king, and in themselves powerful enough to conceive ideas of independence and rebellion common to Saracen and Christian. Alfonso avoided that risk by converting the whole of Galicia into one great seigniority, whose government he entrusted to a member of his family, and to whom he also gave Coimbra and Santarem after they were conquered, removing to the district of Arouca Martin Moniz, and subjecting him to the new governor of Santarem, Sueiro Mendes.

The prince to whom Alfonso entrusted the government of this important portion of the monarchy was a naturalised foreigner, Raymund, son of William, Count of Burgandy, who had come over to Spain some time previously—some say in 1079 or 1080—in the suite

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of Queen Constancia, the second wife of Alfonso VI., or, according to the Lusitanian or Gothic Chronicles, in 1086, on the occasion when many French crossed the Pyrenees to join in the battle of Zalaka, while there are others who say he came after that battle was fought. The King of Leon gave his only legitimate daughter Urraca, by Queen Constancia, in marriage to the Count of Burgandy while still almost a child, being only about thirteen or fourteen years of age (1094). The Infanta was given to the Count, but under the tutorship and care of the youthful Presbyter Peter, master or governor of the youthful princess. The Count was entrusted with the government of the whole western part of the monarchy, and the defence of all that frontier.

A cousin of Raymund also came over from France, whose name was Henry, and grandson of Robert II., brother to Henry II., King of France. No doubt these French knights came over to seek their fortune in the Peninsula amid its many wars and conquests, fired by ambition or love of glory. Their previous history is enveloped in darkness, as also their principal motive for leaving France; but it is inferred that it was with the object of effecting an illustrious union through the intervention of their aunt, Queen Constancia. About the year 1095 we find Henry married to Theresa, the illegitimate daughter of Alfonso VI. by a noble lady called Ximena Nunes, or Muniones. It also appears that Henry had begun to govern the Portuguese territory at the end of 1094 or commencement of 1095, at least the district of Braga, at first as a Count dependent under his cousin.

Subsequently a part of the dominions of Count Raymund, the tract from the margins of the Minho up to the Tagus, was definitely separated from Galicia, in order to form a separate district, which should be governed by Count Henry. Alfonso VI., no doubt, was moved to effect this division owing to the difficulty it would otherwise be to make war on the borders against the Mussalmans, since the head of the Government of the Western Province was distant more than a hundred leagues from the Moslem line, and far beyond the river Minho.

We have seen that Alfonso VI., in 1093, had extended his dominions in the south of Portugal by taking Santarem, Lisbon, and Cintra, the places of greatest importance in what is now called the province of Estremadura. In 1095, however, affairs up to a certain point became altered. The renowned Seyr (or *rex Cir* of the Christian Chronicles),

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the General of Yusuf, had, towards the end of 1093, invaded the States of Omar Ibn Alafttas, the Ameer of Badajoz, whose dominions comprehended the whole of the Gharb, or west of Mussalman Spain up to the Christian frontiers. Iabora (Evora), Chelb (Silves), and other principal places had thrown open their gates to the Almoravides. An Arab historian recounts that similarly did Santarem and Lisbon fall into their hands. As regards Santarem, the charter given to this town by Alfonso VI. in 1095 does not show in any way that it had been lost after the year 1093 and then regained. Lisbon, however, in view of the absence of any such deed, renders the Arab tradition probable, which subsequent events seem to confirm. In February of 1094, Badajoz surrendered to the Almoravides.

When the Gharb had submitted, Seyr directed his victorious arms against the Cid, Ruy Diaz, whom the Arabs of Andalusia had taken as their leader, and who beleaguered Valencia. Meanwhile Count Raymund descended from Galicia and came to Coimbra, accompanied by his officers and an illustrious company of knights. Soon after the dynasty of the Beni-Alafttas terminated in the Gharb, the Count resided in that city, and, it appears, summoned together a number of horsemen and foot-soldiers to effect a *presuria*, or entry into the enemy's territory, with the object of establishing themselves permanently in it. From Coimbra the Christian army proceeded, probably in the following spring, to the neighbourhood of Lisbon, and there pitched their camp. The Saracens united together their forces from all quarters, and were even, perchance, assisted by some Almoravide troops sent by Seyr, and together they surrounded the camp and destroyed their forces, leaving many of them slain or captive.

This defeat of Raymund no doubt in part co-operated with the project of entirely separating from Galicia the whole territory from the left margin of the Minho to Santarem. And we find that in the year 1097 Henry was governing the territory from the Minho to the Tagus, while the States ruled by Raymund had receded to the southern frontiers of modern Galicia.

When giving his daughter Theresa in marriage to Henry, Alfonso VI. did not only assign to him the government of the Portuguese province, but likewise invested him with the regal prerogatives—that is to say, the patrimony of king and crown passed on, being held as hereditary and as personal property of the two consorts. Hence this French knight, who had come to Spain seeking a more brilliant future

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than he could hope for in his own country, beheld his hopes realised far beyond his expectations.

The Arab princes of Andalusia had joined together against the Almoravides, when, after the conquest of Badajoz, they took possession of Mussalman Spain, with the exception of Zaragoza, whose Ameer, Ahmed Abu Jafar, had previously sought an alliance with Yusuf. The renowned Cid, as we said, commanded the united Andalusians. Valencia was besieged by them and surrendered, and through the intervention of Ruy Diaz, at length acknowledged the sovereignty of Alfonso VI. Meanwhile Seyr was not idle. He equipped a powerful fleet, subjecting to the Almoravides the Balearic Islands, which hitherto were dependent to the Ameers of Valencia and Denia.

When the Wali of Almeria was apprised of the fate of Valencia, the Lamtunite General at once proceeded with his fleet to that port with a great number of soldiers, and besieged it by sea.

The Cid was already dead, and the allied Christians, with the Arabs of Andalusia, after a protracted siege, abandoned Valencia to the Almoravides (1102).

With the taking of this important city ended the resistance of the Spanish Mussalmans to the dominion of Yusuf. When the latter returned to Spain, in 1103, it was only with the object of attaching his son Aly to the Government, and to take the necessary precautions for the defence and proper administration of that portion of the Peninsula under his dominion, but not with the intention of attempting any important campaigns against the Christians.

During the period above mentioned the wars on the Portuguese frontiers ceased, or were reduced to a few raids, and Henry was able to attend to the urgent needs of a province desolated by a continuance of warfare; but his residence here was of short duration. In the winter of 1097 and 1098 he undertook a journey to Galicia, to visit the celebrated temple of Santiago, and from 1100 to 1101 he was at the Court of Alfonso VI.

The Saracen chiefs, Aly Ibnu-l-haj and Ibn Sakim, had advanced with a body of troops to Castille, and it appears Count Henry was delegated to repel them. Crossing the Sierra called the Mountains of Toledo, Henry encountered the enemy on the outskirts of Ciudad Real, close to which stands the town of Malagon. A fierce fight ensued, which, in the words of an Arab historian, was "a battle of extermination," but at length the Count had to abandon the field to his adversary.

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About this epoch the Crusades to Jerusalem, or Holy Wars, began to take place. Henry took part in the great idea which agitated Europe. From the year 1102 to 1106 was the height of the fervour of these pilgrimages to Palestine, and the example was set in the Church of Spain by Bernard, Primate and Archbishop of Toledo, who in 1104 joined the pilgrims. The Count of Portugal had preceded him, leaving with his own party at the commencement of 1103. Probably he was accompanied by Maurice, the Bishop of Coimbra, who afterwards became so conspicuous for his pretensions to the Papal Tiara, and who at this period had departed for Syria, and it is presumed that the Count took advantage of the Genoese fleet for his voyage, which in 1104 had assisted Baldwin to conquer Ptolemy. The acts of the Count during his sojourn in the East are wrapped in obscurity, and all conjectures are deficient of foundation; but it is certain that he returned to Portugal in 1105, and resided in the Court of Alfonso VI. in the year 1106. During subsequent years until the death of this prince, he continued to reside alternately in Coimbra and at the Court, occupied in restoring the deserted towns which had been destroyed by the invasions of Christians and Mussalmans, as the king bade him.

Count Raymund, who wedded the eldest and legitimate daughter of Alfonso VI., was in possession of a more important dominion than any other within the Leonese monarchy, many of which were subject to him; and he naturally considered that the crown would, after the death of his father-in-law, succeed to him as an inheritance, as had been promised. Such also was the opinion of the Nobles, as may be proved from the action they took after the death of Raymund. These judged that the husband of D. Urraca ought to be the King of Leon and Castille, be he what he may.

An event, however, took place which subsequently frustrated the ambitious hopes of the Count of Castille. Alfonso had a son, the Infante Sancho, by Zaida, daughter of Ibn Abbad, King of Seville. Natural affection and political considerations impelled him to appoint him the successor to the crown, but his hapless death destroyed this hope.

It appears that Raymund and Henry of Burgandy had signed between them a secret treaty, in which they arranged the division of the crown. The death of Raymund in 1107 rendered void the treaty between the cousins, and destroyed the hopes of Henry to obtain the

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dominion of Toledo. He did not altogether forego the scheme of aggrandisement and independence, as subsequent events proved; but during the two years which elapsed between the death of Raymund in 1107 and that of Alfonso VI. in 1109, he resided almost constantly in Portugal under obedience to his father-in-law. Henry had conceived the daring idea of becoming the master of a large part of the States on the demise of the monarch. After the death of the Count of Galicia his ambition increased, and shortly before the death of Alfonso he went to his bedside to harass him. What his pretensions were is not known, but it is certain that he quitted Toledo in wrath against his dying father-in-law. Before expiring, Alfonso VI. declared his daughter Urraca sole heiress to the crown, and no doubt it was this declaration which had rendered Henry so wrathful, and had originated the daring project of taking possession of the whole monarchy of Leon and Castille.

As soon as it became known that the monarch who had been the terror of the Saracens had ceased to exist, the Mussalmans took fresh courage. Those of Cintra, who had acknowledged the sovereignty of the Count, now broke off their allegiance. It is also inferred that the Mussalmans of Santarem did the same, who had only become tributary to him in order to live at peace. When Cintra rebelled, Henry at once marched to the castle, which in those days was held in importance second only to Lisbon, and again reduced it to obedience.

The death of Alfonso VI., in June, 1109, with the complications it gave rise to, was an event of grave importance for Christian Spain, and was felt to be the origin of protracted evils. The Leonese sceptre, which at this juncture required to be held by a powerful hand who should strengthen the conquests effected by this renowned prince, continued to be wielded by the widow of Count Raymund.

Of the vast inheritance bequeathed to his daughter, the deceased king had separated in a certain manner Galicia, declaring in his lifetime that in the event of D. Urraca entering into second nuptials, Alfonso Raymund, her own son, and his grandson, should reign in that province. The Infante was barely three years of age when Alfonso expired, and therefore Galicia, like the rest of the monarchy, was needing a successor fit to defend the integrity of the territory against the attacks of the Saracens, and to restrain the defiance of the powerful lords, whose former ambitious desires would be now re-enkindled in view of the weakness of the throne.

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Alfonso I., King of Aragon, was at the time in the prime of life, and from his active, martial character was surnamed the Battler. The Nobles of Castille, considering the urgent need in the country of a prince whose name and sword should be capable of restraining the Saracens and defend the State, constrained the Queen to take him for her husband. It was thus that the Aragonese King obtained the crown of Leon and Castille. This marriage was celebrated in the autumn of 1109.

The Infante Alfonso Raymund was entrusted to the care of Count Peter Froilaz de Trava, a powerful nobleman of Galicia, and lived well-nigh forgotten in the midst of the grave affairs which disturbed the nation. But as soon as this marriage was effected, Count de Trava at once began to advance the last injunctions of Alfonso VI. concerning his grandson, and with this intention he instigated a rising in Galicia, a State which apprehended the dominion of Aragon. During the summer of 1110, the revolution had attained to such a height that the King of Aragon resolved to invade the province. The first castle he took was that of Monteroso. On entering its gate a noble, illustrious knight fell at the feet of D. Urraca, beseeching his life to be spared. This nobleman was known to D. Urraca, and she pleaded for him, but the ferocious Alfonso slew him on that very spot. This cruel deed filled with indignation the Nobles of Leon, and more so the Queen, who had been constrained to this union, and now found herself in the power of a despot. It appears this marriage had been opposed by the prelates of Spain as being within the prohibited degree of consanguinity, and even was disapproved by the Pope, who decreed a divorce.

From the moment when this cruel deed was executed in her presence, she resolved to effect a divorce, trusting to the indignation of the Nobles, the censure of the prelates against the marriage, and to the resistance of Galicia against the dominion of Aragon. Without concealing her discontent, she departed to Leon, and Alfonso I. continued the war in Galicia, which, proving unsuccessful, was compelled to retire to the district of Astorga within three months. Revolutions had likewise broken out in that city, and when on approaching it the barons of the province came out with such forces against him that he dared not resist. Receiving an intimation not to enter into any castles within the States of Leon, he was forced to submit, and accompanied by two nobles as sureties, he retired to the frontiers of his own States.

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In the midst of these revolts and wars, the Count of Portugal was not quietly satisfied with conquering Cintra and reducing the Saracens to obedience. Ambitious, indignant at the succession of D. Urraca to the Leonese throne, he determined to revenge himself. His pretensions during the lifetime of Alfonso VI. were limited to inheriting a portion of the monarchy, but now they assumed the possession of the whole.

Forsaking the States which he governed, and leaving them to be invaded by the Saracens, he crossed Spain, and passing over the Pyrenees, proceeded into France to enlist soldiers, as he perceived that the county of Portugal could not afford him sufficient for his formidable undertaking. He was carrying out this design when he was arrested, on what pretext is not known, but probably through suspicion that his visit to France was induced by other motives than those he advanced. Still less is it known how he effected his escape, but it is certain that he recrossed the mountains and proceeded to Aragon. These events must have taken place from the end of August, 1110, to the end of April, 1111, because we find no existing records during these months of the residence of Count Henry in Portugal, although it appears that D. Theresa ruled the country in the absence of her husband.

On reaching the States of Alfonso I., Count Henry found that the King of Aragon was there. He feared lest this prince, who judged he had a right to the Leonese crown, should attempt to stop his progress were he to know of his intentions, and therefore besought and obtained an alliance with him. The conditions of the treaty were, to march with their united forces against D. Urraca, and together to conquer the lands of Leon and Castille, and divide them equally between them. We find that after this treaty was signed Henry returned to Portugal, where he resided during part of the year 1111.

It was about this epoch that the discords between Alfonso I. and D. Urraca reached to their height, and enmity was declared. The treaty of the Aragonese King and the Count of Portugal must have been effected about this time. But while the two princes were projecting the division of the empire of Alfonso VI., D. Urraca was seeking to form an alliance with the Nobles of Galicia, and approving their designs in respect to the Infante Alfonso Raymund. However, the Queen, through the intervention of the Barons of Castille, became reconciled to her Consort, and the position, therefore, of the most

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important personages in this great drama became entirely changed. The interests of the King of Aragon were now identified to those of D. Urraca; while those of the Count, on the contrary, leant towards the cause of his nephew, the Infante, and of the Barons of Galicia. The latter, on becoming aware of the inopportune reconciliation of the Royal couple, and knowing that this was adverse to the interests of Henry, appealed to him for counsel to enable them to cope with the difficulties brought about by the fickle character of D. Urraca. The contempt and disappointment of Henry could not have been less than that felt by the Barons of Galicia.

However, he took advantage of the attempt of Count Peter Froilaz to continue the revolution in favour of the Infante, and probably offered him his aid. In effect, Peter Froilaz pursued his project, and on returning from Galicia with the Nobles he arrested close to Castro Xerez (near Burgos) some who, forgetful of the obligations incurred by the promises given to Alfonso VI., had not only enlisted in the service of the King of Aragon, but were even plotting the death of Count de Trava and his Royal pupil. This proceeding of Peter Froilaz induced a civil war to break out in Galicia. The Nobles of the party of Alfonso of Aragon sought to revenge themselves. They succeeded to imprison the Countess of Trava in Santa Maria de Castrello, where she had taken refuge with the Infante; and they likewise artfully arrested the celebrated Bishop of Compostella, who hitherto had pursued a vacillating policy, and now had declared himself for Alfonso Raymund; but the energetic prelate found means to obtain his release, and for a time pacified Galicia, inducing the principal Nobles who had been adversaries to return to the party of the Infante.

Henry returned to Portugal because the reconciliation between the Royal pair frustrated at least for a time the hopes which the treaty between him and the King of Aragon had given rise to. If he thought that the civil war in Galicia would divert the attention of the Queen and her husband while he gained strength to support his own independence, and also to realise his ambition to possess the vast dominion, his calculations were again frustrated, because a new and grave misunderstanding broke out between Alfonso and Urraca. The haughty character of the Queen, or perhaps her fickleness, brought about a decisive rupture, and a divorce was pronounced. D. Urraca summoned her old master Pedro Ansures, the Count Gomez Gonsalves, Count Pedro de Lara, and many other Castillian and Leonese knights,

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and then commenced a strife which lasted for many years. The relations which she had endeavoured to establish with the partisans of her son in Galicia were now renewed with a more successful result; and while Leon and Castille were declaring themselves in favour of the Queen, Alfonso the Battler saw his forces reduced to almost his Aragonese army and a few nobles and knights who, remaining faithful, defended some of the strongholds which they governed as alcaides.

It was evident that the political state of Spain was completely altered as regarded the Count of Portugal. The harmony between D. Urraca and the defenders of Alfonso Raymund once again united the vast body of States composing the dominion of King Alfonso VI., and which had threatened to become divided. On the other hand, the civil war was now getting converted into an alien war, as we find that, by the decree of divorce, the Aragonese prince had to sustain a war, not as the legitimate master of Leon, Castille, and Galicia against rebel vassals, but as King of Aragon against an alien land; and taking into consideration the deficiency of resources, he could not possibly presume to gain the victory, notwithstanding his own prowess and energy. Hence it is more than probable that he resorted to the previous treaty made between him and the Count of Portugal, and the latter, with the object of furthering his own ambitious schemes, should accede and condone the past.

From this, we believe, arose the speedy union between Alfonso and Henry, and their making war against D. Urraca. We find that Henry, after quelling the rebellion of Coimbra, hastened to join his ally. Together they soon had a decisive encounter with the Leonese and Castillians. Counts Gomez Gonsalves and Pedro de Lara came out to meet them in Campo de Espina, a few leagues from Sepulveda, in the district of Segovia. As soon as the battle commenced Lara fled, leaving Count Gomez to fight single-handed against the forces of Alfonso I. and his ally, who conquered and slew him. After this victory (November, 1111) the King of Aragon crossed the Douro, and invaded the Leonese territory. Meanwhile the principal nobles and knights of Galicia, with Gelmires, the Bishop of Compostella, proceeded to the city of Leon to acclaim Alfonso Raymund. When this was known by the King of Aragon, he at once marched to encounter them, and suddenly assailed them between Astorga and Leon, on a spot called Fuente de los Angeles, or Viadangos. After a stubborn resistance the Galicians were destroyed, and Gelmires sent the young

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prince to the fortress of Orsillon, in Castille, where D. Urraca was at the time, and with the remnants of his Galician troops retired to Astorga, where, after a stay of three days, he returned to Compostella by a long round in order to avoid an encounter with the victors. In this action it was only the King of Aragon who took part, as the Count of Portugal had already forsaken him.

Immediately after the battle of Campo de Espinas, the armies of the allies entered Sepulveda. The Castillian Nobles, wishing to divide them, resorted to secret artifices. They sought to blame Henry for joining the common enemy of the monarchy against the other Barons of Leon and Castille. They besought him to forsake the Aragonese prince and to unite his forces to theirs, promising to appoint him their chief in these wars, and induce the Queen to divide amicably a part of the States of Alfonso VI. Some of the Nobles reminded him of former ties of friendship to move him to agree to their views.

The Count at length yielded to their persuasions, and in order not to awaken suspicions in the mind of the King of Aragon, he assigned as a motive for leaving, the important duties of the States, which required his presence. Then, quitting Sepulveda, he went on to the Castle of Monzon, where the Queen was staying, and she ratified the promises made to the Count by the Barons of her party. In the hope of seeing his dearest hopes realised, Henry very soon declared himself in favour of the Queen D. Urraca. The Queen quitted the Castle of Orsillon, or Monzon, as soon as her son arrived, leaving the stronghold to the custody of some knights whom she trusted, and proceeded to Galicia, crossing the mountains of Oviedo in the depths of a most severe winter. From thence, in the spring of 1112, she proceeded to Astorga with the troops of Galicia, ordering those of Asturias, Castille, and the southern districts of Leon, who had remained faithful to her, to repair to that place. But Alfonso I., while summoning together his troops from Aragon, reinforced his army from various parts, and then marched to besiege Astorga. The knights of Aragon, who had been sent to succour the besiegers, were broken up by the Castillians, and Alfonso raising the siege, retired to the stronghold of Penafiel. Meanwhile the Count of Portugal mustered together his men, while the Queen's troops were coming from the Asturias, Castille, and Estremadura to join her. These forces, commanded by Henry and accompanied by D. Urraca, advanced on the side of the Castle of Penafiel towards the suburbs of Valladolid, and laid siege to it. It was a well-garrisoned

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stronghold, and the siege became protracted. The besiegers pillaged and laid waste all the neighbouring districts extending along the shore of the Douro, whose inhabitants had shown themselves partial to the Aragonese prince. D. Theresa, who, it appears, had resided in Coimbra during the absence of her husband, now left to join him. On reaching the camp she very soon commenced to sow the seeds of discord, inducing the Count to exact, first of all, the division of the Leonese States which had been promised him, bidding him remember that it was consummate folly to risk his own life and the lives of others simply to benefit another. Henry heeded these counsels, and began to press so as to have the division effected. To these demands were added other circumstances which served to irritate D. Urraca. The Portuguese who had joined the army treated her sister as Queen. This title, which as yet was an empty one, and given to the wife of the most powerful Baron, and who, moreover, was at the head of the army, was the mark towards which the sister and brother-in-law directed their view. The weakness of her sex induced her to resort to a tortuous policy common to that age. She secretly opened relations with the King of Aragon, and endeavoured to win back his favour, and, pretending to satisfy the claims of Henry and D. Theresa, she raised the siege and proceeded with her men to Palencia. Arbitrators were then chosen, and the division of the empire of Alfonso VI. was made at last, but only nominally. The Castle of Ceia, on the river of that name, which fell to the Count, was at once delivered to him; and it was resolved that the knights of the Queen's army should march and at once take possession of Zamora, one of the most important States of those assigned to him, and which probably was in favour of Aragon. The two sisters then to retire to the city of Leon.

Such, outwardly, were the behests of D. Urraca, but very different were her secret intentions. The knights who proceeded to Zamora had secret instructions that on taking possession of the Castle of Zamora they were not to deliver it up to the Count, and at the same time she instructed the garrison of Palencia to open the gates to Alfonso I. should he pass that way. She then went on to the town of Sahagun, whose inhabitants were in favour of the Aragonese King, and easily induced them to do the same. From Sahagun, after separating herself from D. Theresa, she actually retired to Leon, leaving the Countess of Portugal in the celebrated monastery of Sahagun, whose monks were greatly disliked by the burghers on account of their partisanship with

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the Aragonese party. This departure of the Queen, after forsaking her sister, was, it appears, the result of a secret treaty with the King of Aragon, for he unexpectedly entered into that town, and finding that D. Theresa had escaped, sent troops in pursuit, but they were unable to overtake her.

The news of the treachery of D. Urraca soon reached the ears of Henry, perchance through his own wife, the Infanta, who had fled from Sahagun. The wrath of the Count may be easily imagined when he thus saw himself scorned and his designs altered. The Nobles of Leon and Castille, to whom the rule of the King of Aragon was odious, were inclined to favour Henry, and they also disapproved of the conduct of the Queen. The Count profited by this irritation, and in union with the offended Barons resolved to continue the war, which hitherto had been only against the King, but now extended to the Queen also.

D. Urraca remained but a short time in Leon, where she was joined by her husband, who, finding the attempt to imprison D. Theresa had proved futile, now proceeded with the Queen to Carrion. As soon as this became known, the Count of Portugal and the Barons allied to him marched to beleaguer Carrion. The siege soon came to an end, as the Nobles felt that, independent of their respect for the daughter of Alfonso VI., the character of the Aragonese King would not warrant them to depend on the peace existing between him and the Queen, as many days would not elapse before discords might arise. This is the opinion of a contemporary writer, although it scarcely appears to us sufficient to account for abandoning the undertaking. Be what it may, it is certain that Henry retired along with the other Barons who had accompanied him. What his course of action was after the siege is not known. It is probable that he was engaged in obtaining by force of arms or otherwise the States which his sister-in-law had ceded, to induce him to join the cause against the Aragonese King, whose reconciliation with D. Urraca was only a scheme to further his covetousness, for we find that scarcely was the siege at an end than he used every endeavour to withdraw her from himself. By gratifying promises, and through the intervention of his shrewd counsellors, he induced her to assume the government of Aragon, while he remained conducting affairs in the Leonese monarchy. The Queen, in fact, departed, but she very soon heard of the violent acts performed by her husband on her States.

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From that moment she resolved to return; but following the example of Alfonso, who had sought to form a party among the Castillians and the Leonese, she likewise attempted to raise a simple alliance among his subjects by enlisting the sympathies of the discontented Nobles of Aragon, and create a new party in Leon and Castille. When Alfonso knew that the Queen was returning, he tried to stay her progress, either by calming her indignation or by arresting her, as circumstances might dictate. He effected neither course of action. The party of the Queen had increased and now inspired fear, and the confidence felt in her party by D. Urraca encouraged her to forsake her policy of deceit. The discords were renewed between the consorts, and reaching their culminating point, they separated, and the war was prolonged for some length of time.

The state of the country may be easily conceived. The land which bore the melancholy vestiges of the Saracen raids was now converted into the arena for long and deplorable civil strifes. Noble and plebeian had been made the victims of dissensions incited or favoured by themselves alone. The desire for peace ought to have increased in view of so much devastation and so much blood spilt in vain. The churches robbed, many principal personages among the clergy and nobility placed in irons and murdered, the working classes perishing for want and food, or slain by the sword—such is the picture presented to us by an historian of that period, and which he lays to the charge of the King of Aragon, but which we think must be laid also to other parties.

It is certain that Alfonso I. employed in these wars men gathered from beyond the Pyrenees, violent and ferocious as his own character was, and therefore a greater blame must be attached to him for the evils effected. But whether due to one or other, this state of things had become intolerable, and some Leonese and Castillian Barons, with the chiefs of the more powerful municipalities of Leon, joined themselves together in Sahagun to constrain the King and Queen to stop their course of action, and afford the nation some rest and a respite from the calamities it had suffered. They demanded of the King that he should keep to the convention established, when, in consequence of the pretensions of the Count of Portugal, D. Urraca had been reconciled to him in Penafiel. Perchance he found himself too weakened to refuse the conditions imposed by the assembly who thus dared to lay down the law to him, for the Aragonese prince assumed the cloak of dissimulation and pretended to reconcile himself to the Queen, and

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after remaining some time in Carrion, went with her to reside in Astorga.

The duplicity of Alfonso I. was soon made manifest. By specious pretexts he delayed to fulfil the promises made. One of the principal conditions was to release the castles belonging to his Queen from the hands of the Aragonese. When passing through the city of Leon on his way to Astorga, he refused to deliver up the Alcasar of this city, notwithstanding that D. Urraca demanded it. It was evident that the treaty of peace obtained forcibly by the people would not long endure. He would make use of any pretext to effect a rupture, and circumstances soon occurred which afforded him the desired plea. These events were taking place at the commencement of 1114. The individual acts of the Count of Portugal are but vaguely recorded, and probably forgotten in the midst of so many grave disturbances and party strifes; but if we credit some documents of undoubted veracity, although the dates are questioned, Henry leagued himself with the Queen when, on her return from Aragon, she once again separated from her husband. It was in the midst of these repeated discords, alternated with reconciliations, that the career of the Count, with its ambitions and hopes, was cut short by death; but the scene of it, with the details of the event, are covered by an impenetrable veil. We only know that he died on the 1st May, 1114. The Narrative of the *Annonym* of Sahagun inclines us to believe that when Alfonso and D. Urraca were residing in Astorga, Henry followed them, and that he died in that city. This is in a certain sense supported by the traditions of the Portuguese Chroniclers, who say that his death took place there, although tradition generally invests events with extraordinary fabulous circumstances, due to the vivid imagination of the masses, which usually envelopes history with romance.

Let us glance on the past, and observe the true state of the political situation of Henry at the time of his death. Impelled by ambition and the existing state of affairs to act an important character in the midst of the civil wars which were devastating the monarchy, it will be seen that during the last four years of his life he placed before every other consideration his own aggrandisement, and the obtaining the independence of the county or state over which he had been placed to govern by his father-in-law. He also aspired to a share in other provinces, with the object of converting Portugal into the nucleus of a powerful State on the west of the Peninsula.

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By the treaty made with D. Urraca, we know that Zamora belonged to him, and this district extended along the eastern frontiers of our country. And if another treaty made by the Queen with D. Theresa (of which we shall speak further on) confirmed the former one effected with the Count, we shall see that these territories included the greater portion of the provinces called Campos and Estremadura, and which at the present day are styled Valladolid, Zamora, Toro, and Salamanca. It is possible that in the treaties of divisions made with Alfonso I. to apportion the monarchy between them, the Count selected these provinces. Hence, if he died subsequently to the last reconciliation of Alfonso with D. Urraca, he was, nevertheless, allied with the Queen at that date; and having a right to demand from both the cession of those districts, it is untenable to suppose that he would not then effect what had been the wish and hope of his life, and towards attaining which he had laboured even during the lifetime of Alfonso VI.

It is the general opinion of historians that the Count of Burgandy was in his seventy-sixth year when he died, but this opinion involves some grave difficulties, as he must have been born in 1037. The military activity of the Count during the last years of his life, joined to other circumstances, convinces us that he was only between fifty and sixty at the time of his death. The body was transferred from Astorga to the Cathedral of Braga, where, even to the present day, the remains exist of him who, up to a certain point, may be justly called the Founder of the Portuguese Nation.

If Henry was ambitious, his wife was no less so. No sooner does she hear of his death than she repairs to the Court of Astorga. A contemporary writer says, "She went to contend with her sister and the king. What had she to contend for but the pretensions of her husband?" But the warrior Count had descended into the grave, and his sword, which had glistened in the fire of so many battles, lay at his side beneath the slab of the sepulchre. The Infanta had ambition, energy, and persistence, but she needed a manly arm to maintain the right which, justly or unjustly, she advanced belonged to her. She lacked that blade whereby the policy of nations is weighed in the balance of power against the contentions of princes and vassals. In her womanly weakness she resorted to deceit to effect what her husband had laboured to obtain by the force of skill and prowess. Through the intervention of an individual to whose arts she trusted, she found a means to convince the King of Aragon that his Queen, D. Urraca,

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intended to poison him, an accusation which probably was not altogether unfounded. Alfonso, who desired nothing better than to find a pretext for punishing the Queen, without losing the vast States of which she was the legitimate sovereign, believed, or affected to believe, in the secret revelation.

In presence of the Nobles of the Court he accused her of the intended assassination, in order better to justify the line of action he had determined to follow, which was to separate her from him. Following the custom of that time, the Queen had recourse to proof of sword to vindicate her innocence, selecting for that object a knight to measure blades for her; but the King refused to accept that challenge of the judgment of God, and constituted himself the judge of his own cause.

In vain did the Counts of Castille, and even the Barons of Aragon who were present, endeavour to pacify the irritated spirit of the consorts. D. Urraca was expelled from Astorga, followed by a few knights, who would not forsake her in that unfortunate plight.

The harshness of Alfonso, who thus refused to his wife a means of justification, considered the most solemn which a culprit can resort to in order to prove innocence from a charge of crime, produced general dissatisfaction. The very Aragonese who garrisoned the towers of the ancient capital of the monarchy, the city of Leon, opened the gates of its castle to the exiled princess.

The burghers, who up to that time had shown themselves more favourable to the King of Aragon than to D. Urraca, now joined her party. The Council of Burgos, Naxera, Carrion, Leon, and Sahagun, with its many Nobles, assembled, and so resolute were they in their determination to maintain the conditions sworn to by Alfonso I., that he was compelled to declare himself openly, and unable to stem the current of public opinion against him, secretly left Sahagun, and, almost like a fugitive, retired to his own States. Then the Nobles and the burghers on all sides, in the cities and in the strongholds, declared for D. Urraca, and acknowledged the authority of the Queen.

D. Theresa continued to reside in Astorga after her sister was expelled. She effected a treaty of alliance with the King of Aragon, but the events in Sahagun placed her in a very difficult position. Her dominions were too circumscribed, and she could not find sufficient resources against a sister deeply offended with her. Her ally, who had retired to his own States, could only in an indirect manner be useful to

Portugal by withdrawing the Leonese arms to the frontiers of Castille. On the other hand, the death of the Count took place before definite possession could be taken of a part of the monarchy to constitute an independent kingdom sufficiently important to render it respected: thus the portion he left her at his death to govern was virtually united to Leon, and should D. Theresa break the bond of obedience which linked her to her sister, that act would be held in the light of a flagrant rebellion.

The Infanta of Portugal, beneath a serene mien, concealed an active, shrewd spirit, which the events that occurred during the fourteen years she ruled the province bequeathed by her husband amply proved. It was during this period that the Portuguese nationality became well defined, and to the policy pursued by D. Theresa is due, up to a certain point, the growth and progress in Portugal of its system of individuality, which established barriers far more solid and lasting than the geographical limits which divided the two neighbouring nations. How the Infanta was able to cope with the difficulties which surrounded her, and the manner in which she profited by the civil discords of Christian Spain to establish the independence of her States, we shall see as we proceed.

D. Theresa had been left a widow with three children, one only of which was a son. The Infante Alfonso Henry was then two or three years of age. The King of Aragon, who had allied himself to her, was, in truth, a powerful ally, but expelled from Leon by the Assembly of Sahagun, the Castle of Burgos (which was then the capital of Castille) lost to him, with many other strongholds that had either surrendered to the forces of D. Urraca or were closely besieged, forced Alfonso to make proposals for an armistice, which were accepted. Relieved from warfare, the Queen might now take revenge for the evils which her sister had attempted, but she did not do so. The acts of the Cortes of Oviedo, of which we shall speak further on, convinces us that the Infanta of the Portuguese resorted to submission in order to avoid the storm.

But this enforced state of peace placed the future fate of Portugal in an uncertain condition. During the lifetime of Henry, D. Theresa had rarely used the titles of Countess and Infanta, satisfied to be called by the more modest name of wife of Count Henry, or daughter of King Alfonso VI.; but she now began to employ in acts and decrees the titles of Infanta and of Queen. In course of time the

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title of Queen prevailed, since her subjects had already styled her by that name during the life of the Count, and even by the Pope himself. The relative extension of her States and their importance increased in proportion as the now divided Leonese-Castillian monarchy became weakened, and this invested with some material value a title generally used by all legitimate daughters of kings, and which, for that very reason, was ill fitted to be used by a daughter of Ximena Muniones. But while the Countess of Portugal accepted that title, the province over which she governed commenced to receive from its own inhabitants the designation of kingdom.

Whether we view Portugal of those days as a county, or province, or kingdom, it is certain that the towns spread throughout the tract of land extending from the Minho to the Douro commenced towards the second and third decade of the twelfth century to unfold a certain character of nationality which it was impossible to ignore. Political events manifested this character more than any other occurrence. In the civil wars which the ill-assorted union of D. Urraca and Alfonso I. gave rise to, and which were prolonged for many years, dissensions did not arise between one or other province, but they had their origin in district to district, from castle to castle, and almost between individuals.

The Barons and principal nobility, styled generally Counts and *Ricos hombres*, were often at enmity with one another, and the masses would enlist under either banners to satisfy personal dislikes beneath the pretext of following this or that party. Portugal, however, in the midst of these strifes and party quarrels, always preserved a firm aspect of moral union; for whatever party for the time being ruled the day, all the Portuguese Barons conformed, at least outwardly, to the system which was accepted as the policy of the country. Whether favouring Alfonso Raymund, or the King of Aragon, or D. Urraca, or engaged in war in the service of any of these, or for their own interests, the Nobles of Portugal fought unanimously beneath the same standard, notwithstanding that they themselves might have any private misunderstandings between them. Thus the idea of dismemberment and independence was visibly seen in the spirit of Henry and of his widow, and this idea became completely embodied during the reign of Alfonso Henry as an expression of the popular will. The existing documents of the first years of the reign of Alfonso Henry in Portugal carry out this idea of D. Theresa.

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The domestic events which occurred during the last days of the death of Henry in the county or Portuguese province are not known, and the silence of contemporary writers at least proves that they must have been of minor importance. The armistice between Alfonso I. and D. Urraca brought a suspension of hostilities. But the character of the Aragonese prince would not allow him to lay aside his arms. Repelled from Castille, he returned to Aragon to renew the war with the Saracens.

Assisted by the Count of Perche, he subjugated Tudela and besieged Zaragoza, a siege which was prolonged until the Almoravide Wali of Granada, Abu Mohammed, compelled him to raise the siege. Meantime D. Urraca, taking advantage of the truce allowed her by the King of Aragon, retired to Galicia in 1115.

While these events were taking place, the Saracens of the Gharb did not engage in any noteworthy aggression along the frontiers of Coimbra —at least, no Arab historian or Christian annal mentions any attempt from the death of Henry to the year 1116.

The war was sustained between the Almoravides and the Counts of the frontiers bordering Toledo, and more particularly in Aragon, in the neighbourhood of Zaragoza and Lerida.

The art of navigation and the science of naval warfare differed considerably among the inhabitants of the Christian provinces on the west of the Peninsula, and of the Spanish Saracens and Africans. The first would construct small ships fit for the commerce and navigation of the coast, from which they never ventured far; while the latter possessed men-of-war ships with which they ventured farther into the ocean, and although they did not attempt long voyages, yet would engage in military expeditions. Quitting Almeria, Seville, Silves, Lisbon, and other ports, they scoured the coasts of Portugal, Galicia, and Asturias, suddenly attacking places near the sea-coasts, pillaging and setting fire to villages, churches, and even fortified royal residences. The inhabitants were either slain or taken captives, and such terror spread among the country people that dwellers of towns adjacent to the coasts in the summer-time would forsake their homes, or hide themselves in caves, where at least their lives could be safe from the sudden inroads of the Saracens. About this epoch the daring of the enemies had increased to such a pitch that it was deemed necessary to stay the ruin which it was working.

The active Bishop of Compostella sent to Genoa, where naval

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science flourished, for expert workmen, and ordered two galleys to be constructed, which, commanded by Genoese pilots, and furnished with soldiers and sailors from Padron, sallied out to the coasts of the Gharb. This expedition destroyed many ships of the Saracens, and Portugal was the gainer by having a more free port for the small commerce which they then had, and Galicia became the principal object of the vengeance of the Saracens, against which, during subsequent years, they directed all their onslaughts.

While Diogo Gelmires in this way was endeavouring to win popular favour by defending Galicia from the aggression of the Moors, he likewise worked to further his own ambitious designs. Ever since his seeming reconciliation with D. Urraca, it appears, he did not cease secretly to promote civil perturbations. Peter Froilaz, Count de Trava, was apparently the head of a party which desired to wrest the government from the hands of the Queen, or at least separate from the Crown Galicia and the districts of Salamanca and Zamora (Estremadura), in order to constitute an independent government for his pupil, Alfonso Raymund.

These events took place at the commencement of the year 1116. D. Theresa, in all probability, had taken possession in that year of a part of the territory of Galicia; certainly she was mistress of Tuy and Orense in 1119, when the bishops of these two dioceses followed her Court, and confirmed in Coimbra the benefits conferred on the Portuguese. Apparently harmony existed between the sisters, and the King of Aragon considered the widow of his former ally as identified with his own enemies.

In the assembly of Oviedo the Infanta of the Portuguese had, in a certain sense, defined her political situation in relation to D. Urraca. The complete independence of Portugal and its dismemberment from the monarchy had not as yet been consummated, and the war made by D. Theresa in Galicia in 1116 proved the independence of her dominions, in the same way as the war waged by the Count of Trava and the other Nobles of Galicia which she had aided. Peace was established in that year, and affairs lapsed into their former state. The supremacy of D. Urraca acknowledged by D. Theresa on the previous year continued to subsist. The retention of a part of southern Galicia by the Infanta alone remained undefined.

The Queen of Leon and Castille visited these provinces several times during the years 1120 and 1121. The war of Aragon made but slow

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progress, because Alfonso I., engaged in his glorious campaigns against the Saracens, was unable to conduct it vigorously. To this cause is attributed the return of D. Urraca from the other extreme of her States, unless it was due to the plot which was started to wrench the crown and place it on the head of the Infante Alfonso Raymund when he should attain his majority.

In order to account for the invasion of the States of D. Theresa in 1121, it is necessary to explain the plot.

It appears that Gelmires, during the tumults of Galicia in 1116, had appeared on the field as an opponent of Count Peter Froilaz and the other partisans of Alfonso Raymund. Probably these had judged the reconciliation effected by the prelate with the Queen to be sincere; and the peace she solicited from the two parties confirms it. The Pope was Calixtus II., brother to Count Raymund, and therefore intimately linked with Spain.

The Pope received, through Bernard, the Archbishop of Toledo, a letter from the Infante, in which Alfonso Raymund complains to his uncle of the conduct of Gelmires, and accuses him of doing all in his power to despoil him of the inheritance of his grandsires. Calixtus II. was deeply attached to the son of his brother Raymund, and, it is said, wept on reading this letter. From that moment he seriously endeavoured to secure the crown for Alfonso Raymund. He bade Gelmires, as a condition for obtaining the archbishopric, to favour energetically and constantly the party of his nephew the King.

The Bishop of Compostella then sent to the Pope a man of his intimate confidence, Hugh, Bishop of Oporto. It is not known what the reply was that he took to the Pope, but it is known that his wishes were gratified. In the bull for the erection of a new metropolitan See, Calixtus II. declares that the pleadings of Alfonso Raymund contributed to this resolution. The Pope did not cease to recommend to him the cause of the youthful Alfonso. At the same time the Duke of Aquitania, William IX., and the Countess of Flanders, relatives of the Infante, were writing to Gelmires in a similar strain, the Duke even declaring that he was resolved at any cost to make his nephew heir to Alfonso VI., and advised him to come to an understanding with Peter Froilaz. Then the wily prelate impetrated a bull from Calixtus II. to release him from the oath sworn to D. Urraca, while imposing the obligation of keeping those he should make to the Infante.

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The youthful Alfonso Raymund meanwhile simulated he was not acting in union with the Nobles of his party that, as time proved, were labouring to arrange a revolution which, unlike other attempts, should prove decisive. D. Urraca then came with her son to Compostella. It was on that occasion that a war with Portugal was decided upon, assigning for its motive that D. Theresa had in former times invaded Tuy and its neighbourhood, and retaining those territories under her own dominion.

About this time Fernando Peres, son of Peter Froilaz, in the service of the Archbishop, was residing in the Court of D. Theresa, and had obtained the most important Government posts of the districts of Oporto and Coimbra, under the title of Consul or Count, the same as that held by Henry of Burgandy. It must needs be that his relations with the Infanta of the Portuguese should be of long standing, and his influence over her very great, to justify that he, a simple knight, albeit the second son of a noble family of Spain, and a soldier of the Archbishop of Compostella, should rise to hold such important posts. The harmony which existed between the son of Peter Froilaz and the prelate was continued even after the war. While each followed on the field one or other of the sisters, they never altered in their friendship.

D. Urraca having resolved to invade the States of her sister, marched with her son to Tuy in the spring or summer of 1121. Gelmires was constrained to follow with his forces and the rustic knights of Compostella, although by their *fueros* they were not obliged to proceed so far as the district of Tuy. When D. Theresa was apprised of the approach of the Galician army, she mustered all the forces she was able, and encamped on the left margin of the Minho, while the enemies halted on the opposite shore. Towards the side nearest to Portugal the river formed an islet which facilitated the passage of the troops, but they were prevented by the Portuguese barks which coursed along the Minho. The dexterous sailors from Padron and the Compostellians, with some knights, embarking on the opposite shore, proceeded to encounter them, and were able to take possession of the islet. This event inspired such terror in the camp of D. Theresa that they abandoned the field, and almost without any fighting, D. Urraca entered into the enemy's territory. At this epoch of barbarism these encounters among the Christians resembled the mutual raids practised by them and the Saracens. As the Galician army descended towards the

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interior of the province, they burnt and robbed and desolated the towns and country they passed through on finding that the Portuguese troops had dispersed. The conquest of Portugal was rapidly progressing.

Gelmires weighed the consequences of this conquest, and, it appears began to work secretly to prevent such an event taking place. He therefore pretended to be deeply grieved at the atrocities perpetrated on Portuguese territory, and expressed an inordinate desire to return to his episcopal duties and functions, by retiring with his troops of Compostellians to Galicia.

D. Urraca suspected the motive of this sudden access of humanity, so she granted the burghers of Compostella leave to return, since their privileges entitled them to do so; but she refused her permission to the Archbishop and his immediate guards. The fortune of war continued adverse to D. Theresa. Not a small portion of Portugal was already subdued, the royal army marching from the south and west had already reached the shores of the Douro, and the Infanta-Queen of the Portuguese had retired towards the district east of Braga. Pursued by her sister, she shut herself up in the Castle of Lanhoso, where she was soon besieged. Affairs had reached to an extreme point for her and for the Barons of the province. Lanhoso was taken, and D. Theresa made a captive; and it required a firm centre to the wheel which was calculated to work the incipient Portuguese nationality. Force of circumstances came to the rescue.

We must bear in mind that Fernando Peres at that juncture was Count of Oporto and Coimbra, and, it is probable, was in Lanhoso with the Infanta-Queen. We must also remember the affection he bore to the Archbishop during the whole of his life, and that both were, one secretly and the other openly, of the party against D. Urraca. The capture and subjection of D. Theresa proved a heavy blow to the interests and designs of Gelmires and his partisans. It was necessary for the ambitious prelate to run the risk of a daring resolve, if he desired to save the cause he had taken up. We do not know what course he really pursued to effect this, but it is certain that D. Urraca decided to arrest him. This was a delicate matter. He had soldiers with him, and, moreover, many partisans in the army, and this fact could not be ignored. In the face of the enemy, such an undertaking became almost impossible to carry out, since it was a matter of certainty that the besieged would take advantage of these strifes

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to disperse them. In this dilemma the Queen evidently preferred to come to terms of peace with her sister than leave unpunished the disloyal ecclesiastic. This she did, and peace was effected between them. A treaty is still in existence of this date, attributed to that event, which was celebrated by the sisters.

Either the position of D. Urraca was a very critical one, and enabled D. Theresa to arrange most advantageously the cessation of hostilities, or she desired to secure the loyalty of her sister by entrusting to her a much larger dominion than she had hitherto enjoyed. In this convention, made on oath by the Queen to the Infanta, she promises to faithfully cherish her friendship and defend her against any evils attempted. She grants, moreover, the seigniority of many towns and lands in the modern districts of Zamora, Toro, Salamanca, and Avila, with the rents and seignioral privileges of these cities, besides others in Valladolid and Toledo. In return she exacts from D. Theresa on oath to protect and defend her against their enemies, whether Moors or Christians, and a further promise not to shelter any rebel or traitor vassal to the Queen.

The newly acquired dominions of the Infanta were to be held under the same bond of tenancy as those she formerly possessed, of which probably reference was only made of Tuy and Orense, or rather these, and of Portugal.

After giving reciprocally sureties to the treaty, the two sisters lived on familiar terms; at least, the confidential counsellors of the Queen judged they could communicate to D. Theresa the resolution formed of imprisoning Gelmires, and the means to be employed. However, D. Theresa, no doubt influenced by Fernando Peres, warned the prelate, offering him at the same time one of her castles to which he might retire, or one of her ships to enable him to return to Compostella. Gelmires, trusting to the sworn reconciliation of D. Urraca, or rather to the strong forces by which he was surrounded, refused the offer. Therefore, he did not withdraw from the Queen, but proceeded with her to Galicia with some of the subjects of D. Theresa, among them the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Orense.

On arriving to the left margin of the Minho, the Queen ordered that the first division to cross the river should be the knights of the army of Gelmires, while he himself remained with the Infante and the Queen, who would follow with the remainder of the army. Scarcely had the soldiers landed and commenced to pitch their camp than the

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Queen ordered the prelate to be arrested, who, unable to resist, had to content himself with simply protesting against such treatment. As soon as the arrest of the prelate became known, the Archbishop D. Paio and the Bishop of Orense fled in terror, a proceeding which seemed to imply that some complicity existed between those belonging to the suite of D. Theresa and the wily Gelmires, and even leads us to suspect, in view of the staunch friendship existing between him and Fernando Peres, that the best faith did not exist on the part of D. Theresa when signing the treaty, and even the great concessions made by the Queen could not altogether sever her from her ally.

For eight days he was imprisoned, during which there was a complete change of affairs. The Archbishop was removed to the Castle of Cira, and D. Urraca proceeded to Compostella, where she met with only signs of discontent. Within the space of a few days she found herself forsaken by her son, Alfonso Raymund, the Count de Trava, Peter Froilaz, and the Nobles of Galicia, these proceeding to the shores of the Tambre on the north of Santiago, where their forces had encamped. Rebellions broke out in the city itself. The Queen was compelled to yield to the force of public opinion, and Gelmires was released; the Queen retaining her own governors in possession of the castles belonging to the Archbishop, which she had subdued during his imprisonment.

The Archbishop was not sufficiently satisfied with obtaining his own release and to witness once more the humiliation of D. Urraca. The possession of these castles were of too great importance not to attempt to regain them. While the Queen hesitated about the conditions to be imposed, Gelmires judged the moment opportune for tearing off the mask, since it was no longer necessary to deceive. Then he joined Alfonso Raymund, inducing Peter Froilaz and the rest of the Counts and Lords of Galicia to do likewise. Alfonso Raymund was entering his eighteenth year, and the entire monarchy was weary of the calamities wrought by the administration of D. Urraca, who was unfitted to direct State affairs, notwithstanding her energetic character. Added to this, the Spanish Barons were jealous of the favouritism shown to Pedro de Lara, the secret husband or lover of the Queen, whose influence was unlimited, meanwhile that Alfonso I. of Aragon, who not only styled himself King, but Emperor of Leon and Castille, continued, either personally or through his deputies, to desolate the monarchy he called his own, and wherein in effect he held a few towns

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and castles. The discontented state of the people and difficult position of affairs rendered their desires easy of fulfilment—viz., that this youth, dowered with superior intelligence, and who was already nominally King of Galicia, should possess the entire inheritance of Alfonso VI.

What had hitherto been only a conspiracy now broke out into a revolution. Since the year 1122 we see Alfonso Raymund winning an undoubted supremacy over the States of his mother, while she was reduced to submitting to the pride of Gelmires, and even seek the protection of that intriguer in the dissensions which she maintained with her son during the four years subsequent to her death.

D. Theresa had at once joined the party of the Archbishop, and probably she took advantage of the proffered peace to save her possessions after the death of Henry, the lands she retained in Galicia and the newly secured States of her sister, judging that it was inexpedient to continue in the party of the Queen, whose star was on the wane. Moreover, Fernando Peres had obtained complete dominion of her spirit, for we know that in this resolution the Infanta-Queen only took a part.

We will not follow here the series of events which took place in Galicia. We are endeavouring to trace the outline of the dark plot which was there concocted in order to understand the scene, and be enabled to draw in its true colours the natural deduction of the government of D. Theresa, and of the facts appertaining to that difficult period of our history.

Therefore, from the end of 1121 to the death of D. Urraca in March, 1126, the period of the decadence of the Queen of Leon and Castille, Portugal appears to have preserved herself completely separated from the convulsions more or less violent of the monarchy of which she still formed a part.

The intervention of the Infanta-Queen of the Portuguese in the general events of Christian Spain had resulted in nearly doubling her dominions. To the south-east of Galicia they extended to the margins of Vibey, throughout the territory called in those days Limia. On the south-west she held Tuy and its dependencies. The seigniority of the important towns to the east of the modern provinces of Tras-os-Montes and Beira conceded to D. Theresa included the dominion of their frontiers. Hence the former county, dismembered from Galicia by Alfonso VI. in 1095, without extending its frontiers on the south, was considerably augmented. The daughter of Ximenes Muniones

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reaped the fruit of associating herself to the party of Galicia. It now rested with her to preserve it. So long as D. Urraca lived, she could retain what had been acquired, but the accession to the throne of Alfonso VII., to which she had contributed, proved contrary to her interests, meanwhile that her disorderly affection for Fernando Peres filled the last years of her life with greater misfortunes than befell D. Urraca.

The son of Peter Froilaz had been invested with an authority nearly equal to that held by the Infanta-Queen. Raised to the rank of Count, he was entrusted with the administration of Oporto and Coimbra, the most important of the States of D. Theresa, who, blinded by her violent passion for Fernando Peres, naturally permitted him to assume supremacy over other Counts and subordinates of the country.

The Infanta was following the sad example given by her sister, and the chief subaltern of Archbishop Gelmires was exercising the same influence as Pedro de Lara in Leon and Castille. The consequences were similar, although in a more limited manner. D. Paio, Archbishop of Braga, was a coarse man, and one of a family better known for their warlike deeds than for mildness or courtesy. His discords with the Archbishop of Santiago concerning the possession of several properties between the Douro and Minho belonging to the See had been violent and protracted.

At length the two prelates became reconciled towards the end of 1121, and in March, 1122, a synod was held in Compostella, at which the Archbishop did not attend, owing to his absence in Zamora. On his return he was arrested by D. Theresa. The motive of this arrest is unknown, but the Pope in June of the same year expedited a bull to Gelmires to compel the Queen of the Portuguese to release him by the end of the following month under pain of excommunication, and of placing the whole of her dominions under interdict. This threat had its desired effect. Subsequent events lead us to suspect that the imprisonment of the prelate was only the first dim sign of the revolution which wrested the power from the hands of D. Theresa to place it in those of her son. The unlimited influence exercised by Fernando Peres had from the first excited jealousy and discontent among the Portuguese Barons. The powerful relatives of the lover of D. Theresa in Galicia, and their relations with the all-potent Gelmires, rendered it necessary to arrange beforehand the means to shake off the yoke of the Count. The family of Mendes de Maia, to which the Archbishop

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belonged, was one of the principal ones who figured in the revolu tion which later on deprived D. Theresa of the government.

Hitherto we have abstained from speaking of Alfonso Henry, around whose infancy there hovers curious legends. Similarly to Charlemagne and Arthur, and nearly all the founders of ancient monarchies, his life from the cradle was invested by popular tradition with marvels and miracles. Unfortunately contemporary records destroy these legends with their testimony, or by their silence dispel the golden dreams which a popular rather than an intellectual erudition had fostered and perpetuated. History is a subject far too grave to employ itself in preserving legends which sprang up in remote epochs. Up to the fourteenth year of his age the son of Count Henry scarcely figures in history. In 1125 he performed the first public act recorded of him. This was his investiture as a Knight in the Cathedral of Zamora on the Holy Day of Pentecost. He proceeded to the altar of San Salvador, and, taking down the accoutrements of knighthood, vested himself in the coat of mail, and buckled on the military belt or cincture, according to the custom of kings. The elevation of Alfonso Henry to the noblest grade of military profession at an age too tender for fulfilling the obligations it imposed, resulted in the noteworthy circumstance that on the following year Alfonso VII. performed a similar ceremony in the Cathedral of Compostella, when he took down from the altar of Saint James the sword blessed by Diogo Gelmires. Very quickly were the cousins to exercise against one another the noble profession which they had accepted, and which the Church sanctified when combating against the Infidels.

During these years the perturbations caused in Africa by the new sect of the Almohades had prevented Aly, the Ameer of Morocco, from prosecuting the war against the Christians of Spain. In this region Alfonso I. of Aragon, the "terrible scourge of the Mussalmans," had chiefly employed the Almoravide forces; and the incursions on the western borders were small, and only effected with the native Saracens of this country. D. Theresa took advantage to restore the line of castles which defended the meridional frontiers of the district of Coimbra; at least, we find the Castles of Soure and Sancta Eulalia were rebuilt. About the year 1122 Count Fernando Peres, who had possession of the Castle of Coja, on the Alva, ceded it to the Queen, receiving in return the seigniority of the two above-mentioned. The Castle of Soure, being more exposed to the raids, could with difficulty

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find any to live in it, yet about the year 1125 it was not only a stronghold, but had increased to an important town.

After a reign of seventeen years spent in tumults and warfare, D. Urraca died in March, 1126. Her death placed the sceptre of Leon and Castille definitely in the hands of Alfonso VII. The greater portion of the Nobles declared themselves for him. The partisans of Count Pedro de Lara vainly attempted to oppose the pacific accession to the throne of the youthful monarch, for the Count himself was compelled to make peace with him. The places which the King of Aragon still retained in Castille began to rebel, and the inhabitants assailed and reduced the castles garrisoned by Aragonese troops in the name of Alfonso VII. War, in fact, commenced with Alfonso of Aragon. The combating King quickly entered Castille, to reinforce the garrisons of the strongholds he still held. Alfonso VII. proceeded with a powerful army to meet him. Notwithstanding the known treachery of the Count de Lara, who with his troops formed part of the Castillian vanguard, and had refused to fight with the Aragonese, Alfonso I. did not dare to encounter his son-in-law. An armistice was then proposed and accepted by the princes; war was suspended for two years, after which it broke out with redoubled force.

The doubts which probably were resuscitated in the interviews of D. Theresa and her nephew at Zamora, concerning the political relations of Portugal with Leon, seem to have remained as undecided as heretofore. But while Alfonso VII. was proceeding to Castille to encounter the Aragonese King, the Infanta-Queen was actively engaged in placing her dominions in Galicia in a state of defence. For this object she sent troops to the north of the Minho; and judging she was not sufficiently defended with such castles as she possessed, she erected new ones, in order to refuse submission to her nephew should he attempt to demand it. Meanwhile the Galician Nobles, ever turbulent, began anew to incite civil wars. Gelmires, who evidently was wearied out with past turmoils, or because he was sincerely resolved to follow for the time being the party of the new King, employed gentle means to bring them to obedience, and Arias Peres, who had so strongly urged the attempted rebellion, now beheld destroyed or captured the Castles of Lobeira, Taberiolo, Penacornaria, and others in which he had trusted, by the forces of the Archbishop and Count Gomes.

The submission of Portugal, however, was an affair of graver im-

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portance. D. Theresa had on her side not only the Barons of Portugal, but likewise her lover Fernando Peres, and the Knights of Galicia, who beneath his wing had come to reside in Portugal. Besides these, she had no lack of soldiers and wealth to sustain the war. As we have seen, D. Theresa, during the government of D. Urraca, had avoided declaring herself altogether independent, but now, proud of her power, and perchance constrained by the more definite pretensions of Alfonso VII., refused formally to fulfil the obligations of her tenancy in conformity with the treaty of 1121, and which, in view of the primary origin of the dominions she ruled over, the Leonese King expected her to observe.

Such were the motives for inciting in Portugal an invasion similar to the one wrought ten years previously, and which left it so desolated. In the spring of 1127, the armistice being ended, Alfonso VII. came to Galicia, collected together the troops of this province, and marched with a numerous army along Entre Douro and Minho. The details of this war are not recorded, with the exception of the evils wrought common to all such engagements and the barbarity of the times, such as devastations of fields and villages, assaults of castles, and the ruin of its greatest towns.

The fortune of war was once again adverse to D. Theresa, because her forces, however great, were inferior to those of her nephew. The reverses experienced in this campaign, which scarcely lasted six weeks, compelled the Queen to acknowledge the supremacy of the monarch. Peace was then effected, and Alfonso immediately retired to Compostella, whose prelate had accompanied him to the war with all the forces he could collect.

The attempts to secure the Portuguese independence carried on for so many years were as yet ineffectual, and now seemed farther than ever. Yet the consequences of the victory obtained by the King of Leon, although serious, were not much to be dreaded. The blind affection the Queen manifested towards a man so greatly disliked by the people, yet who was closely allied and related to many of the Barons of Castille, Leon, and Galicia, and the importance he acquired in Portugal, together with his brother Bermudo Peres, who governed in Viseu, tended to render the future of Portugal very obscure, since she was ruled by the will of a minion whose political plans might be contrary to the desired independence of the country he indirectly governed.

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In view of the confidence which later on Alfonso VII. reposed in Count Fernando Peres, and the war made against Portugal by him in union with the other Counts of Galicia, as farther on we shall have occasion to mention, it will not be too harsh to infer that in the invasion of 1127 he greatly contributed towards the submission of D. Theresa tendered to the King of Leon, the principal agent in the peacemaking being Gelmires, the former favourite.

Such was the political state of the country at the time when the youthful Knight Alfonso Henriques attained his eighteenth year. He was skilled in military genius, intelligent, cautious, and eloquent, according to the testimony of a contemporary—moreover, was possessed of a noble bearing and figure. Ambitious for power, and impelled by the temper of the masses, who were dissatisfied at the influence exercised by Fernando Peres, joined to the instigations of the Nobles, who were ignominiously excluded from a part in public affairs—all conduced to placing himself at the head of a revolution, the outcome of which it was not easy to foresee at this early stage. He possessed personal friends; while the principal Nobles preferred to see him take the helm of the government than allow strangers, with their partisans, to govern through the intervention of D. Theresa. Hence, at the commencement of 1128 the civil war which smouldered during the previous year now broke out.

The principal personages linked with Alfonso Henriques were the Archbishop D. Paio, his brother Sueiro Mendes, surnamed the Fat, Ermigio Moniz, Sancho Nunes, husband of D. Sancha, sister of the Infante, and Garcia Soares. Then in Braga, in presence of these above-mentioned Nobles and other Knights of Portugal, he declared his intention of taking possession of the government, and offered advantages beforehand to the Metropolitan, whose aid in this undertaking he reckoned upon.

From what appears in existing documents, the Infante forsook his mother, who probably at the time was in the court of Alfonso VII., and proceeded in the month of April to the province of Entre Douro and Minho.

The revolution appears to have broken out in that province, spreading to the district of Guimarães, along the county of Refoios de Lima, the territory of Braga, and the lands held in possession by the Nobles of the Infante's party. Nearly three months elapsed before both parties came to war. The Queen marched towards Guimarães with the

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Galician troops and her Portuguese partisans, and encountered the army of the Infante on the field of Saint Mamede, near the town. D. Theresa was defeated, and fled, pursued by her son; and with others was taken prisoner. Traditions tell us that Alfonso Henry loaded her with chains, and cast her into the Castle of Lanhoso. This tradition is not proved by any existing document. It is a fact, however, that in one single day the supreme power, so longed for by the youthful prince, fell into his hands.

Alfonso Henry did not take advantage of this power to revenge himself on his mother and the Count, but only banished them from Portugal. In a similar manner as with D. Urraca, the unfortunate passion evinced by D. Theresa had afforded the pretext or motive for inciting a civil war, and served to sever the natural bonds between mother and son—those natural family bonds which the history of Europe of that epoch show us were constantly broken by ambitious desires.

The records of the daughter of Alfonso I. during the two years she passed in exile previous to her death are very scanty. A fugitive, and despoiled of her prestige of power, who would remember her? It is probable, however, that she was followed to Galicia by Fernando Peres. At least, we find that he did not forget all that D. Theresa had sacrificed for his sake, and even after her death he employed expressions of tenderness which revealed a sincere love and attachment. On bequeathing some lands to the see of Coimbra, with the object of defraying Masses for the repose of her soul, he makes use of these words: "If any should attempt to annul the endowment which I now make, let him pay double for his defiance to royal authority; and should any individual be so heartless and powerful as to permit this, let his fate be one similar to Dathan and Abiram."

This singular document ends by informing us that there were many who still shed tears over the remains of D. Theresa. Contemporary history barely tells us that she died on the 1st of November, 1130. On an ancient tomb in the Cathedral of Braga is found an inscription to the effect that her remains were transferred to where lay those of her husband.

Modern writers, desiring to save the moral reputation of D. Theresa as a wife, forget to do her justice as Queen or Regent of Portugal. Much is said about her connection with Count Fernando Peres for which we have no authority, while the historic value of her government

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is ignored. The acts of the widow of Count Henry for the space of fourteen years, during which she governed, showed great perseverance and skill in her endeavours to further the idea of independence which he had initiated. Yielding to force of circumstances, she did not shrink from acknowledging the supremacy of the Court of Leon to obtain a desired peace, nor to refuse obedience when she judged proper to resist. Associating herself skilfully to the civil bands which were breaking up the Leonese monarchy, she was able to form in their midst a country for herself and her people. And in spite of invasions from Christians and Saracens, of devastations and the evils consequent upon these devastations, she was able to increase her population, wealth, and military strength. By her policy and force of arms she extended her dominions to the east and to the north, preserving on the south the border-line established by her husband. The punishment visited upon her error appears to us over-severe if we take into account the customs of her time; while the conduct of the Portuguese Barons merits from unbiassed minds the imputation of ingratitude. D. Theresa was the victim of a blind and excessive sentiment, notwithstanding that it was a noble one, for it afforded a pretext for rebellion, and fostered the ambition of Alfonso Henry, or rather of those who made use of his inexperience to further theirs. The sentiment which actuated D. Theresa was that of nationality. The Chronicle of the Goths, which assumes the tone of a political censor when narrating the events of 1128, was no doubt only an echo of the populace. In its pages the Galicians are styled foreigners and unworthy strangers. This opprobrious name, applied twenty years previously to the inhabitants of other provinces founded by Pelagio, was inapplicable to Portugal, since a serious revolution certainly could not completely efface the successful progress of seven centuries.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SECOND.

1128—1185.

Government of Alfonso Henry—War in Galicia—Attempted revolution—Continuation of the war—The Castle of Celmes is founded and lost—Alfonso forms an alliance with the King of Navarre and some Nobles of Galicia—Victory of Cerneja—Leiria is lost, and destruction of Thomar—Tuy at peace with the Emperor Alfonso VII.—The Almoravides and Almohades—Expedition of Ourique—Renewal of discords with the Emperor—The encounter of Valdevez—Peace—Algara of the Saracens—Leiria and Trancoso are destroyed—Defeat of the Invaders—Alfonso assumes the title of King—Fief to the Pope—Details of the event—Position of the Saracens—Alliance of Alfonso with Ibn Kasi, and raids of the Christians in the Gharb—Marriage of the King of Portugal—The taking of Santarem, Lisbon, and other places—Civil wars among the Mussalmans—Repeated attempts against Alcacer—Conquests in modern Alemtejo—Leon and Castille at the time of the death of Alfonso VII.—Family alliances between Alfonso I., the Count of Barcelona, and Ferdinand II. of Leon—The King of Portugal is defeated by the Almohades—Beja and Evora are taken—Invasion of the Portuguese beyond the Guadiana—Moura, Serpa, and Alconchel are subjugated—Discords arise between Alfonso I. and the King of Leon—Defeat of the Portuguese in Arganal—Conquest of the south of Galicia—The King of Portugal taken prisoner in Badajoz by the Leonese—He is set at liberty—Precautions taken for the defence of the country—First siege of Santarem by the Almohades—Truce and Marriage of the Infante Sancho, the Prince heir—Invasion of the Portuguese in Andalusia—Reprisals—The Pope confirms the title of King to Alfonso Henry—Continuation of the war with the Saracens—The Infanta D. Theresa is affianced to the Count of Flanders—The Ameer Al-Mumenin—Yusuf Abu Yacub invades Portugal—Second siege of Santarem, and death of the Ameer—Last days of Alfonso I.—Epilogue.

When the Queen and Count Fernando Peres were expelled from Portugal, the whole province followed the Conqueror, although it appears from a contemporary document that some resistance was offered from the end of 1128 to the first months of 1129.

Alfonso VII. could not view this grave event with indifference. A year had scarcely passed since the youthful King had compelled his

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royal aunt to acknowledge herself his vassal, when peace was made between them, after despoiling her of her dominions. The pretext of nationality, as we deduce from the Chronicles of the Goths, was equivalent to a formal declaration of independence. In order to remedy the evil, the Prince might resort to two expedients—he could either reinstate the fugitive Queen by force of arms in the dominions which her son had deprived her of, or, by acquiescing in the actual state of affairs, exact from Alfonso Henry vassalage, or that he should be subordinate to the Crown, as his mother had been during the last years.

The internecine discords of the monarchy, and the almost continual wars sustained against the bellicose King of Aragon, seemed to counsel him to follow the second expedient, or, rather, it constrained Alfonso VII. to do so.

The Infante resisted the pretensions of his cousin. This was not altogether from a motive of ambition; it was also from the obligations due to his subjects to which he had bound himself by oath. With the victory of Guimarães the thought of national independence acquired new vigour, and the masses repelled with horror the idea of subjection to the son of Count Raymund, who was held by them as a foreigner. Therefore Alfonso Henry, it appears, resolved to avoid the evil of war within his own dominions, by entering with armed forces into Galicia. Probably the pretext employed to effect this was the convention made with his father, and also the possession of Tuy, which D. Theresa held, and of the territory of Limia, which he would endeavour to gain as well as Portugal. This idea explains his persistence in assailing the border provinces of the north of Portugal. These attempts by Alfonso Henry were causes of anxiety to the King of Leon, for about this time he had great difficulties to contend with. Christian Spain was burning in the flames of war. Alfonso I. of Aragon persisted in devastating Castille, and the turbulence of the Nobles, partisans of Lara or of the Aragonese Prince, did not permit Alfonso VII. a moment of peace, and compelled him by force of arms to take the castles in Estremadura, Castille, Asturias, and Leon, which had rebelled. The entry of Alfonso Henry increased his difficulties. To avoid the latter evil, he enjoined the Archbishop Gelmires and the Counts and magistrates of Galicia to come forth to encounter him and repulse him in every possible manner. While the latter were collecting their forces, and preparing to march against the Portuguese, the Prelate of Compostella

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fell ill or feigned illness, and the municipal troops of Santiago refused to follow the army. The treachery of several individuals gave the last blow to this hapless undertaking, and Alfonso Henry returned to Portugal without meeting any resistance.

What were the consequences? No record of this has been handed down to us. It is certain, however, that Alfonso VII. did not at the moment endeavour to take revenge for the affront and injury received. He needed a respite from the general disorder, and he convoked the Cortes in Leon when peace was discussed and restored, while the burghers of Compostella were fined for refusing to defend the provinces against the invasion of the Portuguese. The latter, satisfied with the advantages obtained, tacitly or expressedly accepted the pacific arrangements of the Cortes of Leon; at least, we must assume that harmony existed between the two provinces during 1130 and 1131, to account for the persistence of Fernando Peres in Portugal at this period. He had been expelled two years previously, yet he continued to make fierce war against Alfonso Henry during all that time, and this assailing of the States of his rival, whose authority he seemed to have acknowledged, leads us to explain his actions in the way we have done.

We said before that Bermudo Peres, brother to Count Fernando, had obtained the government of Viseu. He either kept aloof from the events of 1128, or he became reconciled to his brother-in-law, since it is a fact that he resided in Portugal in 1131, and the Castle of Seia was under his dominion.

Seia was a stronghold erected amid the ruggedness of the Serra da Estrella, and served as a refuge to the dwellers along the border-lines against the raids of the Saracens from the Gharb, while their warlike inhabitants renewed their entries into Mussalman territories, and existed on those inhospitable mountains chiefly from the attacks and robberies they effected in the fields and habitations of their adversaries. The influence exercised by these lords of the lands and the Alcaides of the castles over those hardened, ferocious men may be easily conceived, since they were well accustomed to obey them in their charges and onslaughts against the Moors, these raids being renewed every spring. The position of the Castle of Seia, its strength, and the ruggedness of its surrounding district favoured the attempted rebellion of Bermudo. The obvious explanation for his rebellious attempt may be sought for in the expulsion of his brother, Fernando Peres, and the ill-will

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existing between the Barons of Portugal and Galicia. The arrival of Fernando at Coimbra about this time is a singular coincidence, and induces the suspicion that he was not altogether ignorant of the proceeding of his brother. The energetic character of Alfonso Henry prevented this tiny flame from assuming the proportions of a conflagration. Apprised of the plot, he marched against Seia, and the conspiracy was put an end to. Bermudo was expelled from the castle and out of the province of Portugal, and later on he served Alfonso VII. against his brother-in-law, who was taken prisoner in the war of Valdevez, and after some years became a monk in the monastery of Sobrado. Those who had joined Bermudo Peres were despoiled of their effects, which were distributed among the servitors of the Infante.

At the age of twenty-one Alfonso Henry possessed a warlike character, and, skilled in the science of arms, was well fitted to develop the scheme of Portuguese nationality and independence which was ripening and taking firm root in the hearts of the people.

The Portugal of those days scarcely formed one-half of our modern territory. The new monarchy had no native ally in the rest of Spain, save Aragon and Navarre. The powerful Empire of Leon and Castille, to the north and east, threatened to engulph it; while to the south its limits were bordered by the Saracens, who were irreconcilable enemies both in race and creed, and it required energy and skill to withstand such dangerous neighbours. Alfonso proved, through the course of a long reign, that he possessed these needful qualities.

Deficient of literary education, it is true—a fact not uncommon in those days to all princes and knights—deprived of a mother's love, which so often softens the hardest characters, yet the lessons of adversity had supplied the schooling of men, and had redoubled his ambition and daring, while the oppression he had suffered rendered him cautious, suspicious of men, and, as a consequence, fickle. "The youth," says a writer of those times, "was versed in the art of governing, but, possessed by an ardent love of glory, he was swayed like a reed at the mercy of the breezes." Coveting to render his name illustrious, valiant, yet with no deep and lasting affection, he would not be the prince to succeed in peaceful times; but his enthusiasm, ambition, and bravery were needed in those troubled times to build up the edifice of independence in the country.

War was again renewed between the years 1132 and 1135. D. Theresa constantly strove to extend her States towards Galicia, and

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her system was persistently followed by her son. We know not upon what pretext he started another invasion to that province, but certainly the Infante penetrated into the lands of Limia. The Counts Fernando Peres and Rodrigo Vela, with other border Counts of the King of Leon, sallied out to encounter him, and he was defeated, and compelled to retire into Portugal. He was not, however, discouraged. He gathered together the noblest and most valiant knights, and returned to the districts of Limia. The Leonese captains did not attempt to dispute the field with him, or else they were defeated by the Portuguese. Master of that territory, Alfonso Henry erected a castle known by the name of Celmes. He then strongly garrisoned and provisioned it, and retired to Portugal. Meanwhile Alfonso VII., on being apprised of this, mustered a large force composed of Leonese and Galicians, and advanced without loss of time to besiege Celmes. A fortification of such recent construction could not offer a lengthened resistance; the Castle was strongly and persistently assaulted, and in a few days fell into the power of the King of Leon. Its defenders were taken prisoners, among whom were some from the noblest families of Portugal.

After the surrender of Celmes, Alfonso VII. increased its means of defence, and expelled the invaders out of all the district, returning victorious to his capital.

The death or imprisonment of so many valiant knights and soldiers produced in the Court of Alfonso Henry a feeling of profound sorrow. On all sides fortune was favouring the son of D. Urraca. Seyfu-al-daulah, the Ameer of Rottat-al-Yahud (Roda), had voluntarily submitted to him. Garcia, the King of Navarre, acknowledged in him a species of supremacy, as likewise the Count of Barcelona. Even the Count of Tolosa, and other no less powerful Barons beyond the Pyrenees, judged it an honour to be his vassals. The renowned King of Aragon, Alfonso I., the most illustrious Spanish captain of those times, and the most terrible adversary of the youthful monarch, had ended his long and glorious career, after being vanquished by the Saracens in the sanguinary battle of Fraga. In a corner of the vast States of the Leonese prince stood the master of a small province bound on the south by the Mussalman; and not only did he dare to refuse obedience to him, but even invaded the territory of the monarchy; and in spite of the last reverses, he continued to hoist the flag of independence, determined to defend it, sword in hand, against one before whom other

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more powerful princes bent the knee. Without a suspicion of national pride, it behoves us to say, however, in truth, that the courage and constancy of the Portuguese and their Prince, at this juncture of affairs, are some of the finest examples of the moral energy which so highly distinguished the middle ages.

We have seen that, with the exception of the small province of Portugal, the whole of Christian Spain, and even a portion of France on this side of the Rhine, directly or indirectly acknowledged the dominion of Alfonso VII. The title of Emperor began to be generally used, and even he himself employs it in the decrees, since he was in reality the lord of so vast a dominion.

In the month of June, 1135, the Cortes were convoked in Leon, and the youthful Prince was solemnly acclaimed Emperor.

The disaster of Celmes checked the audacity of the Portuguese, and the comparatively pacific state of the Peninsula enabled her to revise the laws, which had fallen into disuse owing to the turmoils of the civil war which, from the time of D. Urraca, had been almost constantly taking place.

He began to restore the churches and monasteries, to re-establish order and proper administration, punishing all malefactors, without distinction of classes. With the object of persevering in his conquests along the Mussalman territories, he endeavoured to invigorate the internal strength of the monarchy by means of peace and general prosperity; hence he allowed his cousin to enjoy peace after the advantages obtained for the rest of that year and the following one of 1136, since we find no records of any aggression taking place during that period from either side.

The restless spirit of Alfonso Henry, and the facilities afforded him by the Emperor to repair the affront and defeat in Galicia, did not permit peace to be of long duration in the Christian States of Spain. War broke out anew in 1137. Circumstances attending it compel us to speak of events which, although they do not belong immediately to our history, nevertheless explain the daring attempts of the Infante against such a powerful monarch as his cousin.

The death of the renowned King of Aragon, soon after the affair of Fraga, brought about the dismemberment of the monarchy. In Navarre, Garcia Ramires, a descendant of the ancient princes of that State, was elected King; and in Aragon, Ramiro, "the monk of Thomières," brother to Alfonso I. The King of Leon, on the pretext

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that he was the heir of his stepfather, or because part of the Aragonese provinces had formerly belonged to Castille, or, again, by reason of his superior strength, immediately marched towards Rioja, and took possession of it without meeting any opposition.

The new King of Navarre, far from offering any resistance, came out to meet him, and following the French style, acknowledged him his suzerain, in this way avoiding an impending war. Then Alfonso VII. proceeded to Aragon, and entered the new capital, Zaragoza, which opened its doors to him. Some say that Ramiro retired to Sobrarbe, others that he followed the example of the King of Navarre, and accepted him as his sovereign. It is a fact that from that epoch Alfonso VII. entitled himself not only Emperor of Leon and Castille, but likewise of Zaragoza and Navarre. Garcia, however, only yielded from pressure of circumstances. It was but natural that when the storm would pass over, the desire of independence should spring up anew in his heart. To this cause we must needs ascribe his subsequent proceedings.

The warlike character of Alfonso Henry, and the noble courage of the inhabitants of Portugal to keep independent of the general submission of Christian Spain, excited admiration, and induced alliances to be formed with the master of this small province and its indomitable barons and knights by all who impatiently endured the yoke of the Emperor. Among the latter was Garcia, the young King of Navarre, who, before he attempted any resistance against the suzerainship of Alfonso VII., entered into an alliance with Alfonso Henry.

Galicia, as we have seen, was by far the most turbulent province of the monarchy. The lords of the lands and counts of the districts were ever entering into rebellions simply to satisfy their ambition or avenge some slight injury received. The causes which led to the conspiracy of the two Counts Gomes Nunes and Rodrigo Velloso is unknown. Gomes Nunes governed the lands of Toronho—that is to say, the territory of Tuy which extended along the northern shores of the Minho. Rodrigo Peres held the tenancy of a great number of castles in the district of Limia, besides other seigniorities received from Alfonso VII. Impelled by these powerful Nobles, the Infante took possession of Tuy, and successively of the castles and lands contingent to them. Moreover, they united their troops to those of Portugal, and, together with their new ally, prepared to make war, while Garcia of Navarre broke the treaty of fealty, and commenced hostilities towards the east.

The Castle of Allariz was situated on the left margin of Arnoya, which flows into the Minho below the confluence of this river with the Avia. At this time it was governed by a brave knight called Fernando Annes, whose loyalty to the Emperor was deep-seated and sincere, and he held other castles also. Fernando Annes, with his sons, brothers, and friends, valiantly opposed the invasion, and although he was vanquished, he resolutely fought until he lost all the places given him to defend and guard. When Alfonso Henry proceeded with his forces to the heart of Galicia, and had garrisoned all the castles which treachery had placed in his hands, he returned to Portugal, possibly to recruit his army, necessarily weakened by the distribution of troops in the strongholds he had taken. This was evidently his motive, because he soon returned to Galicia to continue the war.

The captains of the Emperor had meanwhile collected together their troops, and were preparing to follow the noble example of Fernando Annes. Among these were Rodrigo Vela and Fernando Peres, who more greatly distinguished themselves. The Infante found in these two knights most stubborn adversaries, since in his former undertaking in Galicia it was they who repulsed him. The border troops being collected together, the Galician army encountered the Portuguese at a place called Cernesa, or Cerneja. A battle took place, but the fortune of war was against the Counts of Leon, and the Galician troops retreated in disorder. Rodrigo Vela and other knights fell into the hands of the enemy, but two of the soldiers desperately threw themselves on the captors, and rescued their captain, who was able to escape and join the fugitive army.

The future appeared to promise well for Alfonso Henry and his allies, the rebel Counts of Toronho and Limia. The southern districts conquered, and the most illustrious captains of Alfonso VII. defeated, there remained the north of Galicia as the theatre for future conquests. But an event took place at this very moment which stayed the progress of the Infante, and summoned him to defend his own States.

The order of Knight Templars had received from D. Theresa, during the last months of her government, the seigniority of the Castle of Soure. We shall have occasion further on to speak of this and other military orders, in pursuing the plan of our work. These monk-knights, whose enthusiasm and courage are above dispute, and whose institution was with the object of unceasingly warring against the sectaries of Islamism, had, within a few years, altered the aspect of

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the neighbourhood. In those days the tract of land now called Estremadura Alta was covered by extensive forests and woods. These deserts, which formed natural barriers between the two inimical races, might justly be ceded to that military order, composed of solely brave warriors. With the sword in one hand and the sickle in the other, they proceeded gradually to restrain or punish the Saracen raids, while cultivating and populating the neighbourhood west of Soure. There still remained a space open to the invasions of the Saracens, who came, without meeting any resistance, to desolate the neighbourhood of Coimbra.

During the term of peace, which lasted a year and a half, the Infante had during the winter of 1135 laid the foundation for the construction of the Castle of Leirena (Leiria), on a mountain situated in the centre of this vast desert south of Soure, and north-west of Nabão, a spot well calculated to defend his States, and convenient for making war against the Mussalmans. The site overlooked the road to Coimbra, and also was advantageous for effecting, when necessary, a sudden attack upon the most important places west of the Gharb—Santarem, Lisbon, and Cintra.

When the erection was concluded he garrisoned it with chosen knights and troops, appointing as Alcaide, or Governor, a valiant knight called Paio Gutterres.

The Saracens were very dissatisfied with the appointment of this warrior, whom the Christian prince had placed on the very borders of his dominion. Paio Gutterres was, as an ancient writer expresses it, "like Scipio the African;" he harassed them with his raids and onslaughts. At length, irritated beyond measure by their troublesome neighbour of Leiria, the Saracens collected sufficient forces, and marched to besiege the castle. It was this affair which summoned Alfonso Henry from Galicia after the victory of Cerneja. The Mussalman army, composed of Almoravides, or Moors, and Spanish Saracens, took the Castle of Leiria by scaling its walls.

The defence was a desperate one. It is said that two hundred and forty knights and soldiers of the garrison troops were slain defending its walls, among whom were many individuals of high rank. The valiant Paio Gutterres was, however, saved, to fall subsequently into their hands, and made captive.

The loss of Leiria was in a certain measure analogous to the fall of Celmes, and perhaps even more disastrous, for in this it was the blood

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of martyrs, according to the ideas of the times, that dyed the ramparts, spilt by the hands of infidels. This event and the destruction of Thomar eclipsed the triumph obtained in Cerneja. The moral influence of the country became lessened by these reverses, and rendered necessary the return of the Infante to Portugal, to prevent the entrance of the Saracens by more strongly garrisoning the southern frontiers.

We have said that the King of Navarre was impatient under the yoke which fear had impelled him to accept soon after his accession to the throne. On the occasion when the Portuguese Infante entered Galicia, he broke faith with Alfonso VII. The Emperor at once proceeded to repulse the Navarrese as being more powerful, and it was no doubt due to this circumstance that Alfonso Henry owed the success of his attempts. The Emperor was obtaining considerable advantages over Garcia, when the war in Galicia assumed a greater importance on account of the defeat of Cerneja, and drew his whole attention. He had left Palencia and gone to Zamora, when he met a knight who came to announce to him what had taken place on the eastern frontiers. He immediately marched to them with what forces he could hurriedly collect in Zamora, and suddenly appeared at Tuy, entering in without meeting resistance. From Tuy he sent messengers to the Nobles, Counts, and Alcaides, and to the Archbishop of Compostella, to proceed to Tuy and join him in invading Portugal, taking advantage of the coming harvest to destroy the crops and reduce this turbulent province to its last extremity.

The Infante was then returning to succour the southern frontiers, but the losses sustained of many valiant knights naturally discouraged the Portuguese. This fact the Emperor judged would facilitate his conquest. But this was not to be. The lords and knights summoned by Alfonso VII. had delayed coming, and while the aged Gelmires prepared to depart to meet the Emperor at Tuy, he received orders not to proceed, for peace had been concluded between the Emperor and Alfonso Henry.

The motive of this peacemaking is not exactly known, but subsequent events induce the belief that it was the relative adverse positions in which the Emperor and the Infante found themselves which brought it about.

In order to effect this peacemaking, Alfonso Henry had proceeded to Tuy. He was accompanied by the Archbishop of Braga, D. Paio, and D. João, Bishop of Oporto.

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On the Emperor's side were the Bishops of Segovia, Tuy, and Orense. It is believed that these prelates influenced the reconciliation of the princes. The Archbishop had always shown great affection for the Infante, and it was but natural that the Archbishop should endeavour to deliver him from the dire alternative of abandoning his southern frontier to the irruptions of the Mussalmans, or the districts of the north to the vengeance of the Emperor. The convention celebrated was, however, unfavourable to Alfonso Henry; since by it he alone was called upon to fulfil certain obligations, and King Alfonso VII. none. The Infante bound himself by oath to preserve loyally his friendship to the Emperor, never to seek personally or otherwise his death, and should any one attempt it, he would take vengeance as due from a loved son. He also promised in his name, and in that of his Barons, to respect the territories of the Emperor, and should any attempt an aggression he would loyally assist to avenge, or restore the same; also that in the event of an invasion taking place, whether from Mussalmans or Christians, he would proceed to aid him (Alfonso VII.), should he require it. And, moreover, should the son or sons of the Emperor desire to continue peaceful relations, the Infante bound himself to preserve the imposed conditions, and in the event of this treaty being broken by any of the Portuguese Barons, he would repair the evil as far as possible, subject to arbitration, &c. This treaty was sworn to by the Infante and one hundred and fifty of his party, and sealed at Tuy on the 4th of July, 1137, in presence of the Archbishop of Braga, and the Bishops of Segovia, Oporto, Tuy, and Orense.

A treaty which contained stipulations relative to the successors of Alfonso VII. naturally suggested the idea that peace was intended to be of long duration; but the Emperor and the Infante could not really view it in any light but as a truce of greater or lesser duration, as future events might counsel or exact. It was sufficiently disadvantageous for Alfonso Henry, who was not gifted with the virtue of resignation, and it could easily be foreseen that when once the disasters of Leiria were repaired, or any important advantage obtained from the Saracens on the frontiers, he would soon seek a pretext or motive to cast off the yoke. From that moment the war against his cousin became almost a necessity. Had the independence of Portugal been of long standing and firmly established, this state of vassalage in respect to other lands in the Emperor's dominions would not influence his personal authority as Prince of the Portuguese. But the independence

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of Portugal was scarcely an accomplished fact, and the subjection of Alfonso Henry to the Emperor, under any pretext whatsoever, would influence in many ways the future fate of the country. In spite of the solemnity with which it was invested, this treaty of Tuy could not subsist, and its severance sooner or later was inevitable. During the two following years the frontiers of Galicia and Portugal breathed freely after the continued turmoils and desolating raids which had steeped so many Christian swords in blood.

By common consent, the two princes now took up arms for a nobler undertaking—to combat the enemies of the Cross, and pursue that long wrestling commenced more than four centuries before, and which since the conquest of Toledo had given hopes of terminating in the decisive victory of Christianity. The disasters endured in Estremadura, and the triumph obtained in Galicia, had weakened the forces of Portugal. It was necessary to recruit the army before attempting any factions against the Saracens of the Gharb. It would require a tremendous blow to be levelled at the infidels in order to crush down the pride of their past victories, which they persistently obtained ever since the time of Count Henry, when they easily repelled the weak attempts of the Christians, enfeebled by their own civil wars.

On peace being concluded between Alfonso VII. and the Infante of Portugal, the former prepared to invade the Mussalman territories. While the King of Navarre continued the war against the Leonese monarch in the person of his captains, he himself advanced in 1138 as far as the Guadalquiver, since the Portuguese on the side of Galicia were no longer a source of anxiety. From this spot he divided the army into flying corps, bidding them devastate and sack the districts of Jaen, Baeza, Ubeda, and Andujar, setting fire to all open places, and destroying the fields and forests.

Alfonso Henry meanwhile was apparently enjoying complete inaction since the peace of Tuy, as though his restless martial spirit had become weary of a life of continual perils and combats. This seeming inaction was only simulated. He was in reality silently but assiduously preparing for a new and more glorious undertaking than he had ever entered into in the dominions of the Emperor, which had left no definite results, particularly in the Peninsula, where two antagonistic creeds and races were ever in contention, and almost partook of the character of a civil war. He had to avenge the excesses practised on the southern frontiers, and prepare for an extensive raid directed to

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the very centre of the Gharb. It was this scheme which engaged him during that period of seeming repose. The present moment was opportune for carrying out his scheme. During the previous year his cousin had penetrated to within a short distance of the capital of the Mussalman States in Spain, and had devastated places never before reached by the Christians. The weak resistance encountered by Alfonso VII. was an evident sign of the fall of the Lamtunite Empire. Aurelia, a most important military station, was now beleaguered, and the Saracens could not suffer with impunity that the siege should be prolonged were it possible to save Aurelia. In truth, Ibn Ghaniyyah, the Wali of Valencia, in union with other officers of the Almoravide forces of Andaluz, had effected a demonstration against Toledo, with the object of withdrawing the attention of the Emperor from their capital; but this did not prevent him from carrying out his project, and the Almoravide generals had retired without obtaining any success.

It was therefore time to take advantage of these circumstances. In May, 1139, preparations were actually commenced for a military expedition. The different bodies were gathering together under their banners, and in July the Portuguese started for the south. Instead, however, of proceeding to the Gharb by the shores of the Tagus along the territory extending between Santarem and Lisbon, which had been the scene of so many battles, the Infante crossed the river, thus manifesting the intention of proceeding against Silves, the most important town of the province. This daring exploit, and inevitable ruin—its principal object being to break up the enemy's camp—inspired great terror; moreover, this invasion appeared to be in combination with the attack of Aurelia by the Emperor.

In view of the rapid march of Ibn Errik (the name given by the Saracens to the son of Count Henry), the Almoravide generals could not possibly expect succour from the more eastern provinces of Andaluz, yet the advance of the Infante was such that it admitted of no delay to seek foreign aid were there any possibility of obtaining it. Therefore, it became necessary to seek at home for succour to enable them to cut off the inroad of the Christians, meanwhile employing such force as Taxfin might leave behind on his way to Africa.

The vast tract of land divided at the present day into Alemtejo and Algarve formed, at the time when the Almoravides subjugated Spain at the end of the eleventh century, jointly with a part of Spanish Estremadura, and perhaps the province of Seville, the States of

the Beni-Alafftas, the Ameers of Badajoz, who also lorded over the portion of Portuguese Estremadura not yet conquered by the Christians, and therefore they styled themselves Ameers of the Gharb. This ameership, similarly with others of Andaluz, became extinct when the Lamtunites entered, and the government posts of Walis of the districts, the Wasirs of second-rate cities, and the Al-kayids of the castles were naturally distributed among the conquerors. Whether these adhered to the former territorial divisions, or instituted new ones under subordinate governments, is not easy to say. Yet before the Christians commenced to take possession of the territories beyond the Tagus south of Leiria, the Gharb comprehended three provinces.

The first province was Alfaghah, or Chenchir, wherein were situated the cities and castles of Sancta Maria (Faro), Mirtolah (Mertola), Chelb (Silves), Oksonoba (Estoi), Tabira (Tavira), and others; the second, Alkassr Ibn Abu Danès, contained the important cities of Batalios (Badajoz), Xerixa (Xeres de los Caballeros), Iaborah (Evora), Marida (Merida), Cantarat Al-Seyf (Alcantara), Curia (Coria), Belch or Ielch (Elvas?), Bajah (Beja), Al-Kassar (Alcacer of Sal), and various castles and towns, such as Jelmanyah (Juromenha?), and Sheberina (Serpa?); while the third, that of Belatha, whose principal places were the two cities of Chantarin, or Chantireyn (Santarem), and Lixbona or Achbuna (Lisbon), and the rocky stronghold of Chintra, or Zintiras (Cintra). Below Achbuna, on the margin opposite the bay of the Tagus, was seen the fort of Al-Maaden (Almada)—that is, *mine*, from the flakes of gold which the waves of the sea flung on its shores, and to collect which occupied the inhabitants during the winter months.

This important portion of Mussalman Spain was the first to forsake the dynasty of the Lamtunas. During the many turmoils which then harassed Andaluz, an individual called Ahmed Ibn Kasi took possession of Mertola and its adjacent districts, while Seddaray, or Sid Ray, made himself Lord of Badajoz and the rest of the Gharb. From the narrative of Arab historians we cannot gather whether the division was effected before or after the year 1139. But whether previous or subsequent to that date, it is certain that about this epoch Seddaray and Ahmed had divided the ancient monarchy of the Beni-Alafftas into independent States; Seddaray ruling the north and east, and Ahmed the south and western.

But whether these were actually in power, or the country was still subject to the Governors appointed by the Emperor of Morocco, it is

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known that the Mussalman Chiefs of Alemtejo at least joined themselves together to arrest the invasion of their terrible adversary Ibn Errik. The latter was already on the fields extending to the south of Beja, when the Walis and Kayids of the strongholds on the Gharb marched to encounter him. On an eminence rising from the plains of Beja, where the land commences to be rugged and uneven to the Serras of Monchique, stood the Plaza or Castle called by the Arabs, Orik. It was in its neighbourhood that the Saracens and Christians met. Notwithstanding that the former energy and warlike character of the Lamtunites had become weakened by wealth and luxury, due to their past conquests, they fought bravely, and owing to their deficiency of forces, the Almoravide women came to fight side by side with their husbands and brothers in defence of the land considered by the tribe of Lamtuna as a new country, after the conquest of Andaluz.

With this exception, the details of the battle of Ourique are unknown. The Christian Chroniclers of about that time who mention this battle do so in as few words as possible, while the various Arab writers who transmit to us the history of Spain of this period do not afford us any information on this subject, due no doubt to the prominence of greater events which were passing in the Peninsula and in Africa. We only know that the Infante Alfonso Henry broke up the Saracen army, whose chief—styled by the Portuguese Chroniclers *King* Ismar, Smare, or Examare (no doubt a corruption of Omar or Ismael)—was scarcely able to save his life by flight. The battle-fields were strewn with the dead, among which were found many Almoravide women, who perished combating like the Amazons of old. This battle, which in the course of time became so memorable, was fought on the 25th of July, 1139. What the outcome of this battle was is not definitely known. The daring exploit of the Prince of the Portuguese was, as he himself tells us, a *fossado*, or *dead fire*—that is to say, one of the raids practised every succeeding year along the frontiers of the Saracen country.

The peculiar circumstances of this, the first attempt of the Portuguese to penetrate beyond the Tagus, and, conducted personally by the Infante, entering the very centre of the Gharb, where rarely, if ever, the Christian arms had reached, no doubt contributed to render this event in process of time a very important one, until tradition invested it with marvellous and even absurd lights, by handing down to us the result that 400,000 Saracens were conquered, and that the exploit was effected through the intervention of God Himself. If we

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credit ancient chroniclers, and even modern historians, the battle of Ourique was the corner-stone in the erection of the Portuguese monarchy.

It was in the midst of the rejoicing and enthusiasm of this wondrous victory, wherein five Moorish kings had fallen victims, along with the African and Spanish Saracen armies, that the youthful prince who had led and triumphed was proclaimed King.

Alfonso Henry then returned to his dominions. The spoils obtained in that expedition were, however, of far lesser value than the more grave results in the moral order. The Portuguese prince had given the Saracens a rough lesson that their *algaras* along the frontiers of Santarem would be responded to by devastating the central districts of the Gharb. He likewise manifested to the Emperor the daring courage of the Portuguese knights and soldiers, at the same time restoring and exciting the courage of his own people, which necessarily had become weakened by the disasters effected for years on the frontiers of Belatha, which compelled him to accept the humiliating conditions imposed by Alfonso VII. after the reverses experienced in Leiria and Thomar.

War broke out between Portugal and Leon about the end of 1139 or beginning of the following year. The Chronicles of that period do not inform us who first broke the sworn treaty of peace. We only know that the wrestling, which was interrupted by two years' peace, now recommenced. It is presumed that the aggressor was Alfonso Henry, since it was to his interest to annul the treaty made in 1137; and we know that the conqueror of Ourique penetrated into Galicia towards Tuy. While invading that province the Infante met his formidable adversary, the brave Alcaide of Allariz, Fernando Annes, who was no longer the simple defender of a castle, but the general, or prince, of the district of Limia. In that campaign, if we credit the Chronicles of Alfonso VII., the Portuguese were not successful, although they took possession of some castles; and the silence of our own Chroniclers with respect to these events appears to confirm it. The Leonese obtained various advantages; they took some of the principal knights prisoners, who had, in order to obtain their liberty, to pay heavy ransoms, no doubt from the spoils they had acquired in their former raids beyond the Tagus. The Infante was wounded by a lance hurled at him by a trooper of Limia in one of the encounters, and for some time was unable personally to conduct the war.

Although it appears that generally the campaign on the northern frontiers had not been favourable to Alfonso Henry, yet his valour, and that of the Portuguese Barons and Knights, rendered him an adversary to be respected, and of some importance. Besides the entries into the Saracen territories up to the Guadalquiver, and the siege and conquest of Aurelia, effected within the two previous years, the Emperor sustained continual war with Garcia, the King of Navarre; but when he knew that the Infante was about to enter with armed forces into his territories, he marched against him with the forces of the province of Leon, meanwhile enjoining the Counts of Castille to continue strenuously to combat the Navarrese king. During the first attack some of the castles fell into the hands of the Leonese, and the lands through which Alfonso VII. passed were sacked and destroyed.

Following the current of the Lima, on its right margin, the mountain range of Penagache in Galicia extends into the province of Portugal, forming to the east of Arcos de Valdevez the rugged declivities of Soajo on the lofty plains of Peneda, whose rude dwellers, even to this day, still preserve the traditions and usages of ancient times. This tract of land bristles with mountain ranges fissured by rivers and torrents. Near the city of Arcos these lofty cordilleras become forked and level, leaving towards the west the meadow-lands of Valdevez. Advancing from the northern side after crossing the Minho, or perchance marching towards the east across the province of Tras-os-Montes, the Emperor descended from the heights along the wild ravines to take the route of the shores of the Lima. Passing the Portella de Vez, which derives its name from the same stream and meadow-land, he encamped opposite the Castle of Penna da Rainha, or what perchance was formerly called Torre de Pennaguda. Count Radimiro was advancing with some forces to despoil the enemy's territory, when he met the Infante, who was coming hastily to encounter the invaders. A combat ensued, and the Count, who imprudently attempted to withdraw from the body of the army, was defeated and taken captive. The Portuguese, elated by this success, did not hesitate to advance towards Valdevez, and Alfonso VII. beheld the whole range of those rugged mountain heights crowned with an array of lances.

In the same way as in epochs of advanced civilisation there is often a tendency to generalise the customs of diverse peoples, so also during

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the infancy of society we find that customs barbarously poetic are often repeated among nations widely divided by distance or time. The heroes of the Iliad were preludes of battle engagements by single combats, with which they excited the energy and enthusiasm common to warriors. The Middle Ages often witnessed a renewal of the scenes enacted during the infancy of Greek civilisation; and on the base of the sullen Soajo were likewise repeated the Homeric duels. The meadow-lands of Vez offered itself as a vast enclosure between the two armies, within which the Barons and Knights of Leon and Portugal could meet hand to hand, without the disorder and confusion of battle, to test which of the two provinces of Spain could wield the stronger arm or evince a more fierce spirit. It was an extensive tournament, and the victory was gained by the valiant warriors of the Infante.

Fernando Furtado, the brother of the Emperor; Bermudo Peres, brother-in-law to Alfonso Henry; and Count Ponce de Cabrera, with many of the most renowned Nobles of the Emperor's Court, were hurled down by the lances of the Portuguese, and, following the laws of knighthood, remained their prisoners.

The event remains recorded under the name of *Jogo do Bufurdio*, or Boforda, an appellation given to this place from the tournament, and, later on, popular tradition, enlarging on this success, called it *Veiga da Matança* (Meadow of the Slaughter), although history does not tell us that any of the noble contenders were slain.

In that superstitious age the defeat of Count Radimiro, and the defeat of so many principal knights and lords, must have been to the Leonese evil presages for the forthcoming battle which was impending. And, in truth, the defeat of these illustrious men afforded a just subject for discouragement, and necessarily this discouragement must have increased in view that the Portuguese had taken a superior position. At this juncture Alfonso VII. sent messengers into the enemy's camp to solicit the Archbishop of Braga, in his name, to mediate for peace.

Although the Infante had obtained some advantages, yet the future outcome of the war was uncertain, and the Portuguese prelate easily acceded to the wishes of the monarch. The apprehension of war being now dispelled, the two cousins had a friendly interview, and peace was discussed. A suspension of hostilities for some years was agreed upon, and some of the highest officers of both armies were appointed as

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sureties of the treaty until such time as a more definite treaty of peace, and one more lasting, should be effected, a fact which was realised some years subsequently. Meanwhile the prisoners taken on both sides were at once released, and the conquered castles reciprocally restored.

These events took place towards the end of 1139 up to the spring of 1140. The Saracen chief in Ourique was apprised of the entry of Alfonso Henry into Galicia, and the reverses he had experienced. It was natural that the news of the wounds received in that affair should be exaggerated. Thirsting for vengeance, Omar collected together the forces of the Gharb, and crossing the frontiers, unexpectedly assaulted and captured the Castle of Leiria, which had been newly repaired and garrisoned. Some of the garrison troops were slain, and the remainder, with its Alcaide, Paio Gutterres, were taken captives, and this important stronghold reduced to a heap of ruins. From thence it appears the Saracens pursued their devastating march, interning themselves into the centre of Portugal, and proceeding towards the north, advanced to the immediate neighbourhood of Trancoso. The fate of this town was similar to that of Leiria, and the Saracens would have drawn greater vengeance for the devastations effected during the previous years by the Christians in the province of Al-Kassr, had not the reconciliation effected between the Emperor and the Infante enabled Alfonso Henry to fly in aid of the castles to the south. Followed by his cohorts, he descended along the margins of the Lima, passed over the Douro close to Lamego, and marched towards Trancoso. In two successive encounters the Mussalmans were defeated, thus paying heavily for the reparation sought for the affronts received in Ourique.

The concord effected in Valdevez as a preliminary to the treaty of peace between Leon and Portugal, the conditions of which were to be drawn up more leisurely, sufficiently testified to the military reputation of the Infante of Portugal, and that the Emperor no longer deemed it easy, or even perhaps possible, to bring to submission the warrior-son of Count Henry. The generous youth had comprehended the lofty thought of the brave men whom fate had placed at the head of affairs, that of founding an independent kingdom on the west of the Peninsula. This scheme, conceived by his father, eagerly approved by the Portuguese Barons, largely developed by D. Theresa, perchance would have been completely realised had not the amorous passion of the Queen and its consequences given rise to so many

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intestine wars. This grand idea, in the opinion of the masses, had become an accomplished fact. And the people were right. Notwithstanding that in the wording of the treaties of 1121 and 1137, there exists undisputable expressions which reveal a certain inferiority or subjection of the Portuguese princes to the Leonese crown, and that likewise after the invasion of 1127 Portugal appears at times to resign herself to the same fate as the other provinces of Christian Spain—facts positive and palpable contradict this species of political fiction. The Portuguese flag no longer waved in the lands of the Infidel side by side with the standards of Leon and Asturias, of Galicia and Castille, and of Toledo. The Infante of Portugal when uttering his war-cry and flinging himself upon the range of Saracen lances, proceeds like the king of wild beasts seeking alone his prey, meets face to face Islamism, without asking aid from other princes, whom he already considers as strangers. Never was he seen in the Court of the Emperor; in the political assemblies of the monarchy his seat is always empty, and its coffers are never opened to receive the municipal tributes of Portuguese provinces, although these provinces are beginning to be covered with habitations, and towns which were either restored or newly founded. In one word, the arrogant Alfonso VII., who could not consent to the independence of Aragon, and in a certain sense to that of Navarre, assuming the title of Lord of Naxera, and who includes these two provinces in the number of his dominions, does not attempt to assume that of *Dominator of Portugal*, contenting himself perchance by imagining that this new State is virtually included under the name of Galicia, of which he is master, and that a few years previously the two districts of Oporto and Coimbra adjoined.

What are we to deduce from this opposition between material facts and the political character of our national relations with the Leonese monarchy of that epoch? The most obvious is, that a certain number of circumstances, which viewed at the present day are impossible to be appreciated, had rendered the Portuguese nationality sufficiently distinct, and that although its existence was of recent date, yet even in those rude days it would be a difficult matter to destroy it. And we go further than this. The reader must bear in mind and remember what were the pretensions of Count Henry after the death of Alfonso VI. These pretensions afford us the clue to the process of the dismemberment of Portugal. He wanted for himself a large portion of the inheritance left by his father-in-law. The King of

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Aragon and D. Urraca, who were the contending parties, judged it expedient to yield up to him the west of the Peninsula, with the object of attracting him and his partisans over to them. The division and demarcation of the new State had been done with all possible solemnity, and with the concurrence of the Barons of Leon and Castille. From that moment the ambition of the Count assumes a legitimate foundation. From thence arose the pretensions of D. Theresa after the death of her husband, and subsequently the insistence of the Queen and her son in attempting to take possession of the lands of Galicia, and even the districts of Zamora, Toro, Salamanca, and Valladolid, which in 1121 were so easily ceded by D. Urraca to her sister.

The invasions beyond the northern and eastern frontiers of Portugal about this period always strike us in perusing the pages of its history to be so sudden, so devoid of any plausible motive, that we are led to believe that there existed some permanent cause which rendered all other pretexts subservient to it. Perchance the barbarity of the epoch might possibly explain somewhat, but it would be overmuch exaggeration to ascribe this constantly to the ferocity of the time, their unbridled passions, and the severing of their most solemn treaties.

Accepting this hypothesis, the relative position of Portugal and Leon was reciprocally false. If the question of independence could, even in 1140, be considered a problem, that of the limits of the State which should belong to the heir and representative of Henry of Burgandy was no less disputable.

The difficulty of resolving this complicated question appears to us, from the records and documents of that period, to hinge on the exact value of the relation which had arisen between the new State which had sprung up and that from whence it had originated.

In the eleventh century, the title of Infante was already used by the sons of kings. D. Theresa, as we have seen, had received from her subjects the title of Queen even during the lifetime of Count Henry, and after the death of her husband had employed it in her diplomas and decrees. Her son, when he wrested the power from her hands, retained for some years the title of Infante, by which he had been previously styled. The Portuguese were not long before they invested him with the title of King, which the youth hesitated to assume. By degrees he began to adopt that of Prince together with Infante, the former predominating from the year 1136. The word Prince was a

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generic vocabulary to indicate chief, or principal personage, of a province or district, and even of a body of troops, becoming in process of time a more ambiguous term than in our modern tongue, and therefore more suitable to the indefinite position in which Alfonso Henry was placed. We notice, however, that when circumstances constrained him to withdraw his scheme of a complete independence, he relinquished the title of Prince and only employed that of Infante. The people addressed him by either at times, but more generally used that of King. After the truce of Valdevez, Alfonso Henry altogether adopted the title of King.

On the battle-field of Penna da Rainha, the convention of peace, as we have seen, was not definitely concluded, but reserved for a more favourable occasion. From thence Alfonso VII., after a short delay in Santiago, Leon, and Castille, marched to the side of Pamplona, to revive the war of Navarre, and, after desolating that territory, returned to Naxera, from whence he proceeded to Castille. The news of the extraordinary preparations of the Emperor, and the preliminaries of peace effected with the Prince of Portugal, filled the spirit of Garcia with grave apprehensions. Fortunately the Count of Tolosa, Alfonso Jordão, cousin to the Emperor, was at the moment in Spain on a pilgrimage to Santiago.

Through his intervention the King of Navarre was enabled to ward off the storm. A treaty was discussed and concluded, says the Chronicler of Toledo, and he of Navarre acknowledged the supremacy of the Emperor, the latter giving in marriage his illegitimate daughter, D. Urraca, who was still a child, the marriage actually taking place four years later, in 1144.

Meanwhile the Saracens, defeated in their undertaking of Trancoso, retreated to the south. Alfonso I. was then informed that a French fleet of seventy sails was anchoring near the Port of Gaia, where, harassed by storms, or from some other cause, it had grounded within the river. They were sailing to the Holy Land, perchance because the Christian princes of Syria were soliciting aid from their co-religionists of Europe, apprehensive of events which brought about the loss of Odessa, and afforded a motive for a second Crusade. The Portuguese prince decided to attack the Saracens along the district of Santarem. The project was arranged with the commandants of the fleet, who weighed anchor, and following the coasts, entered into the Bay of the Tagus, meanwhile that an army by land was marching towards Lisbon.

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It was a well-defended stronghold, as time proved, and the forces of the King, jointly with those of the Crusaders, were insufficient to conquer it. After devastating the neighbourhood, the fleet set sail for the Strait, while the army retired with the spoils collected, which was one of the chief objects of these continual raids.

After these successes, the first care of Alfonso Henry was to fortify the southern frontiers of his States. The Castle of Leiria, which was destroyed during the last *algara* of the Saracens, being considered as the key of the country on that side, was very quickly repaired and garrisoned. Its importance was such, that in a document drawn up by the Municipal Council of Coimbra, it was declared that the soldiers of the Council who should decide to proceed to Palestine to fight for the faith were to defend Estremadura, and especially Leiria, where, in the event of meeting their death, they would obtain the same privileges of remission of sins as if they had died in Jerusalem. The Fortress of Germanello was likewise constructed about that time, in order to prevent the insults of the enemy, when, advancing from the province of Al-Kassr along the rugged mountainous territories to the north-east of the Tagus, they ventured to follow the course of the Doessa, and ravage the fields of Ateanha and Alvorge between Pombal and Penella.

The year 1143 arose in the midst of these preparations. Taking advantage of the difficulties which harassed the Almoravides, the Emperor besieged Coria, which surrendered, after vainly imploring aid from Africa, while the renowned Alcalde of Toledo, Munio Alfonso, defeated the Walis of Seville and Cordova. During the spring Alfonso VII. devastated the districts of Carmona, Cordova, and Seville, returning to Toledo laden with spoils, which he divided among his army. The death of Munio Alfonso, who perished in a combat with the Saracen leader of Calatrava, however, produced a vivid impression on the spirit of the Leonese prince, who dismissed his troops, resolving to discontinue the war until the following year.

It was during this period of peace, or respite from the war against the Mussalmans, that the treaty of Valdevez for a more lasting peace was now entertained. Cardinal Guido de Vico about that time was sent over by Pope Innocent II. to Spain as his delegate, and summoned a Provincial Council in Valladolid, where the resolutions of the Second General Council of Lateran were promulgated, and some other provisions were made in relation especially to the Church of Spain.

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The Emperor and the King of Portugal proceeded at that juncture to Zamora to hold a conference to arrange the conditions for a more permanent peace. Guido, probably as a representant of the Pontiff, was called upon to assist at the conference of the two princes, who, it appears, amicably resolved upon the controversies which had delayed the conclusion of the treaty of peace. What were these conditions? No especial record has reached down to our days, but it may be affirmed that the Emperor acknowledged the title of King which his cousin had assumed, and the latter received from him the seigniority of Astorga, by that tenancy holding himself as his vassal. It is not improbable that even as King of Portugal he should be held as a sort of political dependant of Alfonso VII., the *Emperor of all Spain*, as he entitled himself in his decrees. In this manner, peace being established within the two States, Alfonso I. retired to his own dominions, leaving as Governor of Astorga his subaltern in command, Fernando Captivo.

The separation of Portugal, therefore, was an accomplished fact, whatever might be the nominal dependence under which the Prince remained to the Emperor, and no force of arms or treaties had been able to prevent this result. Yet the treaty of Zamora left an open door to future disputes about the legitimacy of the fact, while the concession of Astorga, as a seigniority altogether subject to the Crown, was a heavy thraldom to the ambition of Alfonso Henry. On this account the characteristics of the King of Portugal, under vassalage to Leon, began to be more evident. Should this subjection be a source of hope to the Emperor and of his counsellors, the Portuguese Prince well knew how to evade it. The intervention of Guido in that affair, and the very insinuations of the Legate, were perchance the path by which he might sever the frail thread which bound him to the master of all Spain. It is true that the institutions of the monarchy of which up to then Portugal had formed a part, disproved its absolute and complete separation; it was therefore necessary to annul them by a jurisprudence superior to them. The people, whose chief was Alfonso I., had not, nor could claim, a public right different from that of the Leonese, which was the same as of the Visigoths, with whom its political state strictly depended upon national elections; and, in truth, the youthful Prince had for years received from his subjects the title of King, although we know of no actual election. But this alone would be insufficient to destroy the Gothic laws, which were in oppo-

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sition to the dismemberment of the monarchy in spite of some former abuses. Hence, with political rights which might well be disputed, in an epoch when force decided more than ever the fate of cities and their rulers, it became possible, or rather probable, that in the wrestling for its independence, Portugal, still in its infancy, should fear to succumb sooner or later, as in the case of Navarre, unless by placing itself beneath the shadow of the Pontifical throne, Alfonso Henry could render his own throne firm and permanent.

The supremacy generally exercised by the Sovereign Pontiff above all other Christian monarchies associated itself to the idea that the Roman See held an especial and immediate dominion in Spain, and that, as a consequence, once the Supreme Pontiff should declare himself the protector of the new State, its individual existence would depend on a political jurisprudence superior to the Visigothic institutions.

Ever since the tenth century, and even from the time of Pope Gregory VII., the maxim that, in a certain sense, the legitimacy and power of temporal princes were derived from the Pope, became extended and established as a principle of public right, and this maxim reached its height during the Pontificate of Innocent III. The Papacy, in the words of an eloquent writer, was a kind of tribunal of dictatorship, since its action, falling immediately over the ferocious and brutal rulers of Europe, exercised its power to protect the weak and helpless. The religious influence of the Pontificate at an epoch principally characterised by the association of a lively faith and laxity of customs, became a powerful balance to render vacillating the firmest thrones, but at the same time it was a firm column, against which the weakest might lean. The sovereigns of those days whose systems of government were not established sought the moral force of the Pope to settle their questions of ambition, obtaining this assistance at the price of concessions which helped to consolidate the invariable policy of Rome to render practicable the idea of a universal dictatorship. At times they repelled the idea that the Pope should be the dispenser of crowns, but the very ones who in some juncture refused the supreme jurisdiction of the Church, were the most forward to acknowledge and invoke its aid when urged by necessity or ambitious motives.

Towards the twelfth century the dictatorship of the Pope daily acquired strength, and the newly formed States, or the dynasties which by means of revolution had substituted ancient ones, endeavoured to

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legitimise their political existence by seeking the confirmation of the successor of Saint Peter.

Independent of the theocratic idea which then predominated over Christendom, Alfonso Henry had scarcely signed the peace treaty of Zamora than he tried to evade its consequences, which later on might prove unfavourable, by appealing to the doctrine of Pope Gregory VII., and acknowledged that the supreme dominion of the Christian States of the Peninsula belonged to the Pontiff.

This acknowledgment was made at the hands of Guido, either previous to the departure of the Legate in November, 1143, to preside at the Synod of Gerona, or when he passed through Portugal previous to his return to Rome.

In a letter addressed to the Pope, the new monarch declares the relative position he is placed in with regard to the Apostolic See, and the homage due by offering his kingdom to the Roman Church, and paying an annual tribute of four ounces of gold. The conditions of this homage were that his successors should contribute an equal quantity, as king, and that as vassal (*miles*) of Saint Peter and of the Pontiff, he should ever find aid and protection, not only personally, but in all affairs respecting his country and its honour and dignity in the Holy See, not acknowledging other dominion, however eminent, ecclesiastical or otherwise, save that of Rome in the person of its Legate.

This declaration, issued in December, 1143, was addressed to Pope Innocent II., but he had died meanwhile, and was succeeded by Celestine II. The government of Celestine was of very short duration, and the letter of the King of Portugal either did not come to hand, or the affairs of France and Sicily, which especially required the attention of the Pope, prevented his replying within the four or five months which his Pontificate lasted.

The successor of Celestine II. was Lucius II., and elevated to the Pontifical Chair in March, 1144. In May he replied to the Portuguese prince, lauding his design of paying homage to the Apostolic See by submitting the lands which God had entrusted to him. Through the Archbishop of Braga, who was at the time in Rome, or perchance through fresh letters, Alfonso Henry had confirmed the promise of perpetual tribute, and begged to be excused from proceeding to the capital of the Christian globe, and in person paying his homage, an act which, according to the usages of the time, should be done in person.

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Lucius II. absolved him from this latter duty in his reply, in consideration of the grave state of affairs, and the exigencies of the war sustained against the Infidels, which prevented the absence of the prince. Hence in view of the proffered tribute, and in proof of his obedience and submission, Lucius, in quality of Supreme Pastor, promised him and his successors as heirs of the Prince of the Apostles, blessings and material and moral protection by which, strengthened against visible and invisible enemies, they might be enabled to resist their adversaries, and in death obtain the reward of eternal life.

Notwithstanding the affectionate wording of the Pontiff's reply, there was a clause in it which, in a certain measure, rendered the promises given so liberally of lesser value. Alfonso I. was King by the will and wish of his subjects, and through the concession of the Emperor, who styled himself Monarch of all Spain. Portugal was, nevertheless, a kingdom, although they might consider it dependent on the Leonese Crown. Lucius II., however, in addressing the letter, styles the young monarch by the title *dux Portugallensis*, which strictly means in the Latin tongue, principal head, or chief of Portugal, a vague designation which admitted of diverse interpretations; yet avoiding at the same time to call the country kingdom by employing the word *land* in relation to the dominions of Alfonso I., notwithstanding that in his letter of submission he styled himself *King*, and qualified the dominions made tributary to the Pope a *Kingdom*.

One such circumstance sufficed to alter the aspect of affairs. The homage of the Portuguese Crown having been accepted by the Apostolic See, the last vestiges of its dependence in relation to Leon altogether disappeared, but the title of king in regard to Alfonso Henry became doubtful. The separation of Portugal was concluded and legitimised, but not so the question of the monarchy. As vassal to the Prince of the Church, it was due to the Pope to confirm the royal dignity. It was upon this matter that the negotiations with Rome militated from that time up to the pontificate of Alexander III., who finally and in an explicit manner recognised this dignity in the dynasty of Henry of Burgandy.

It appears that the news of the especial relations which were being established between Portugal and the Pope did not transpire for some time, as this affair was conducted secretly, but at length Alfonso VII. became acquainted with what passed. Probably he summoned the Portuguese king to follow up the conquest of Almeria, to which all the

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Christian princes and lords of the Peninsula assisted, with the exception of Alfonso I., who refused to serve him, thus bringing into force the homage he had tributed to the Pontiff, and the privileges obtained from Rome. Contemporary documents prove this. Lucius II. died within a year of his pontificate, and was succeeded by Eugenio III. in February, 1145. The Emperor then addressed a letter to the Pontiff, which has not reached our time, but from the reply which it elicited from Eugenio may be deduced its contents. Two questions were mooted in that letter, the one ecclesiastical and the other secular, and both related to the independence of Portugal. In order to understand why Alfonso VII. treated these two questions, apparently diverse, in the same letter, and the reason that the ecclesiastical question, which to all appearance was strange to the political one, was really linked to it, we shall state a few facts concerning the state of the Metropolitan See of Toledo and that of Braga, and the wrestling between them.

From the seventh century, when the Goths were in possession, the Bishop of Toledo, the chief capital of the monarchy, had attained the supremacy over the other Metropolitan Sees, on account of its relations with the civil powers, due to the discipline of the National Church. So long as the Arabs ruled over the greater part of Spain, the Prelate of Cordova, the seat of the Saracen government, acquiesced in this kind of supremacy, which, similarly to all other primacies of diverse regions, had sprung from causes purely political. When Toledo was restored and converted into the new Gothic monarchy, Bernard, its first Archbishop, obtained the title and dignity of Primate of All Spain from Pope Urban II. in virtue of the pre-eminence which this See had formerly enjoyed.

For some length of time Braga accepted without dispute the validity of this primacy. The first Archbishop of Braga, appointed after the restoration of this Metropolis, was Giraldo, who was a client of Bernard, and as such did not rebel against the order of hierarchy already established. Three individuals of violent character successively obtained the Archbishopric of Braga—Maurice Burdino, Paio Mendes, and João Peculiar. The resistance which these prelates exercised against the authority placed above them by the Archbishop of Toledo, as primate or delegate of the Pope, daily grew more fierce, meanwhile that the Toledan became more exacting in enforcing obedience. The phases of that great contest furthered the independence of Portugal. And in proportion as the dismemberment of the country became more

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evident, the pretensions of the primacy of Toledo increased. To this was joined the confusion which in that epoch reigned between the Ecclesiastical or Provincial Councils and the Parliament or Cortes, wherein the Councils promulgated laws which were purely civil, and were authorised and enforced within the diocese of each bishop who intervened, while the supremacy of the Toledan prelate invested him with the right of convoking to these assemblies all who belonged to the Peninsula, and legislated for States which were politically divided.

These and many other reasons too numerous to mention explain the context of the letter addresséd by Alfonso VII. to Eugenio III. about the years 1147 and 1148, and the Pope's reply, which has been handed down to our days. The Emperor complains that the Pontiff is endeavouring to diminish the seigniority or dignity of the monarchy, and break the laws; that he had accepted certain things from Alfonso Henry, and given others in such a way that the rights of the Leonese Crown had been curtailed, or rather destroyed, with abiding injustice. Also that the Archbishop of Braga would not acknowledge the primacy of Toledo, which had been established by Urban II., and confirmed by all his successors, even by Eugenio himself.

In the reply, Eugenio III. briefly alludes to the complaints concerning the acceptance of tribute and promises of protection against those who might attempt to rule Portugal, and in an ambiguous manner denies the fact, and covers his denial in a torrent of vague words and expressions of affection. He attempts to offer satisfaction to the Emperor at the expense of the Archbishop of Braga. His predecessors enjoined the Metropolitan of Braga to obey the Primate of Toledo; he commands him to do so, and his precepts must be obeyed. João Peculiar is offered as an expiatory victim to the homage rendered by the Portuguese prince, and he is accepted by the Court of Rome. The Pope was inexorable in the matter, and the Prelate of Braga, suspended from his pastoral duties, in vain pleaded his cause before Eugenio III., who, to please the Emperor, not only constrained him, but likewise all the archbishops and bishops of the Peninsula, to acknowledge the primacy of Toledo.

This affair put an end to the long contention of the separation of Portugal from the Leonese monarchy—at least, there are no existing records to show that the Emperor made any attempt to recover the smallest degree of authority in that part of Spain, and at the same time Alfonso I. seems to abandon altogether the scheme of extending his

States to the north and east of the Portuguese frontiers, and there are no vestiges to show that he retained the dominion of Astorga, which leads us to suppose that naturally Alfonso VII. deprived him of it as soon as he was aware of the negotiations he had entered into with Rome. From this time the whole strength of the conquering spirit of the Portuguese prince was directed to the south against the Saracen territories in dispute with his cousin. Each on his side, the cousins contend, and hurl their clashing weapons against the root and worm-eaten trunks of Spanish Islamism, and the tree groans as it breaks to pieces beneath their strong arms. A great change is then worked on the character of our political history. The wrestling for dismemberment is succeeded by that of assimilation, and Portugal becomes constituted. The blood spilt in many combats, the ravages effected by successive invasions, and the energy, persistence, and skill manifested and brought into action during a period of nearly thirty years were the price paid by our grandsires for its independence.

Historians have sought to assign an exact date, one only point in the course of time, when it had its birth and the thought sprang into a reality; but this could not be done. But preoccupied by this idea when examining partial successes, they place the greater part of them in a false light. Thus does the history of Portugal in its infancy become filled with strange, false fables, and transfigured by the wrong appreciation given to its true events. Fables generally have their origin in some actual event, and after a time quit the memory of the reader, leaving behind on the mind solely the lineaments of the principal facts in history.

Before commencing the narrative of the warlike projects of Alfonso I. against the Saracens, it is needful to glance over the events which were taking place in the Mussalman States, since they were to be the arena for the exploits of the King of Portugal—events so important that they tended to consummate and secure the separation of Portugal from Christian Spain, and also facilitated in an extraordinary manner the new attempts which the King of Portugal was about to make, impelled by political needs and ambition. Superficially viewed, it is not easy to explain the repeated triumphs and speedy conquests effected by Alfonso I., since we see him master of a small province, poor and sparsely populated, and with no resources at hand but what it could offer, nevertheless subjecting to his dominions the greater portion of the Gharb, a territory densely populated,

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enriched by industry, agriculture, and commerce, covered with cities and flourishing towns, and defended not only by the native population, but by the Saracens of Africa. This phenomenon is explained to us by our good and simple Chroniclers in the light of miracles of personal valour, by miracles of Heaven—solutions easy to advance, but difficult to prove. The marvellous disappears on contemplating the sad spectacle of the political and moral cancer which was devouring the Mussalman society of Spain. Without in any way denying to the warriors of the Cross the prowess and enthusiasm of those vigorous ages, their exploits become reduced to ordinary proportions when confronted with the actual situation of those whom they conquered and subjugated. Far from denying the intervention of Providence in the destinies of the human race, we shall find in this idea alone ample scope for admiring the laws of moral order which rule the universe, and which are no less immutable than the physical ones which preside over its material existence. The Mohammedans of the Peninsula about the middle of the twelfth century offer us more than one example, at once terrible and salutary, of which history abounds. In whatever country, however great it may have reached in civilisation and power, wherein love of hearth and home has died out, where the most loathsome vices exist in broad daylight, where ambition renders all things lawful, where the laws are dragged in the mire of the streets by the contemptuous foot of the powerful, and only serve as a toy to the unbridled multitudes, and where the liberty of manhood, the majesty of princes, and the virtues of the family are transformed into three falsehoods, there may be seen a nation in its last throes of death. Providence, Who foresaw its fall, inspires another people to come and wrap its lifeless body in the grave-clothes of the dead. Poor, rude, and small in numbers, what matters? A small force suffices to nail down the slab of the coffin.

The scene presented to us by Arab writers, contemporary or near that time, of the existing state of public affairs is truly pitiable. The ruin of the country appears inevitable in the eyes of the prudent ones, because its moral decadence was extreme. Men of probity and of science lived despised and forgotten, and those who were appointed to the magistrature united to pride and covetousness complete incapacity. In the midst of civil wars, which were undertaken without spirit or glory, and merely for some abject motive, agriculture and the arts were withering away; the masses left to the ambitious to wield their arms,

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and the warriors fell to using the weapons of intrigue in preference to those of steel. The name alone of their enemy, the Christian, sufficed to terrify the Mussalman. Tranquillity completely disappeared, and there was no security for any one. The dissolution of society was following its course by means of domestic strifes, and in the State of Andaluz it might be well said there were as many rulers as towns existed.

Ibn Zakaria Ibn Ghaniyyah was at the time the superior chief of the Almoravide troops which garrisoned Andaluz. The Spanish Mussalmans were desirous of casting off the yoke of the Lamtunites, since those who had come as friends and saviours had made themselves tyrannical masters, and as a consequence were hated; while the ministers of public affairs, not having the necessary means at hand to repress them, began to show their weakness. The first spark of a revolution would quickly rise to a conflagration.

Seddaray, who was made Wazir of Ebora by the Almoravides, took possession of a portion of the Gharb, meanwhile that Ibn Kasi made himself master of the rest. This was the commencement of the revolution, which was so greatly desired. The two chiefs, leagued together, invaded the district of Seville, took possession of various strongholds, and even invaded the suburbs of the city. The native volunteers, impelled by the popular ill-will against the Almoravides, hastened to enlist beneath the banner of Ibn Kasi. When Ibn Kasi, who resided in Cordova, became acquainted with the progress of the revolution, he at once saw the necessity of risking all in order to stay the progress of the evil, and he marched to those parts with what forces he could collect together, and the enemy, not venturing to encounter him, retreated to the Gharb; but Ibn Ghaniyyah overtook and defeated them, proceeding to besiege them in Niebla, where they had taken refuge. The siege did not last long, and Cordova, delivered of the garrison which oppressed her, rose up in rebellion, and its example was soon followed by Valencia, which also rose up. The revolution quickly spread itself along Murcia, Almeria, Malaga, and other cities in such a way that Ibn Ghaniyyah abandoned the idea of subduing the Gharb, to attend to what was of more essential importance.

We shall not follow the war which commenced in 1144, and was continued for some years, except in as far as it has reference to the western districts, since it was in consequence of these discords that they

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fell into the hands of Alfonso Henry. These districts were irretrievably lost to the Lamtunites. Ibn Kasi constituted the stronghold of Mertola as the centre of his States, while Seddaray did the same with Badajoz. Omar Ibn Al-Mundhir, who was one of the foremost partisans of Ibn Kasi, received from him the government of Silves, under a species of independence. Ibn Ghaniyyah, who endeavoured by every possible means to befriend the tottering dominion of the Almoravides, found a means of instigating jealousy among the three chiefs who were the principal movers of the civil war. An occasion soon presented itself to further his aim, and afforded a result he had not foreseen. The revolution had originated from two solid foundations, the one political and the other religious. The first was due to the dislike conceived against the Lamtunites by the natives, the second on account of Ibn Kasi, who had commenced his ambitious career by following the footsteps of Al-Mahdi, he who in Africa had founded the sect of the Almohades. Like him, Ibn Kasi had studied the doctrines of Al-ghazaly, and, like him, he had come to propagate these doctrines among his own people, where he found many of the same opinion.

By this means he attained the necessary influence to guide the political reaction. On hearing of the death of Taxfin in Africa, an event which served further to spread the revolution throughout the Peninsula, Ibn Kasi sent messengers to Abdu-l-mumen offering him his submission. The African prince appointed him Wali of the Gharb, thus enabling him to oppress in future those who had helped to ennoble him. This affair was arranged secretly, it appears, but Ibn Ghaniyyah, who had notice given him of it, took advantage of this attempt to sow discords among the three heads of the revolution, by inducing Seddaray and Omar to believe that Ibn Kasi had only taken this step to further his own ambition at their cost, and introduce the Almoravide yoke into the Peninsula, which was a harsher one than that of the Lamtunites. His words had the desired effect. Seddaray and Omar found some pretext to declare war against him who had been their chief, and the troops of Badajoz and Silves marched against Ibn Kasi.

These events were taking place in 1145, at the time when the sanguinary contentions of the King of Portugal and the Emperor were exchanged for what, although not actual peace, was at least not conducted by force of arms, but by intrigues with Rome, complaints, and the

concessions obtained from the Pontiff, which have been already mentioned.

The frontiers being well fortified, Alfonso I., at the head of an army of soldiers hardened by past wrestlings, could not possibly continue quiet so long as the clash of weapons resounded throughout the Peninsula, more particularly as the almost exclusive thought of his life was that of war and conquests, and whose bravery and persistence had already won for him from Christians and Saracens the reputation of being one of the most enterprising, pertinacious princes of his time. The turbulence of the Gharb soon afforded him a reason for yielding to his bellicose propensities. The Wali of Mertola, on being simultaneously attacked by Seddaray and Omar, threw himself into the arms of the tyrant Ibn Errik, Lord of Coimbra, as the Prince of the Portuguese was called by the Saracens. Independently of the martial bent of his mind, the Prince had a more recent motive for vengeance, which impelled him to intervene in these discords, wherein the blood of the Mussalmans flowed in torrents by the hands of their co-religionists. As the *algaras*, or raids, of these two inimical races were regularly repeated every spring, the Wali or Kayid of Santarem, Abu Zakaria, one of the most valiant chiefs of the Saracens, had, in the previous year (1144), invaded the Christian frontiers, and had approached Soure. The Knight Templars came out to meet him, but were defeated, the greater number being made captives, and Abu Zakaria, well satisfied with the result of the *algara*, retired to his stronghold of Santarem.

Alfonso I. accepted the proposals of Ibn Kasi, passed over the Tagus with his troops, and penetrated into the district of Al-Kassr. It was a grave error, that which the Saracens were doing, blinded by their political passions, to ally themselves with the Christians in order to benefit themselves against their adversaries in these civil discords. They were excellent allies in active warfare, but for the defensive they were remiss, and often absolutely useless. The King of Portugal joined the Lord of Mertola, and both entered into the districts of Beja and Merida. The passage of the Christians was marked, along that land already steeped in blood, by numberless ravages. Seddaray and Al-Mundhir, however, came out to meet them, and between them they had a number of skirmishes; the final advantage being gained, as it appears, by the rulers of Badajoz and Silves. Meanwhile Ibn Kasi, who had attained to power through his own daring and prowess, found

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in Alfonso Henry a spirit yet more hardy and venturesome than his own. The Saracens tolerated this subservience of their chief to the infidel prince with dislike; and whether it was in consequence of this general dissatisfaction, or Ibn Kasi judged it expedient to dismiss his auxiliary, or, again, the King of Portugal wished to retire, one thing is certain, that the Christian troops abandoned the Lord of Mertola when the fortune of war turned against him.

Having retreated to the centre of his States, and taken refuge within the ramparts of Mertola, Ibn Kasi dismissed the Christians with rich presents. It was too late single-handed, and without the aid of Alfonso, to restrain the general indignation and the impetus of the enemy. The inhabitants of that town rebelled, and the Saracen chief, vainly attempting to defend the Alcasar, fell a prisoner into the hands of Seddaray, to whom the rebels had opened the gates. He was conducted to Beja and cast into a dungeon, but was released by Ibn Samail, one of his former partisans, who had continued faithful, and succeeded in taking possession of that city. Ibn Kasi then proceeded to the Moghreb to invoke the aid of the Almohades, and incite them to invade Spain, and restore to him the charge of Wali of the Gharb, which he besought Abdu-l-mumen to confirm by offering him homage.

Such was the policy of Ibn Ghaniyyah, and he attained his end, but the consequences went further. The representations of the fugitive Wali were not frustrated. He reached Africa at the very juncture when Abdu-l-mumen had taken possession of Morocco. The Almohade prince at once sent an expedition to Spain, commanded by Berraz Ibn Mohammed Al-masufi, which was immediately followed by two others, under the command of Abu-Imram Musa Ibn Said, and of Omar Ibn Saleh As-senhaji; the troops numbering, it is said, thirty thousand, of which ten thousand were horsemen. Berraz, the general of that force, quickly proceeded to the Gharb, and Xeres, Ronda, and Niebla fell into the power of the Almohades, but Mertola was not attacked, because Ibn Kasi had already regained possession. The army of Berraz crossed the Serras and attacked Silves, which was won by scaling its walls, and then was delivered over to the Wali of Mertola. From Silves he returned to the province of Al-Kassr, with the design of subjugating the States of Seddaray; but, fearing to meet the same fate as Al-Mundhir, he hastened to tender his obedience to the Almohade general, and acknowledge the supremacy of Abdu-l-mumen. Berraz

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continued in Mertola until the commencement of 1146, when he marched against Seville. On his way, Him Al-Kassr and Tablada flung open the gates, while the Spanish Mussalmans from all parts were hastening to join the Almohades to spite the Almoravides. Seville was attacked and taken by brute force, and from thence Berraz continued his conquests.

In the midst of these contentions and wars, the province to the extreme west of the Gharb, called by the Arabs Belatha, and, as we have said, occupied the territory between the Tagus, the ocean, and the southern frontier of Portugal, ceases to play any part, at least actively, in the history of the Saracens. Abu Zakaria, the governor of Santarem, appears before us in the Christian Chronicles as the last illustrious captain of the Mussalmans of Belatha. Was he a chief who had remained faithful to the Almoravides? Did he acknowledge the authority of Seddaray or of Omar? The complete silence of the Arab writers affords us no solution. The state of complete anarchy to which the affairs of Andaluz had reached, the position of this small district, separated from the province of Al-Kassr by the Tagus, through which alone they could be succoured, and beyond this, the character of the King of Portugal, sufficed to convince the Saracens of those parts that the hour when the Christians would finally subdue them was not far distant. The inhabitants of Santarem, of Lisbon, and other places of lesser importance were under the melancholy conviction that the termination of a war with Ibn Errik, the Iron Lord of Coimbra, would prove a fatal blow to them. The devastation effected by Alfonso I. in the dominions of Seddaray was truly a terrible example, and in order to delay, for some time at least, their utter ruin, the dwellers of the towns of Belatha, not excepting Santarem and Lisbon, offered themselves as tributaries to the Christian prince, hoping by this exchange to save their lives and liberty.

The King of Portugal seemed desirous to effect a truce of peace after so much wrestling, by yielding to the peace of domestic affection. In 1146 he married Mathilde or Mafalda (Mahaut), daughter of Amadeus III., Count of Maurianna and Savoy. The reasons for this union are not known, unless it were on account of the relations between the house of Maurianna and Burgandy, to whom on the father's side Alfonso Henry belonged. But his spirit was still influenced by the ambition for conquest; and the love for Mafalda could not divert him from the cares of politics and warfare. At this very time he was

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engaged in the pretensions of Rome in the person of Eugenio III., and preparing to subdue completely to his dominion the portion of Mussalman territory to the right of the Tagus, a conquest made easy to him on account of the terror inspired by his name, and the civil wars which were kept up in Andaluz.

Santarem was at the time one of the principal towns of Belatha, and the most dangerous on the Christian frontiers. It was from Santarem that the greater number of the *algaras* issued, those *algaras* which we have seen caused such ravages and carried death to the districts in the very centre of Portugal. Although its defence was not due to art, it was favoured by nature, and though not encircled by ramparts as Lisbon was, with its inhabitants dwelling around and in the very neighbourhood of the sea-shores, yet the castle which crowned Santarem was built on the pinnacle of a mountain-top, and overlooking all around, was like an eagle's nest suspended over the Tagus. The meadows and orchards seen on all sides, and the fertility of the fields extending to the south along the luxuriant shores of the river, were such that it was said that on the Gharb forty days sufficed for cereals to grow, vegetate, and ripen. Hence it was but natural that under these circumstances the Christians should make repeated attempts to take possession since the time of the Leonese kings. It was, however, reserved to Alfonso I. to hoist the victorious standard of the Cross once and for ever from the turrets of this almost impregnable castle.

The solidity and impregnability of the Castle of Santarem, surrounded by a vast number of defenders in the inhabitants dwelling along the river-shore, convinced Alfonso I. that his military resources were inadequate to capture the stronghold by scaling its walls in an open combat. He therefore contemplated taking possession by means of stratagem. Brought up in the midst of the perils of war, experience joined to his natural genius and irresistible propensities for conquering induced him to attempt to conquer this renowned castle by cunning.

A narrative exists of the taking of Santarem, written as a kind of prose poem, in which the King is supposed to relate the details of this undertaking. This composition is ascribed to a monk of Alcobaça, and although it is not absolutely certain that he was a contemporary, yet it is almost of that date. The substance of the narrative of this Cistercian monk is as follows :—

Alfonso I. had effected a truce with the Saracens. A certain

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Menendo, or Mem Ramires, a shrewd, cautious, but daring individual, was sent to Santarem to examine the place, and report which site would be most accessible, and what path most secure to take in order to conquer it.

After carefully examining the whole place, Mem Ramires returned, and reported that it was not only possible, but even easy, to take the castle; and, moreover, he boasted to proceed at the head of the expedition, and hoist the royal standard upon the walls of the castle, and then break the bolts of its doors to enable the others to enter. The King appointed the day for them to leave Coimbra, in order to attempt this perilous undertaking. This was on a Monday, and the King, with the soldiers of Coimbra, besides some of his own knights, commanded by Fernando Peres, quitted Coimbra. On the second day of marching, a certain Martin Mohab, probably a Saracen renegade or Mosarabe, departed, with two others, to intimate to the dwellers of Santarem that the truce would be for three days. The small detachment had proceeded to the south-east in order not to awaken suspicions, since, in view of the terms of peace being severed, the Saracen outposts would naturally watch more assiduously the road to Coimbra. On reaching the Serra of Albardos, the expedition turned to the east, following the range of the Serras which extend in that direction, and on arriving at Pernes at the break of day of Friday they pitched their camp. The marches had taken place usually during the night-time, and the men who followed the King were unaware of the object of this expedition, since the King, Alfonso I., had only revealed it to Mem Ramires and to Theotonio, the Prior of Santa Cruz. However, on encamping in Pernes he openly revealed his project, encouraging his knights by saying that he had suborned some of the watch-guards of the castle, a statement which, however, was not true. This project alarmed the knights, not on their account, but for the prince who would thus expose himself to a terrible risk. They endeavoured to dissuade him from accompanying them, but finding him obstinate, they prepared to work out that arduous undertaking.

At nightfall they raised the camp and joined the foot-soldiers a short distance from the town, and proceeded along a valley between Mount Iraz, or Motiraz, and the spring of Tamarmá, so called from the sweetness of its waters. At their head went Mem Ramires, as more expert, and unperceived by the sleeping population, they succeeded to reach the ramparts of the castle. The design for assaulting that inexpugnable fortress had

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been traced beforehand by the King from notes taken by Ramires. Ten ladders had been made, and each one entrusted to twelve picked men, thus amounting to 120 soldiers. Twelve detachments, of ten soldiers each, then successively ascended the ramparts on the side indicated by the spy, which was a quadrangle whereupon the Saracens did not usually place sentinels or night-watchers. When all had ascended they were to hoist the sign, or royal flag, above the ramparts in such a manner as to be seen in the dim light of night, and then descending the ramparts on the inner side along the passage, break the bolts of the doors to enable those on the outside to enter. It was particularly enjoined on the men who were to climb the ladders that in their first onslaught, while the enemy was asleep or drowsy, not to spare men, women, or children, judging that the sudden uproar, the flow of blood, and the noise of the blows levelled would cause such confusion and terror that they would find its defence impossible, and thus the castle might be easily subjugated.

Such was the plan; but the scheme of Alfonso to take possession of the castle when its defenders in Santarem would be asleep proved unfeasible, as is deduced from the narrative we quote from. It was on Tuesday that the King sent messengers to declare that the truce was suspended for three days; therefore, as the term expired on the Friday, it was natural that the Saracens should, during those three days, redouble their vigilance, and watch assiduously the road to Coimbra; but when this term was ended they would then lapse into their former way, and only take ordinary precautions. Therefore, as the night of Saturday was fixed for the assault to take place, it was probable that the sentinels and watch-guards might be off their guard. If this was his project, the hopes of the Christians in part failed, for in the spot where usually no guards were placed the Christians found two sentinels, who challenged each other. The small force, with the prince in its rear-guard, awaited for the watches to slumber again in the deep sleep before the dawn, or third watch of the night. It must have appeared to them long hours; but at length the two Mussalmans fell asleep. Along the roof of an outbuilding contiguous to the rampart walls, Mem Ramires crept, and attained with the point of his lance to secure a ladder to a watch-tower; but he had scarcely done so when it slipped, and the ladder fell with some noise. He did not hesitate between life and death, but bending down, he lifted a soldier on to his shoulders, who, grasping the edge or parapet of the wall, drew himself up, and quickly fastened

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the ladder. In the twinkling of an eye the subaltern ascended with the royal flag, and hoisted it up, and almost simultaneously Mem Ramires stood at its foot. All this occurred in the space of a moment, but the noise had awakened the slumbering guards. They looked up, and beheld the fear-inspiring standard of the tyrant Ibn Errik waving before their astonished gaze like a spectre of death. Stupefied, they rose up, and in a hoarse voice challenged three times, "*Who goes there?*" It was no longer possible to conceal themselves, and three times did the Christians on the parapet wall respond, "*Nazarenes!*" Mem Ramires then uttered the war-cry, "*Saint James and King Alfonso!*"

Then above that uproar was heard the thundering voice of the King rising amid the troops which surrounded him. He was shouting, "Saint James and the Virgin!" and then addressing those on the parapet, said, "Let me in! let me in! Put all to the sword; let no one escape."

While this was going on another ladder had been affixed, and twenty-five men were on the ramparts. The uproar within and without the castle walls became fearful, and all was confusion. Alfonso divided his small force into two bodies, one to scale the walls on the right, and the other to proceed to the road on the outskirts leading to the river shore, to prevent the inhabitants from approaching to defend their entrance.

Meanwhile the twenty-five braves who had climbed up descended the walls on the inside, and were hurling stones against the doors, until from the outside an iron mallet was thrown over, and they at length with it broke the bolts, when the forces awaiting outside entered in like a torrent, and precipitately captured the castle.

Alfonso, deeply moved by religious enthusiasm, knelt down on the threshold of the door in thanksgiving, as he little expected it would so easily be opened to receive him as its conqueror. A vain resistance followed, in which much blood was spilt. When the sun arose on that eventful morning (15th March) it no longer shed its gleams on the standard of Islam upon that cliff-bound castle, for it had been hurled down on the previous night, never more to be raised above the towers of opulent Santarem.

This extraordinary event, the happy result of an attempt which perchance may almost appear foolhardy, must in a great measure have increased the persistence and courage of the Christians, and at the same time caused grave discouragement to the Mussalmans of Belatha, now left to their own resources in the midst of the civil wars. Thus,

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having subjugated the town, nothing more remained to the Saracens within their territories west of the Tagus but two important places—Lisbon, on account of its grandeur, the solidity of its rampart walls, and its advantageous position over the extensive bay of the Tagus; and the Castle of Cintra, built on the summit of a rock, which rendered it almost inaccessible, and seemed placed to guard the rough and untractable Serra, and to which the inhabitants dwelling in its neighbourhood could run to take shelter and defend themselves.

From the moment that Santarem was taken, Alfonso I. centred all his desires upon conquering Lisbon; but the Mussalmans were forewarned, and probably the consciousness of the small forces at command for carrying out such a great undertaking compelled him to admit that it might prove a hazardous attempt.

But the events which at that juncture were taking place in Europe rendered his design more easily realised, and sooner than he had anticipated. We shall give a brief account of these events, in order to enable the reader more fully to understand the reason why the King of Portugal obtained the unexpected aid he did at the time, and which aid obtained for him the possession of Lisbon, and assisted him to further his conquests to the south of the Tagus.

The condition of the Christian States in Syria had been from the first Crusade one of almost continual warfare between the conquerors and the Mussalmans, but which had led to no permanent result or advantage on either side. The loss of Odessa in 1144, one of the most important States, produced, however, a deep impression over Europe. For upwards of half a century there had been a continual influx of knights and pilgrims, nevertheless these continued aids barely sufficed to reinforce the lines of defenders of the Cross as they fell daily by the hands of the Saracens. Hence the project of starting a new Crusade, to save the Holy Places from the hands of the Infidels, began to assume some importance and to extend. This scheme found an ardent champion in Bernard, the Abbot of Claraval, a man of some eminence, due to his many mental gifts. His eloquence, the austerity of his life, activity, and independence of spirit, in weighing alike the actions of the powerful and the humble in the same balance when reprehending or praising, had gained for him a great popularity and influence in public affairs, particularly in those which bore any reference to religion.

It was Bernard, therefore, who principally advocated the Crusade. In the spring of 1146 Louis VII., King of France, received the red

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cross from the hands of the Abbot of Claraval, and with him most of the lords and principal knights of France, besides many others. Bernard then proceeded to Germany, and induced Conrad III., in the Diet of Spira, to join this great movement.

The Crusaders of Germany and France, commanded by their respective sovereigns, proceeded to Hungary, and passed on to Asia, crossing the Bosphorus. The German forces were chiefly composed of Suabians, Bavarians, Franconians, Lotharingians, and also of the people on the south-east of Germany. A certain number, however, of the inhabitants of the Lower Rhine and of Frisonia, who were moved to proceed to the Holy Wars by the clergy, being more accustomed to a seafaring life than the people of the inland parts, preferred to embark, and join the other pilgrims in England. The Teutonic forces, in which were many Lotharingians, met in Cologne, then passed over to Dartmouth, a port of Great Britain, where a fleet of nearly two hundred vessels had gathered together, in order to transport the Crusaders from the various maritime ports of Flanders, England, and even of Aquitania.

The principal personages of the fleet anchored off Dartmouth were Count Arnulfo of Areschot, the leader of the Germans, and Christian of Gistell, the commander of the Dutch, the English being commanded by four constables. The troops gathered together numbered about thirteen thousand, mostly of the lower classes, because the nobility of Germany and France had joined the army of Conrad III. and of Louis VII. The fleet set sail towards the coasts of Spain, not so much with the object of making war against the Saracens of the Peninsula as that it was the route to the Mediterranean and Syria. A furious storm overtook the fleet, and they successively were forced to take shelter in several ports on the coasts of Asturias and Galicia, until at length they met in the mouth of the Tambre (ria de Noya). The Crusaders then proceeded to the renowned sanctuary of Compostella, so greatly frequented by pilgrims from all parts of Europe, to celebrate the festival of Pentecost in the Temple of the Apostle. After this pilgrimage they re-embarked, and following the coast to the south, entered into the Douro.

On the 16th of June, 1147, the fleet sailed to Oporto, and there awaited for eleven days the arrival of Count Areschot and Count de Gistell, who, driven by the force of the tempest, had become separated from the rest of the fleet, and did not arrive in port until the eleventh day. The Bishop of Oporto, who had had notice of the coming of the

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fleet, received a letter from the King of Portugal, bidding him to receive the fleet in the best manner possible, and enjoined him to engage their services, and endeavour to conclude a treaty with them, giving all possible securities, and embark with the fleet, and proceed to the mouth of the Tagus. And, in truth, the King for the last ten days, since he heard of the coming fleet, had been preparing his forces to march against Lisbon, and had resolved to concede to the Crusaders all they should demand within his own possibilities, to aid him in effecting the conquest of this important city.

As the Crusaders belonged to various nations, and had different commanders, the Bishop assembled them all in the cemetery attached to the cathedral, as the building itself was not sufficiently large to hold them all, and he then addressed the crowd in Latin, the discourse being translated by interpreters into their various tongues. After urging them from a religious motive to bestow their blood and lives for the faith in combating against the Saracens of Spain, he manifested to them the project of the King and the advantages offered. After some deliberation, the proposal was accepted of departing for Lisbon as soon as the Counts of Areschot and Christian of Gistell should arrive, as also the Archbishop of Braga, to assist his suffragan and accompany the expedition. When the whole fleet had come together they set sail, and proceeding on their route, went up the Tagus, meanwhile that Alfonso I. marched by land with his forces, which were considerable, and, if we credit a contemporary historian, formed a powerful army.

Lisbon had become, even at that early date, an important city. Its position, so splendidly calculated in our days to become one of the principal emporiums of commerce with the whole globe—did the errors of men and its evil fate permit it—was in those days no less proper as a centre for navigating the coasts of the ocean and the Mediterranean, principally with regard to the commerce of Mauritania and Europe. The calmness of the harbour, the balmy climate, the rich products of the soil around its neighbourhood, should have enriched Lisbon in many ways. Situated on the shores of the river, and protected by the castle, or kassba (Alcaçova), which rises to the extreme north, this beautiful city, as Edrisi styles it, was encircled by walls of admirable construction, as were the high towers of the lofty castle, which appeared invincible to human forces. There were also thermas, or baths, which were always tepid during winter and summer, and these notable baths were in those days in the centre of the city. The

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city was very opulent, by reason of its commerce with the ports of Europe and Africa, and abounded in gold and silver, and, even in those days, wine, salt, and fruits constituted the chief products of the district. The population, exclusive of women and children, was officially calculated at 154,000, after Santarem was taken, and its inhabitants driven to take refuge in Lisbon; but although this appears an exaggeration, it nevertheless shows that it must have been at that epoch one of the most populous cities of Spain.

The principal families of Almada, Palmella, and Cintra resided in Lisbon, and in it were found merchants from all parts of Africa and the Peninsula. The extent of the city was the actual castle, protected by a turreted circular wall, from which extended two lateral walls round to the east and the west; and meeting on the margin of the Tagus, the intermediate area enclosed the actual districts or wards of Alfama and Ribeira Velha, a space which we can barely credit could have held such a vast population, did not an eye-witness of the taking of Lisbon afford us an explanation of the fact.

The buildings were so closely knit together that, excepting the bazaars and market-places, the streets were so narrow that there was scarcely found one to measure eight feet across. Besides which, along the whole circuit of the wall and close up to it there existed a kind of suburb, the access to which was so narrow and difficult to enter that each house might consider itself a castle or fort.

On the day that the Crusaders entered the port and anchored before the city, they effected a landing in great numbers, and a skirmish took place with the Saracens, which terminated in the inhabitants retiring, and the Crusaders returned to their ships, leaving about thirty or forty of their men encamped on an eminence. Scarcely had the next day dawned, which was the festival of St. Peter, than the whole fleet leaped on land. The King of Portugal had meanwhile arrived, and the Prelates of Braga and Oporto went immediately to seek him. The presence of Alfonso Henry produced a great sensation among the Crusaders, and all strove to speak to him.

The prince addressed the chiefs of the expedition, praising the martial aspect of the camp, and the religious zeal which had brought together so many brave men; and declared that, although he was impoverished by the incessant strifes against the infidels, he would remunerate the new-comers as far as his private resources permitted, and that it would be expedient to appoint some persons to debate the

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promises he would make, in order that later on they should be submitted to the general opinion and approval. This proposal, made to people collected from all parts, and mostly of low condition, nearly effected the ruin of the expedition. The debate lasted all the morning, was resumed at night with greater violence, and the Dutch, moved by secret motives, were already manifesting their desire to agree to everything, with the object of remaining in the service of the King of Portugal. Others were against the acceptance of the proposal, among the malcontents being the two brothers Wilhelm and Rudolph, who were, it appears, chiefs of Norman pirates, and some of the English Crusaders, who had taken part, some four or five years previously, in the unfortunate attempt against Lisbon.

These two pirates and their followers opposed the plan on the plea of the great advantages which should accrue from the depredations on the coast of Spain, and on the great celerity in reaching the Holy Land, and also on the want of faith, so they said, of Alfonso Henry in his procedure on the former occasion, when they aided him. Wilhelm declared that, with eight or ten ships at command to follow him and his fate, he would depart at once. The greater number, however —that is to say, the Germans, the Dutch, and the larger portion of English and Scotch—were resolved to join the proposed undertaking, the only dissentient ones being the Normans and those of Bristol and Hampshire. The Germans and the Dutch at once proceeded to encamp on the eastern side of the city, their ships anchoring in front of the camp, while the English Crusaders endeavoured to persuade the dissenters, by force of reasoning, to come to terms. This at length was effected by the pleadings and even tears of Harvey of Granville, the Constable of the forces of Suffolk and Norfolk, who attained to reduce the fierce spirit of Wilhelm, and pacify his partisans, on condition that victuals be provided and salaries paid them by the King of Portugal or by the other Crusaders, as otherwise they would not remain a single day longer. Thus pacified, the people of each nationality nominated a commission, and together resolved, with their delegates, upon the final conditions of the treaty.

These conditions were, that when Lisbon be taken, the properties of the enemy should belong exclusively to the Crusaders; that the ransoms taken for any lives of prisoners should likewise be theirs, these prisoners remaining captives of the King; that the Crusaders retain in their power the *Almedina*, should it be they who took it, until it be

completely sacked, when it would be delivered up to Alfonso Henry; that under the inspection of the latter all the lands of the city and rural properties should be divided among such as remained in Portugal and continued to reside there, enjoying all the liberty, rents *(foros)*, usages, and customs of their respective countries, acknowledging the supreme dominion of the Crown only; and, lastly, that all who took part in this perilous undertaking, as well as their heirs and successors, should be exempt from tolls, and dues, and customs for their ships and merchandise in all ports of Portugal.

On both sides were assigned twenty persons as sureties to the convention. On confirming this convention, Alfonso I. under oath promised not to break up the camp excepting by reason of mortal sickness, or from his States being invaded by the enemy; and in no case would he invent any such pretext to swerve from his sworn treaty. This solemn promise, which was certainly not done without deliberation, evidently betrays that the failure of the last attempt against Lisbon was due to the troops of Alfonso and Henry having retired.

Before pitching the camp and commencing the operations of the siege, the leaders of the expedition judged it would be convenient to propose terms of capitulation advantageous to the besieged, an offer which probably would not be accepted, but would, in some measure, render their aggression legitimate, and justify the horrors which necessarily should follow from openly assaulting the city. The two Prelates of Braga and Oporto, with some of the foreign captains, were sent as an embassage. On being recognised as such, they approached the ramparts, and the Kayid of the city, a Mostarabe bishop, and the civil magistrates quickly made their appearance on the wall.

The Archbishop of Braga, in a lengthened discourse, proposed to the Saracens to deliver up the Alcasar and other fortifications to the besiegers, and that, when this be effected, the property, honour, and lives of the inhabitants would be respected and upheld. The treaty which had just been concluded by Alfonso Henry with his allies will enable the reader to appraise at its true value the proposal and the promises made by the Archbishop. The reply was frank but haughty. They did not in any way recognise the rights advanced by the Metropolitan, nor would they abandon Lisbon or accept the yoke of the foreigner before they had proved it by the force and destiny of arms. They would conform beforehand to the decrees of fate. They already knew by experience that their attempts were not always crowned with

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success. "Do what you like," they concluded, "but we shall do whatever be the Divine will."

The Bishop of Oporto, it appears, was irritated by the language of the Saracen chiefs, and replied to them sharply and shortly, "You say that our attempts against Lisbon have failed; we shall see whether this one will prove unsuccessful. On retiring from your walls I do not salute you, nor do you salute me either." Such were the parting words of the bellicose prelate.

The return of the deputation dispelled all idea of obtaining the city of Lisbon by capitulation, if any such hopes had been entertained. Alfonso I., with his troops, selected the eminence to the north of the city, called Graça at the present day, for his headquarters; to the left were the camps of the English and Norman Crusaders, within five hundred paces of the right wing of the Portuguese, while the left wing extended on the east to the encampment of the Germans and Dutch.

On the following morning, while the exchange of sureties was taking place in accordance with the treaty of the previous evening, the English slingers commenced hostilities by shooting stones into the suburb lying before them, with the object of provoking the Saracens and compelling them to come forth, which they did; and while the Crusaders were preparing to repel them the Moors began to assemble below, and the enemies to charge them from behind. The inhabitants were not in a position to risk their fate in a pitched battle. It is said that notwithstanding the dense population of the city, there were not more than 15,000 armed men who took their turn to defend the towers and ramparts. The forces of the besiegers were between 25,000 to 30,000 strong—the first sufficed to defend and resist behind walls—but the Saracens were not capable of resisting, without advantages of position, a force which was not only more numerous, but likewise better practised in warfare.

As far as it is possible to infer, from the insufficient topographical descriptions afforded by contemporary memoirs relating to the conquest of Lisbon, this vast suburb, wherein the first act of this memorable drama took place, was on a declivity along the western walls of the Alcasar and the Almedina, following the incline which terminates in the valley commonly called *Cidade Baixa*, the lower city. This district, in course of time and increase of population, began to encroach into the plains, and many buildings were erected. These buildings were united by terraces, which joined one another, and formed a strong

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circle, and at a short distance from these buildings, on the slope of the declivity, rose a wall, or embankment. Between this and the walls which properly were called Almedina, or city, stood the most elevated portion of the suburb. From the terraces of the buildings outside this intermediate wall, the shots of the invaded rained upon the Anglo-Normans, while these advanced with increasing numbers. The attack was becoming violent, and the Crusaders charged on both sides, searching meanwhile along that wall of buildings for some alley or passage through which they might break in; but the difficulty lay in being able to approach the houses, from whence issued showers of stones. These stones were falling on all sides, and many were wounded or slain by their arrows and crossbows. The greater part of that day was spent in this useless attack, which produced no advantages until towards nightfall, when the Anglo-Normans, by making a sudden onslaught, were able to break into the outskirts through a passage, and took possession of part of the incline. This irruption was effected on the extreme end towards the right, which was not fortified; hence the Saracen troops, descending the open part of the town entrenched on the side of the Tagus, then took refuge within the fortified suburb, fearing to remain at any considerable distance from the kassba, or principal fortification. At this juncture, Saherio d'Arcells, one of the English constables, arrived, to order, by command of the King and other chiefs, to retire until the following morning, when it had been agreed a general attack on the city should be made, and thus avoid the useless spilling of blood.

When this order was given, nearly all those in the encampment, as well as in the Anglo-Norman ships, had become involved in the fight, and the revolt had assumed great proportions within the outside suburb; all were fighting hand to hand, and had become so mingled that the Christians and Saracens could scarcely be distinguished by their armoury. Night was fast approaching, and Saherio d'Arcells, perceiving the impossibility of retiring in obedience to orders, without grave loss of ground to the besiegers, decided to act contrary to orders.

Placing himself at the head of the troops which still remained encamped, and after receiving the blessing of the Bishop of Oporto, he advanced to the suburb, where, amid a terrible street fight, he penetrated through a maze of houses, and reached the cemetery, where a body of Anglo-Normans had mustered, notwithstanding that they were without commanding officers. With these and the men who had

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followed him, the English constable very quickly repulsed the enemy. The slaughter was very great, ending in a complete defeat. Flinging to the ground the precious things they brought, with the object of diverting the attention of some of the conquerors, the vanquished ones were enabled to take refuge within the walls which surrounded the higher suburb. But the knights, with their archers and infantry, took no heed of their enticements, and assailed the path through which they had retreated; thus the Crusaders were saved from being newly repulsed. Darkness had now closed in, and put an end to the fight, leaving three thousand Anglo-Normans masters of a district said to contain fifteen thousand families, and moreover so difficult of access.

Saherio d'Arcells, with his officers and some of the soldiers, watched all night, and placed sentinels in advanced posts above the incline, believing that were he to forsake the advantageous position he had gained at such a cost, access to the walls would prove of greater difficulty on the following day. A fearful conflagration was meanwhile devastating the environs, and its sinister gleams were reflecting on the armoury of the Anglo-Normans clustered together in the cemetery. Scarcely had the morning dawned than the Saracens rushed out to expel d'Arcells; but a reinforcement of Portuguese troops soon arrived, with the remaining English, and forced the Saracens to retreat. In this manner the siege was becoming circumscribed when hardly commenced, the besiegers' camp being pitched to the west, on the smoking ruins of the suburbs, while the Moors, losing all hope of defending the districts situated outside of the fortifications, likewise abandoned the eastern suburb to the German and Dutch without any resistance.

The ruin of that portion of the city, the number of lives which were sacrificed in that useless resistance, and the wealth destroyed by the fire, were grave losses to the inhabitants of Lisbon, but, nevertheless, they were not so serious as what followed. On the east of the city the heights were very rocky, and unsuitable for the construction of *matmoras*, or subterranean vaults, which, African fashion, served as underground barns. In the valley itself, at the base of the incline, the erection of granaries was also rendered impossible, from the dampness of the soil, due to the streams that abounded there, and flowed into the Tagus. For this reason these *matmoras* had been opened on the declivity of the suburb outside the walls. As this spot was occupied by the Anglo-Norman forces, Lisbon had lost its principal store, as the

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besiegers found one hundred thousand loads of cereals and pulse, and famine promised to prove a powerful ally. For several days they repeated their attacks, but these engagements only resulted in many being slain or wounded on both sides, but with no definite victory. The siege was continued, the Mussalmans venting their discomfiture in pouring out from their towers torrents of curses against the Christians and their creed. Several times did Alfonso I., in conjunction with his allies, propose capitulation on advantageous terms, but every offer was refused.

In this way a fortnight passed, and the Crusaders began to construct military engines to effect a decisive assault, at the same time erecting two chapels within the cemetery whereon the foreign forces had encamped, one for each nationality; and these, later on, were enlarged, and became one—the Monastery of St. Vincent, and the other the Parish Church of the Martyrs. While the Germans constructed a revolving tower for using a battering-ram, the Anglo-Normans erected a movable tower, ninety feet high, from whence they could attack the *adarve* and housetops. The Dutch and Germans had likewise placed five catapults, for throwing stones, against the walls and towers. All this was set fire to by the besieged, and, with their arrows and shots, made sad havoc among the Christians, who were scarcely able to save the tower. On the other side, the Anglo-Normans, having advanced with theirs to the base of the ramparts, became embedded in the sand, and, after assailing it for four days with their weapons or engines, the Saracens set it on fire.

These failures began to discourage the invaders, until it became known that want of provisions was beginning to be felt within the walls, while there was still plenty on the outside of all kinds of victuals. The Crusaders then grew more hopeful, and gave signs of wishing to continue the undertaking, by bringing their ships to land, furling the sails, and other evident proofs that they intended to winter here.

One day, towards dusk, a report was circulated that ten men had left the city, and were seen to creep stealthily along the ramparts, enter a ship, and sail towards Palmella.

They were quickly pursued, and the Moors, on being overtaken, cast themselves into the water, leaving everything on board. On searching the ship, a packet of letters was found, written in Arabic. One of these was addressed to Abu Mohammed, who was at the time Wali, or Kayid, of Evora, and the other letters were for various persons in that

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city. In these letters the inhabitants of Lisbon besought immediate aid, and, moreover, specified the amount of provisions to which they were reduced. They detailed the evils they had suffered, and the heroic resistance they had made, and the grave consequences which would result to Islamism were Lisbon to be lost. When the contents of these letters became known, all discontent disappeared, and skirmishes were renewed daily, thus proving to the besieged that the enemy was fully informed of their sad situation.

Some days later, the body of a drowned man drifted close to the Anglo-Norman ships. To his arm was fastened a letter from Abu Mohammed to the inhabitants of Lisbon, in which he advised them to endeavour to effect a ransom by money, and to sacrifice their wealth in lieu of their lives, since he, on his side, could not help them. It also stated that he had entered into a truce with Alfonso Henry, and it would not be lawful for him to break his pledged word by attacking him or his allies. In view of this letter, the submission of the city was only a question of time. The invaders were safe against any external aggression. Was this letter authentic?

But whether authentic or not, one thing is certain, that its contents served to encourage the besiegers, and infused new spirit into them. A raid was started to Cintra, and its neighbourhood was devasted, the position of the castle being such that it was impossible to attack or besiege it. Meanwhile, certain Crusaders who had gone fishing on the beach near the territory of the Almada were killed or made prisoners at this juncture. A portion of the Anglo-Normans, led by d'Arcells, attacked and depredated the territory with great loss to the Moors, many captives being taken, notwithstanding that the Dutch and Germans, who at first joined the expedition, had already forsaken it. To increase the terror of the inhabitants of Lisbon, the Anglo-Normans brought eighty heads, which they affixed to posts within view of the ramparts. The population spread about Almada naturally had relatives and friends in the hapless city. These were not long in sallying forth to implore permission to bury these fearful trophies. Leave was granted them, and during the whole of that night nought else was heard within those walls but cries, lamentations, and wailings.

A detailed memoir exists of this remarkable siege, written by an eye-witness, which tells us that Alfonso I. had at this juncture withdrawn his troops, he alone, with his barons and knights, remaining on the field. Subsequent facts related in this narrative contradict the

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statement made about the retreat of the Portuguese troops. It is possible that some might have abandoned the field, if we take into account the imperfect military organisation of those times, when rural knights and soldiers, particularly those belonging to the Councils, were not obliged to follow the King to battle, excepting for a stated period, which, as a rule, did not exceed three months. It is even possible that Alfonso I., whose cunning was proverbial, and not always within the limits of strict probity, should desire to damp the exalted hopes of the Crusaders by withdrawing a portion of his forces, and inducing them to believe that this portion was greater than it really was, in view of the convention made with his allies.

When the conquest of Lisbon should be finally effected, what would remain to him? Simply walls and buildings well-nigh destroyed, and the remnants of a population reduced to the deepest misery, weakened by famine and the sword. The often-repeated attempts to induce the Saracens to capitulate prove how grave were the apprehensions of the King of Portugal.

Taking fresh courage, the foreign forces began energetic preparations for renewing the assault. From the west, the Anglo-Normans and some other Crusaders, probably Aquitanos, tried to open a mine between one of the doors and a tower which was close to it; but being discovered by the besieged, and easily accessible to them, its defence proved more daring than profitable, as much blood was spilt in this attempt, with no result.

Meanwhile an Italian engineer, a native of Pisa, constructed a movable tower, eighty feet in height, as a substitute for the one destroyed belonging to the Anglo-Normans. This erection, or military engine, was truly admirable for its solidity and height, and the English, as well as the Portuguese, laboured in its erection, the King using all his efforts to further its completion.

The city was acutely feeling the horrors of famine, rendered more terrible by the intolerable stench from the unburied dead, as there was no space within to inter them. At times some of the inhabitants would escape, and come to the camp, to relate the privations they suffered, and the sad situation of Lisbon. Within the walls the soldiers and the powerful ones would keep for themselves what provisions they had, leaving the poor and the weak to die; and to such an extreme degree did their privations reach that cats and dogs were eagerly devoured. At length these poor, wretched ones came

to deliver themselves up to the Christians, who would then baptise them, and oftentimes, after cutting off their hands, fling them back against the walls, to be pelted with stones until they were dead.

And while this movable engine was being constructed, the Germans and the Dutch were undermining the ground on the eastern side, in order to reach the wall itself of the kassba. This mine, which was like a vast cavern, had five entrances, and took one month to excavate. The Saracens perceived their danger, and on the twenty-ninth day of September they stealthily quitted the city, and, coming to the mouth of the mine, attacked the Germans and the Dutch. The combat lasted nearly the whole day; but at length, when the Saracens wished to withdraw, their retreat was almost completely cut off by a division of archers, who assailed them on both sides. The losses were very great, and few were able to escape within the walls.

When the sap was concluded, this subterranean passage was filled in with wood. This cave extended beyond the base of the rampart, and on the night of the 16 and 17 of October the inflammable materials of this vast pit were ignited, and the fire spread fiercely. An external wall, which stood over the piles of wood, fell and crumbled down as soon as the fire reached it. On hearing the uproar, and seeing the blaze, the German-Belgian troops advanced to the breach, while the corps of soldiers stationed on the turret walls were summoning all to come to the combat with frenzied cries of despair. Then, erecting a kind of palisade with willow and wooden stacks, they clustered behind. This palisade was of no great moment to the Crusaders; but from behind the ruins they could perceive, by the red glare of the fire, that the Saracen squadrons were ranged in battle array along the declivity. The attack lasted for ten hours, until the Germans and Dutch, who occupied disadvantageous positions, were finally repulsed. Meanwhile the Anglo-Normans, skirting round the city walls, had advanced to that side; but the Count de Areschot, and the other leaders of the repulsed troops, brimming over with indignation, hurled a torrent of abuse at them, and compelled them to retire, bidding them to effect a path for themselves with their own engine, since this, which was open, had been done for them, and not for the Anglo-Normans. After this rebuff they withdrew to their own side.

For several days all the attacks made on the breach proved useless, and the defence was truly heroic. The tower erected by the Anglo-Normans at length was completed, and in order that it should not be

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destroyed by the guns or crossbows, or by being set fire to, it had been lined with cow-hides, and covered with strong palisades, or network of willows. On board ship active preparations were made, and all was arranged for the attack.

On Sunday, 19 of October, the Anglo-Normans and Portuguese troops were invested with their arms, and received the blessing of the Archbishop of Braga, followed by an exhortation to fight, and die a glorious death for the faith. They then prostrated themselves on the ground. The clergy, bidding them rise up, distributed to each combatant the badge of the Cross, the distinctive mark of those who pledged themselves to die for the glory of Christianity. Then rose up a mighty shout of mingled voices, imploring the Divine assistance, and which announced that the movable tower was about to be drawn against those walls, which in effect was done, with scarcely a single death resulting from the shots of the enemy. On the following day that lofty machine was again moved facing the tower nearest the Tagus. It was in this very tower that the besieged had concentrated their principal means of defence; but the invaders, on becoming acquainted with this fact, avoided to attack that point, by wheeling the engine forward towards the wall, meanwhile that the archers and crossbowmen from among the ruins kept up an active attack. These preludes of attack continued during the day, ceasing only with the coming night. A guard of two hundred Portuguese and Anglo-Normans, besides archers, surrounded the machine to defend it.

Towards nightfall the tide began to rise, surrounding the machine with water, all communication with the different camps being thus cut off. The Saracens were only waiting for this to take place, and, opening an iron door which stood in the wall near the structure, they advanced on foot towards it, while other soldiers, from the heights of the castle turrets, commenced to throw down on the wooden erection quantities of tow steeped in oil and pitch, burning faggots of wood and other combustibles, amid a perfect volley of stones. This fearful attack lasted all the night, with but small losses to the Christians, but great ones to the Saracens, since from the top of this movable erection they were able to fire vigorously upon the Saracens who were beneath.

On the following day the attack was renewed, the commander of the Portuguese fleet perishing in the affray; but the Saracens, with no possible hopes of obtaining aid, continued still to resist. The Italian engineer fell wounded, and this mishap greatly discouraged the in-

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vaders, principally the Portuguese, who, becoming dispirited on beholding so many perishing around them, many wounded, and the tower surrounded by water, a great number forsook the castle and attempted to cross the water; but shortly after, on the tide receding, they were able to save the engine, while the Saracens, perceiving that this tower was about to be saved, gave up the attempt to resist, worn out and harassed by fatigue. The receding tide thus prevented those who had so bravely defended the moving tower from surrendering. They then shifted this engine to within four feet of the *adarve*. It was now the occasion to show for what object this engine had been erected. From the top storey began to issue a strong drawbridge, like a giant arm, which was seen to approach the turret wall, and, just as it was about to touch the wall, this bridge became covered with men ready to leap on the parapet. On beholding these giant and ferocious Northerners ready to pounce on their walls, against whom they would but enter into an unequal combat—moreover, the Germans and Dutch, on the eastern side, were furiously attacking the breach—in view of all these disadvantages, the Saracens, whose spirit was broken down from hunger and sickness, bent down before this imminent risk, and laid down their arms; then, lifting up their hands, they implored a truce to be made until the following day, in order to arrange the terms for the capitulation of the city.

The attack then ceased, and Fernando Captivo and Harvey of Glanville were chosen to receive the proposals from the defenders of Lisbon. A suspension of hostilities was arranged, on condition that the night be not employed in any work of defence, or any attack made against the military engines of the besiegers, and hostages were sent from the Saracens. During that night they were to decide whether they should surrender or not, and in the latter case they were to expect no mercy, and nought else remained to them but the fate of arms.

The two chiefs then received the hostages, and delivered them to Alfonso Henry. This act, indifferent in itself, irritated the Crusaders, and nearly wrecked the whole affair. The discontent manifested upon the arrival of the Portuguese by those who mistrusted his faith (on account of his alleged behaviour during their former attack against Lisbon) now rose up anew, these malcontents alleging that the hostages should be delivered to the Crusaders, and not to the King. They feared treachery from the King, and loudly clamoured against Fernando Captivo and Harvey of Glanville. The tumult increased during the

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night, and the Dutch and Germans, joining the Anglo-Normans, led by their chiefs, proceeded to the King's camp, demanding to know what the traitors had decided upon.

They were told the conditions, which were as follows: That the city be delivered up to Alfonso I., the Crusaders to have all the gold, silver, and other valuables of the inhabitants. They then retired to deliberate, and it was during that night that the danger of anarchy rose up. The sailors, with some of the soldiers, incited by a Bristol priest of low condition, met together on the beach, and mutinied. They clamoured, and complained it was an unworthy act, when so many illustrious persons were joined together in this expedition, to be subjected to the will and command of a few men, and that there was no debating necessary, but only to resort to their arms; that, without any deference to other chiefs, they had subdued and taken possession of the territory of Almada; and had they themselves taken no notice of the temporising of the chiefs, they could, ere this, have effected a more advantageous compromise with the inhabitants.

Harvey of Glanville was the principal object of the wrath of these ferocious hordes, and he not only was accused of delivering up the hostages to the King, but likewise of excluding many from the division of the spoils. Over four hundred Anglo-Normans rushed out of their camp seeking Glanville, with frenzied cries of "Death to the wretch!" "Death to the traitor!"

From the Portuguese camp some came forward to quell the tumult, and succeeded in pacifying them, and then they at once conferred on the reply to be sent. Meanwhile the hostages of the Moors, knowing what had taken place, withdrew their original proposals, declaring their readiness to arrange affairs with the King of Portugal and his people, and grant all possible concessions; but that they would prefer death to having to continue relations with the Crusaders, whom they considered an immoral people, deficient of loyalty, and ferocious to the degree of not defending even their own leaders and chieftains.

However, after the first burst of indignation had subsided, they were more disposed to come to terms, until at length the King, in conjunction with the captains of the Crusaders, definitely arranged the conditions of capitulation. The terms were simply these: the city to surrender to the King, leaving to the Kayid and his son-in-law all their belongings, and the rest of the inhabitants only to retain what victuals they possessed. It is said the Anglo-Normans approved these

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conditions—which is almost incredible—and that the Germans and Dutch opposed them. However, whether true or false, it is certain that the multitude did not agree about the provisions, excepting as regarded the Kayid's, and that the Moors continued firm in their resolves. Thus the day ended, the Crusaders retiring to their camps fully determined to attack the city on the following day. The deprivation of victuals to the famished population was repugnant and inhuman to the last degree.

The disturbances, which lasted all the day, ceased when the mutineers withdrew to their respective camps, in the hopes of entering the city sword in hand, and free of any conditions. Scarcely had they retired than the Germans and Dutch tumultuously rushed out of their tents, accusing the King of Portugal of partiality in favour of the Saracen hostages. These wished to drag the hostages out of the Portuguese camp, in order to avenge themselves. A great uproar ensued, and on all sides was heard the clashing of arms. A portion of the Anglo-Normans at once flew to acquaint the King of what had passed, and the object of this revolt, meanwhile that Christian de Gistell and the Count of Areschot sallied out to put down the mutiny, and the Portuguese, taking up arms, prepared to defend them vigorously.

The two leaders succeeded in quelling the tumult, and then proceeded to the King to protest their innocence of the charge of participation in this revolt. The wrath of the King had reached its height, and it became necessary for Areschot and Gistell to give him positive assurances that order would be maintained before they could pacify him, and induce him to withdraw his troops. Alfonso declared to these two captains that, should the affair continue in this disordered state, he would give up the siege, as he preferred his own honour to the possession of Lisbon, since without honour the whole world was as nothing to him ; and that, in any case, after being subjected to so many indignities, he refused to associate any longer with that faithless, insolent crowd, capable of such flagrant acts. At length, after many protestations of loyalty and appeals, he calmed down, and promised to withhold his definite decision until the following day.

By day-dawn, it appears, all those turbulent spirits had become pacified. Perchance this was due to the energetic measures and strong words used by Alfonso Henry. The Crusaders then resolved unanimously to offer a plenary satisfaction to the King, and their chiefs proceeded to Alfonso I., to promise on oath, on their part and of those

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under their command, loyalty and homage during the whole time they should continue in Portugal.

After this solemn act, the Crusaders decided to accept the terms of the convention proposed by the Saracens concerning the capitulation made on the previous day.

It was then arranged for three hundred men to enter into the city, one hundred and sixty to be German-Belgians, and one hundred and forty Anglo-Normans, this advanced guard to occupy the kassba, or castle. The inhabitants were then to deliver up all moneys and other goods they possessed, assuring on oath that nothing else remained concealed. The Crusaders were then to search the whole city, and should any money or valuables be found besides what had been delivered up in the kassba, the holder of such to be put to death. After this search had been effected, the inhabitants would be permitted to leave the city without being further molested.

Such was the convention agreed to on Thursday, the 23rd of October.

Either on that same day or the following one the doors were opened to admit the men who were to take possession of the kassba. The Germans and Dutch were the first to enter, these being accompanied by more than two hundred, who, taking advantage of the disorder which reigned within the city, penetrated into it through the breach effected on the eastern side, and which had now been abandoned by its hapless, though heroic defenders.

The Anglo-Normans came next, followed by the Archbishop with uplifted cross, surrounded by the bishops. Then came the King of Portugal, with the Portuguese and foreign chiefs and a numerous retinue.

This procession wended its way to the highest tower of the castle, and amid religious strains the cross was hoisted up, and placed within view of every one, as a sign that Lisbon had submitted to the Christian domination. After this act the King traversed the whole round of the walls of the kassba, probably to examine the state of the fortifications.

And while the canticles of the Christian Church were resounding within the castle, fearful scenes were taking place in the Almedina and fortified outskirts. It was vainly attempted to establish order when distributing the spoils. It was useless to restrain the ferocious passions of that covetous, cruel, lawless multitude of men.

Sworn promises, conventions, and treaties, declarations of obedience

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and loyalty—all were forgotten in that moment. It is said that the instigators and actors in this scene of horror were the Germans and the Dutch; but the former behaviour of the Anglo-Normans induces us to believe that they were not simply spectators of the scenes which were enacted, or that they had suddenly become converted into models of moderation and disinterestedness, and we believe, likewise, that the Portuguese soldiers at this juncture joined the foreigners. We know for certain that a great number of the conquering troops dispersed about the city, practising all kinds of lawless acts; and along its maze of winding streets, and so narrow that even the present district of Alfama barely affords us a slight idea, amid the famished crowds, the unburied dead, the victims of war, of sickness, and of famine, this unbridled horde of soldiers proceeded, thirsting for prey. Doors were broken down, and houses entered, despoiled, and searched, the men flying in terror, the women violated; household effects were piled up in heaps in the streets, to be dispersed later on, and carried away secretly. In this state of confusion the slightest resistance was punished by the sword, and blood was shed even when no resistance could be offered, as in the case of the Mosarabe bishop, a venerable old man, who was beheaded, no doubt because he attempted to save the sacred vessels. Notwithstanding the especial article of the convention respecting the property of the Kayid, he was not only despoiled by them of everything, but was actually made a prisoner. After this first outbreak of the soldiers, the spoliation of the city began to be made in a more regular manner, and investigation of concealed articles was made, in order to distribute the spoil with greater equity. On Friday ended the sack of the city.

The population, now being completely despoiled, began to quit the city through the three doors appointed for their egress. This sad exodus of Saracens lasted, without interruption, until the following Thursday. Notwithstanding the want of provisions in the despoiled city, 8000 loads of wheat and barley were found in the underground granaries, and 12,000 measures of oil. But what met the sight in every place were the dead and the dying. Within the vast edifice of the mosque alone they found, heaped up, two hundred dead, and more than eight hundred invalids in the deepest squalor. The spectacle of deepest misery offered by the conquered, whether of the lower classes in those that had been left, or the better and more wealthy classes in those who sought shelter in the province of Andalusia, where Islamism

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still held its sway, was sufficient to awaken pity in the lowest and most perverted souls. Sickness was making sad inroads: in the streets and in the alleys, in the ruined houses and amid the surrounding vineyards, in the fields and on the sandy plains, the dead were found, the booty of beasts and birds of prey. Among these were found many still living, who could hardly be distinguished from the dead, in whose hands were clasped the cross, and whose dying breath pronounced the name of the Mother of God, and implored her aid.

In the eyes of the Franks these manifestations of deep Christianity appeared to them little short of a miracle of sudden conversion, but not so with the Portuguese, who well knew that the ancient race of the Goths had been subjected by the Saracens, numbers of whom had continued to reside in the city, adopting the dress, language, customs—all things excepting their creed; and this demonstrates the fact that a great number of Mosarabes existed in the mixed population of Lisbon.

The moral result of this important conquest may be easily imagined. The whole district of Lisbon, forming a kind of peninsula, with the territories on both sides of the Tagus, close to the mouth of the river, at once submitted. Although the Castle of Cintra was almost inaccessible, from its position, it at once surrendered to Alfonso Henry on terms of capitulation, before he had even assaulted it; and the troops which garrisoned the Castle of Palmella abandoned it, while a small body of troops sent by the King of Portugal peacefully took possession.

After all these conquests the Saracen population must have sensibly diminished. Those whose circumstances permitted took refuge within the province of Al-Kassr; but the rest were exposed, as we have seen, to all the calamities of war, and of a war sustained with ferocious men, possessed of religious zeal against the vanquished, and experienced all the consequences of such a position.

Whole villages were desolated, and fields were left uncultivated which hitherto were productive, and yielded abundant harvest, due to the advanced civilisation of the Arabs. These evil results of the conquest were in a great measure quickly remedied. Such of the Franks as did not return to their native countries received grants of land to till and to people, subject to the authority of their respective chiefs. In this manner William Lacorni, or Descornes, with his soldiers, populated Atouguia; while Jourdain, another captain of the Crusaders, established himself in Lourinhan, and Allardo (perchance Adhelard) in Villa Verde.

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Within a short time these people, collected together from all parts, this indomitable crowd of fierce warriors, gradually became accustomed to a calmer style of existence, and in time completely abandoned the profession of arms.

But while we thus see Santarem and Lisbon falling into the hands of Alfonso I., the civil war was devouring the States of Mussalman Spain, and the two provinces of Al-Kassr and Al-Faghar were the chief scenes of the new revolution. The tyranny and violence exercised by the two brothers of Al-Mahdi, who resided in Seville after its subjugation by the Almohade General Berraz, had begun to irritate the spirit of the Andalusian Saracens against their new masters. The former Governor of Niebla, who, in consequence of the last events, had been deprived of his office, also resided in Seville. Annoyed by these haughty Almohades, he resolved to revenge himself, and proceeded to the district he formerly governed, where he quickly incited Niebla to rebellion. From thence, marching against Tablada, he took possession of this town and the castle called Hisn Al-Kassr. The success of this undertaking soon produced imitators. Ibn Kasi, the former ally of Alfonso Henry, who had but lately declared himself an ardent partisan of the Almohades, now rebelled in Silves, while Ibn Aly Ibn Al-hajan was doing likewise in Badajoz, and Aly Ibn Isa in Cadiz. In a word, the revolution spread itself with such force and rapidity through the south and west of Andalus that scarcely Ronda and Xerez remained faithful. The difficulty, however, was to maintain the independence of these small states, which sprang up and fell with equal rapidity, against the forces of the ever-victorious Abdu-l-mumen. Scarcely had the latter become acquainted with the rebellion than he sent across the strait an army of Almohades, led by Yusuf Ibn Suleyman, who quickly reduced to obedience Niebla and Tablada. From thence, Yusuf marched against Silves, which he took, as well as Faro, governed by one Isa Ibn Maimun. On beholding how quickly everything yielded to the general of the Ameer of Morocco, Mohammed Ibn Aly, the Governor of Badajoz, sent messengers to Yusuf, bearing rich presents to implore pardon, which was granted, and the conquering army retired to Seville.

We have seen how Palmella fell into the power of Alfonso I. without any resistance. The position of this castle was, in a military point of view, of great importance, not alone as a stronghold, but also for its advantageous situation when continuing war in the province of Al-Kassr, as it was the key to the territory between the Bay of Sado and

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the Tagus, and served as a watch-tower, or advanced post, to the territories of Almada and Lisbon. Hence the tract of land between the two bays, which, flowing on towards the Atlantic, ends in Cape Espichel, was well guarded, and Lisbon protected against any sudden attack from the Mussalmans, should their troops approach along the left margin of the Tagus, in barques leaving Chetawir (Sado) at night, with the object of entering the port of the newly subjugated city.

From Alcacer do Sal to Palmella there was a distance of six leagues; this distance was too short to prevent the soldiers of the latter castle from making a raid into the ancient Salacia, since it would take but one day or night to march on to the neighbourhood, and desolate it. Salacia was, during the dominion of the Beni Umeyyahs of Cordova, celebrated as an arsenal, from whence powerful fleets issued against the Christians, one of its most notable being that of Almansor, when part of his army was taken to the Douro for the expedition to Compostella. In the twelfth century, Alcacer had already fallen from its former grandeur, but it was still noted for its picturesque site and delightful scenery. Situated on the margins of Chetawir, it supplied a great number of merchant ships, which were constantly passing to and fro on the river, while its commerce was considerable, owing to its proximity to the populous and opulent Iaborah (Evora). It was on all sides surrounded by extensive pine-woods, and the timber they yielded constituted one of the principal objects of exportation. The country around was very fertile, and abounded with cattle for dairy produce and for the market, while the honey collected constituted a large item of its wealth.

Such is the description given by the Arab writers of the twelfth century, in spite of its political decadence. Its military importance, and the strength of its castle, are proved by the amount of blood it cost the Christians to conquer it, and again when reconquering it after it was lost to them a second time. In our days all that subsists are large blocks of ruined wall and broken towers, or tunnels cleft, which seem ready to fall, and crush the town at its feet. The pine-woods have almost disappeared, and the meadows, which pastured the herds and flocks, are now converted into marshes and fens, where corruption breeds and festers. The deadly fevers which emanate during the summer months impart to the inhabitants a cadaverous hue, sadly in harmony with those colourless fallen stones, the vestiges of two great civilisations which have swept over that land during many

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centuries. A turret of the lofty Saracen tower lies at the base of the Roman column, while a Latin inscription faces the wall of what probably was a Mussalman mosque, and is now a mean Christian temple. Ruins upon ruins, cemented by the blood of many combats, and mingling with these ruins are a sickly, fever-stricken population—behold all that remains of the once beautiful Al-Kassr Ibn Abu Danés!

It is believed that from Palmella Alfonso I. proceeded to infest the territory of Alcacer. One of the means employed by Christians, when they desired to subjugate populous places, was to devastate their environs beforehand. There are many examples of this system, one of the most notable being that which Alfonso VI. pursued before besieging Toledo. In this way the population became impoverished, particularly of victuals, and hunger very soon was added to the other evils of a strict siege, and powerfully aided the conquerors. Perchance, moved by this idea, Alfonso I. endeavoured to follow in the taking of Alcacer the same plan as he pursued in the conquest of Santarem; but he incurred a great risk, from which he barely escaped.

Followed by some sixty men who were insufficiently armed, the Portuguese prince attempted to approach that castle. On being discovered by the Saracens, they fiercely attacked the Christians. The Saracen knights outnumbered the Christians, besides which, they were accompanied by many foot-soldiers; but Alfonso I., although surrounded by so small a number, did not decline to enter the lists. Ages have dimmed the memory of the deeds of bravery performed in those attacks; but we know that the enemy was at length constrained to retreat to Alcacer, although Alfonso I. was wounded in that perilous combat.

We said that perchance the King of Portugal had approached Salacer, with the intention of making a sudden and unexpected attack on the castle. It is only in this way that his presence there with such a small number of warriors, insufficiently armed for a pitched battle, can be explained. Otherwise the success obtained in Santarem would incite him to repeat the attempt.

A celebrated Arab historian of that time says that the greater number of conquests obtained by the Lord of Coimbra were effected in this manner. This testimony, coming from a Mussalman writer, sheds a greater lustre upon Alfonso I. than the rapid, dim narratives afforded by Christian chroniclers. From the same writer we gather

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that this valiant prince was always foremost in exposing his life in these nocturnal assaults. "The way that this enemy of God," says Ibn Sahibi-s-salat, "took the greater number of castles (in the provinces of Belatha and Al-Kassr) was as follows: Having selected the point of attack, he would sally forth on some dark, tempestuous night from one of the fortresses he resided in, taking with him a few brave knights. On reaching the castle he desired to assail, it was he who would place the ladder against the wall, and he also be the first to ascend. Hardly had he reached the parapet of the wall than he listened to find out whether the sentinels were on the watch. On perceiving that they were asleep, he used to approach the nearest one, and, with uplifted dagger, constrain him to pass the word as usual to the other sentinels that all was well. After this, he awaited for a sufficient number to ascend, when, lifting up his voice, he would shout the war-cry, 'Santiago!' (St. James), when they would precipitately cast themselves amid the people, cutting down with the sword all who attempted to oppose his progress."

It was one of these attacks by night that Alfonso I. attempted against Alcacer, but it proved a futile one. It was necessary to take possession of that important town by sheer force, and we know that at this time he had not sufficient forces at command. The capital and blood which the conquest of Lisbon had entailed, the numbers of Crusaders who must have left the country to conduct a fleet of two hundred sails to the east, the troops needed to garrison the castles and defend the cities he so rapidly conquered, the great number of Franks who remained to perform rural works and for the establishment of colonies in Estremadura—all this diminished the number of men, fit and experienced, to enter into campaigns on the plains of Alemtejo, as a commencement to besieging Alcacer. Hence the obvious silence of contemporary memoirs concerning the events which took place during the years immediate to the conquest of the territories between the Tagus and the Atlantic. At that epoch history was almost exclusively composed of wars, and the men brought before us also were usually warriors; and, in truth, warfare not only constituted generally the state of society, but likewise warfare became an actual necessity and the first needs of a poor and circumscribed country, as it could not otherwise exist, unless, by extending itself at the expense of the Saracens, it grew and acquired greater strength. Hence, when princes became wearied of continual warfare, and laid down their arms to

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restore their exhausted energies, history no longer follows their steps, unless they appear again on the arena of the battle-fields. It was for this reason that the meagre contemporary memoirs tell us nothing, or very little, concerning the events of the ten years which elapsed from the taking of Lisbon until the Christians attained to take possession of Alcacer. The active spirit of the King of Portugal must, however, have been directed towards the administration of the country and its internal affairs, more especially to the restoration of the provinces newly incorporated to his dominions, and which necessarily were desolated by the combats and raids practised.

As we said before, many foreigners came in the fleet of Count de Areschot, and continued in Lisbon after it was taken. Many of these, later on, established themselves in the interior of the province. The orders of knighthood and the ecclesiastical and monastic corporations were liberally dowered in the newly acquired lands. Below Leiria, towards the west, was founded about this epoch (1153) the Monastery of Alcobaça, which became one of the most renowned in Portugal, and to these monks was due the cultivation of an extensive part of Estremadura Alta, which hitherto had been a vast solitude, and for a great length of time served as a neutral ground to both Christians and Saracens.

And while under these powerful corporations, towns and villages were springing up, attracting to them new colonists from other lands and from other districts on the north, the King continued to apportion among his soldiers the estates, situated in the principal places, belonging to the Saracens who had died during the wrestling, or who had forsaken a country under servitude to the enemy. At the same time, such of the Mussalmans as accepted the yoke of the Christian continued to enjoy their properties, under the denomination of *Mouros forros* (exempted Moors), and, after a few years, obtained especial concessions, which entitled them to protection from any violence on the part of the conquerors.

Scarcely had four years elapsed from the taking of Lisbon when the King of Portugal prepared to continue the war. As his forces had become lessened, from the causes already mentioned, he endeavoured to increase his army with foreigners by effecting levies in England. Islamism, against which he ever combated, imparted the character of a Crusade to any expedition that came to aid the prince; and it was, therefore, under pretext of militating against the enemies

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of the Cross that he principally attracted to his army the undaunted warriors of Northern Europe. Gilbert, an English priest, who was elevated to the dignity of Bishop of Lisbon, departed for Great Britain in 1151, to preach a new Crusade against Seville—that is to say, against the dominions of the Almohades in Spain, whose capital it was.

The efforts of Gilbert, it appears, were crowned with success, and a fleet left England for Portugal; and, in conjunction with his auxiliaries, Alfonso proceeded to besiege Alcacer in that same year or the following one. But the undertaking failed, owing to the energetic resistance offered by its defenders; and, we believe, the fleet of Crusaders returned to England without effecting any conquest.

But although repulsed, Alfonso did not desist from his project, and renewed the attempt in the year 1157. This attempt occasioned the coming of another fleet, which, proceeding on the northern sea, was directed towards Syria. In these long voyages the coasts of the Peninsula afforded to the storm-beaten voyagers safe harbours, and where they could revictual their ships within the vast ports. Among these, none equalled the mouth of the Tagus, on account of its situation; hence, from the time of the conquest of Lisbon, this port became more generally frequented by the fleets which followed the route to the East. With the object in view of gaining Alcacer, he aided the new expedition, in order to renew his attempt, which, however, also proved unsuccessful.

These events are so shortly narrated in the chronicles of the Goths that we scarcely can credit the statement that this fleet was the one belonging to the Count of Flanders, Thierry, or Theoderic of Alsace, which, in the year 1157, started for Syria. The arrival of Thierry in Portugal at that juncture probably gave rise to the erroneous tradition that he was one of the Crusaders who assisted in the taking of Lisbon.

Alcacer fell, however, on the 24th of June, 1158. This castle, whose ruins still subsist as a melancholy proof of its solidity—which had resisted the united forces of Alfonso I. and the fleets of England and Flanders—at length surrendered, after sixty days' siege, to the forces alone of the King of Portugal. According to Arab historians, the garrison was put to death, but from the Christian memoirs we gather that, after the surrender of the castle, it was permitted to the Saracen garrison to retire to the interior of the Gharb, thus leaving to

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their co-religionists the melancholy certainty that the territory of the province of Al-Kassr would eventually be taken by the impetuous Ibn Errik.

But while the small kingdom of Portugal was extending itself to the south and the east, the powerful monarchies of Leon and Castille received a deep shock in the death of Alfonso VII. (1157). This monarch, in spite of the perturbations he had experienced, divided, before his death, the vast States between his two sons. Castille, with all the provinces it included, he gave to his eldest son; while to his second son, Ferdinand, he left Leon, with Galicia and Estremadura. It appears that some petty discords arose between the brothers, but there was no open rupture. The Kings of Castille and Leon met in Sahagun, and there they celebrated a covenant calculated not only to maintain peace within their respective States, but likewise regulate the limits of their conquests in the future, and afford mutual aid in their wars, defensive and offensive. This covenant is of especial interest to our history, as it reveals that, although Alfonso had tacitly consented to the independence of Portugal, he nevertheless had made a mental reservation, in the hope of yet bringing his cousin to submission, confiding this thought to his sons, or else they newly took up the former idea. It is certain that by the treaty made in Sahagun, on the 22nd of May, 1158, between Sancho and Ferdinand, they both promised not to sign any treaty or convention disadvantageous to either, with the King of Portugal, unless by mutual consent. In the event of conquering the States of their cousin, which, it seems, they seriously intended doing, they were to divide the said States equally between themselves, the King of Leon to make the division, and the King of Castille to choose which portion he desired. As regarded the acquisitions in Saracen territory, Ferdinand was to take possession of the modern Portuguese provinces of Alemtejo and Algarve, with the territories of Niebla, Montanches, and Merida, while the conquests effected from these places to the east were to appertain to the crown of Castille.

The death of Sancho, which took place a few months after this treaty was signed, altered all the designs of aggrandisement projected by the two brothers. The King of Castille left a son under age, who became Alfonso VIII., surnamed the Noble. Under pretext of his right to the tutorship of his nephew, Ferdinand took advantage of the discords which this event gave rise to among the nobles, to enter, with

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armed forces, into the territory of Castille, where, during the civil wars, which were continued for some years, he took possession of Toledo. In the midst of these calamitous events, produced by ambition, the empire of the Almohades was becoming consolidated in Mussalman Spain. Meanwhile, the adversary of the Almoravides, who vainly disputed what remained of his dominions in the southern districts of Andalus, and of the Christians, who were enemies far more formidable and dangerous, Abdu-l-mumen, engaged in crushing down rebellions in Africa, and widening in that region the frontiers of his dominion, sustained the war beyond the sea by his generals. Ibn Ghaniyyah, the last illustrious defender of the Lamtunite dynasty, perished in a combat on the Vega of Granada (1148), after losing Cordova and nearly all the other important places. Casting themselves at the feet of Alfonso, whose victorious arms had reached even to the shores of the Mediterranean Sea, where he reduced Almeria in the same year that his cousin took possession of Lisbon, the Almoravides had done nought else but contribute to the aggrandisement of the Leonese Monarchy, while they were, nevertheless, unable to avert their own ruin. Ambitious, like Alfonso VII., the King of Portugal had taken advantage of the contentions existing between these two rival parties, which enabled him to further his own designs.

The history of the ten years which elapsed from the taking of Almeria to the death of the Emperor is a long series of devastations effected by the Christians on the south of the Peninsula. Vainly did the Spanish Mussalmans, who were of the party of the Almohades, send numerous deputations to the powerful Ameer of Morocco, bearing protestations of unlimited adhesion and obedience, beseeching him, meanwhile, to send forces to Spain capable of putting an end to the triumphs of the infidel prince. He listened to them all; he treated them most graciously, and dismissed them with rich presents and great promises. He even came as far as Ceuta, to show that he desired to cross the strait; but suddenly he marched from thence to the east of Mauritania to continue his victories, and retrenched the aid afforded to the Spanish Saracens by ordering forces to surround Almeria by sea and by land. These proved sufficient to resist Alfonso VIII., who vainly attempted to raise the siege, but not strong enough to prevent the enemies from reducing other places, such as Baeza and Ubeda, which the Emperor took possession of during the siege. In the same year as the death of Alfonso occurred, Almeria at length fell

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into the hands of Cid Abu Said, son of the Ameer Al-Muminin, whom the latter had placed at the head of that expedition.

The conquest of the ancient Salacia, without need of foreign aid, necessarily increased the confidence of the Portuguese warriors in the prowess and skill of their chief; and the terror produced by so many reverses continued to crush the spirit of the Mussalmans, while it exalted the military reputation of Alfonso I., which in brilliancy excelled that of any of the princes of Christian Spain, on account of his victories and rapid conquests.

In the prime of life he saw nearly all his designs realised, and his name appears in history, and in the narrative of the protracted death agony of Spanish Islamism, like to an angel of extermination, yet with full confidence in his own destiny. But, in order to verify facts which are uniformly narrated by Arab historians, it is necessary to suppose that, after the conquest of Alcacer, the victorious Christians penetrated like a torrent into the interior of modern Alemtejo, and that in this first invasion some of the important towns submitted, among them Evora and Beja. The latter, which was taken in December, 1150, was abandoned four months later, the conquerors first dismantling the fortifications.

The glory and renown which Alfonso I. had acquired naturally induced the other princes of Christian Spain to seek an alliance with Portugal, not only in a political sense, but with its valiant prince in close domestic relations. The King of Portugal lost his Queen D. Mathilde, or Mafalda, on the 3rd of December, 1158, shortly after the taking of Alcacer, leaving a son and three daughters, Sancho, Mafalda, Urraca, and Theresa, all in their infancy. Besides these, there were three who died at a tender age, D. Sancha and D. Henry and John. Sancho (called formerly Martin) was born in 1154.

The Count of Barcelona, Raymund Berenguer, had married Petronilha, the Queen of Aragon, who bore a son called, like his father, Raymund Berenguer, who inherited the States of Barcelona and Aragon, ascending the throne under the name of Alfonso II. This prince was a little older than Mafalda, and his father wished to betroth him to the Portuguese Infanta. With that object he departed to the frontiers of Portugal, in spite of the wars which he was then engaged in with the South of France, to arrange this alliance with Alfonso I.

These princes met in Tuy on the 30th of January, 1160, and

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in presence of various prelates and barons of Portugal, Aragon, and other parts of Spain, was celebrated the contract of marriage, which, however, the death of the princess prevented its realisation.

In the civil discords which were rising up between Castille and Leon, due to the ambitious pretensions of Ferdinand II., this prince, abandoning the idea of conquering with which he had ascended the throne, now strove to ally himself also with the King of Portugal, and the interview in Tuy with the Count of Barcelona was followed in that same year by others in Cella-Nova with the Leonese king. No especial memoir remains to us of the subjects treated of in that conference, but it is supposed that the marriage of the Infanta D. Urraca with the King of Leon was arranged, as it actually took place in 1165.

It is probable that the two princes, who were bent upon prosecuting their conquests along the Mussalman territories, should confer about the future demarcation of their respective States, as the rapid triumphs of Alfonso I., who was already lord of the province of Al-Kassr, might very possibly proceed with his arms to the very heart of Andalusia, and on his way take possession of the parts already conquered by Leon and Castille, induces us to infer that the question of limitation was one of the chief subjects of the meeting of the princes. The great object, however, which compelled the King of Leon to seek an alliance with the King of Portugal was to keep him favourably disposed to his attempt of usurpation in Castille.

But these important alliances, which bore such evident testimony to the high reputation enjoyed by the King of Portugal, now received a rude shock. The Ameer of Morocco, when he concluded the conquest of Eastern Mauritania, resolved to cross over to Spain, where the fortune of war was adverse to the Mussalman arms, particularly in the west. At the commencement of the year 1160 he ordered his son Abu Said, the Wali of Granada, to increase the fortifications of Gibraltar. When this had been effected, the Ameer crossed the strait with an army, and resided there for some time (1161). Throughout Andalus the fame of the conquests of Ibn Errik, and the devastations effected in the territories of the Gharb, were the themes of all, and Abdu-l-mumen came to avenge the affronts done to Islamism. He sent to the western frontiers 18,000 Almohade knights, commanded by Abu Mohammed Abdullah Ibn Hafss. On entering the province of Al-Kassr the King Alfonso I. came out to

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meet him; but the Portuguese squadrons were unable, however, to resist the impetus of the veteran warriors of Abdu-l-mumen, well inured to war in their repeated victories of Africa. The defeated Christians left 6,000 dead on the battle-field, besides a great number of prisoners. The result of this event was the loss of the towns they had taken possession of in the interior of modern Alemtejo. The conquerors, laden with the spoils of the enemy, did not proceed further, and the Ameer Al-mumen commanded Ibn Hafss to retire, nominating Mohammed Aly Al Hadj wali of the Gharb and defender of the frontiers.

But in spite of this great reverse, it was not easy to abate the valour of a people full of youth and energy, whose life was spent in strifes and perils of a continuous war. The wrestling with the Mussalmans was renewed in the following year, while Abdu-l-mumen returned to Africa, with the object of visiting the capital and resting from his fatigues. The raids and incursions of the Christians commenced in the land of Gharb, where the vestiges still subsisted of past invasions; but now the King of Portugal and his noblemen were engaged, it appears, in repairing the losses of the past year, leaving to their subordinates the continuance of these *algaras* or entries, which, as they carried desolation to the fields and unfortified places, opened a path to important conquests of cities and castles, defended by numerous garrisons. The conquest of Beja was due to the municipal troops, and of the fortress, which, broken up some three years before, must have been rebuilt by the Saracens. A body of burghers, or rural knights, led by one Fernando Gonçalves, marched against the city in the depth of winter, and, during a sudden nocturnal attack, took possession of Beja at the end of November, 1162.

Evora, in those days, was the most important city after Badajoz, the capital of the province. Vast and well populated, surrounded by walls, the castle which proudly stood on its height constituted its principal defence. Its environs were considered singularly fertile, its chief productions being cereals, all kinds of pulse, and herds; while an extensive commerce was kept up of exports and imports, which rendered it wealthy, and its mosque was truly magnificent.

Having been entered by the Christians, after the conquest of Alcacer, during their first impetus, the Almohade troops very quickly replaced Islamism; but the hour when the Cross should be lifted up on the pinnacle of its celebrated mosque had already struck.

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Tradition invests with poetic circumstances the simple history of the captain of highwaymen who took it. If we credit the legends written at a more recent age, Giraldo, the hero of romance—who, on account of his marvellous daring, had obtained the surname of *Sempavor* (Fearless)—was a noble knight, who, on account of various crimes, had forsaken the service of Alfonso I., and had joined, in Alemtejo, a band of men who obeyed him. Remorse and shame of his evil life induced him to undertake a glorious undertaking, the happy results of which should effect a moral restoration. This was to be the taking of Evora. The narrative of this conquest is similar to the taking of Santarem, and, perchance, was an imitation. Restored to the favour of the prince, he was elevated to the dignity of Alcaide of the city, which with such skill and daring he subjected to the Christian domination. The Chronicles of the Goths, however, scarcely tell us more than that, in 1166, Evora was taken and sacked by Giraldo Sempavor and his associates, and that he afterwards delivered it up to Alfonso I. The silence of other contemporary writers concerning Giraldo being the conqueror of Evora might induce some suspicion even of the fabulous event, although reduced to its primitive simplicity.

The royal troops paced anew the territory of the Province of Al-Kassr, the complete conquest of which was greatly facilitated by the taking of Evora and Beja, or, rather, rendered inevitable in view of the absence of aid from beyond the sea. Abdu-l-mumen died in Salé (1163), where he had mustered together a numerous army to pass over to Spain. His son Yusuf Abu Jacub, whom he elected to succeed him, was at the time in Seville, and he at once departed for Africa, where he was acclaimed Ameer; but the resistance offered by his brothers, who were excluded from the throne, and various mutinies which successively occurred in those parts, prevented Yusuf for some years from attending to the defence of the western frontier of Andalus. But now that Alfonso I. was under no fear of the Almohades of Africa, he newly invaded the Mussalman territories. Christian memoirs briefly allude to these conquests, which were effected in 1176, of Moura, Serpa, and Alconchel beyond the Guadiana, and the rebuilding of the Castle of Coruche between Evora and the Tagus. A contemporary Arab writer relates with greater length the rapid series of triumphs which robbed Islamism of, perchance, the best part of the Gharb. According to this writer, the King of Portugal sped as far as Trujillo, which he took by stratagem

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in April or May, 1165. The same fate awaited Evora in September or October following. Caceres surrendered in January, 1166, and the Christians in the spring became masters of the Castle of Muntajech and the towns of Sheberina and Jelmanyah.

The narrative of the Arab historian who lived near the theatre of war does not contradict, but completes and illustrates the details concerning these successes. The history of Ibn Sahibi informs us of the daring and impetus of the invasion which the King of Portugal attempted at this juncture. It appears the army had passed the modern frontier of Portugal by old Alemtejo to the north of Badajoz, following along Spanish Estremadura in a line from west to east of more than twenty leagues in length, and retroceding obliquely, to occupy the strongholds of Alconchel and Serpa, situated on the left margin of the river Guadiana.

By thus establishing his frontiers beyond this river, Alfonso I. secured the dominion of the whole territory of modern Alemtejo as soon as he could take possession of Badajoz, where a strong garrison would defend the north of the province, bordered to the right of Badajoz by Lower Beira, or ancient Portugal. As regards Caceres and Trujillo (Tordjala), the silence which the ancient Chroniclers maintain concerning these conquests convinces us that they were destroyed or abandoned. The ruin of Trujillo was equivalent to a great victory. Tordjala, which the Arabs compared to a theatre of war on account of its solid ramparts, was inhabited by a race of restless, brave men, whose sole occupation, whether high or low born, was making continual *algaras* with the object of devastating and sacking the territories of the Christians.

Meanwhile the King of Leon, who had taken possession of part of the States of his nephew the King of Castille, was still in arms with the subjects who had continued faithful to the youthful prince. During the varied fortune of the war he sustained since the year 1160, the union celebrated by Ferdinand II. with the daughter of Alfonso I. did not suffice to allow him to obtain his ends. These family ties, far from serving to bind by mutual affection the spirits of father and son-in-law, and thereby establish a lasting peace between the two States, acted in a diverse manner, and scarcely from that epoch did discords cease.

We know not in a distinct manner what the real motive was which finally induced a violent war to break out between the two princes. It is said that a servant or familiar of Alfonso I., moved by some offence he received from him, fled to the Court of the Leonese prince, and

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persuaded him to found Ciudad Rodrigo, from whence Ferdinand II. effected great devastations to Portugal.

As the marriage of Ferdinand with D. Urraca was celebrated in 1165, we must suppose that these dissensions took place previous to the union, as the erection of Ciudad Rodrigo appears to coincide with that date, and the Tudan and Toledan Chronicles narrate the wrestling between the two kings as commencing after that event. Moreover, the Portuguese troops were engaged during part of 1165 and the following year in conquering both sides of the Guadiana, and therefore it is not likely that Alfonso I. should risk his States by declaring war at this juncture to the powerful King of Leon. Hence the events which we shall describe necessarily took place after 1166.

Sancho, the only son of the King of Portugal, was over twelve years of age. In view of the state of the country, it was needful that the heir to the throne should be educated in the profession of arms, and his youth spent in witnessing the terrible scenes of war, devastations, conflagrations, and deaths; to harden his limbs in the rough life of the camp, and close his spirit to all tender feelings and desires of repose. But remembering, probably, the sad example of Sancho, the beloved son of Alfonso VII., slain by the hands of the Saracens in Ucles, the King of Portugal did not wish the Infante to receive his first lessons of war in the Gharb, where death or captivity was equally dreaded. Hence, on arranging an expedition against Ciudad Rodrigo, he ordered Sancho to accompany the army sent out for the purpose.

At this juncture the resistance of the Castillians against the usurpation of King Ferdinand II. had assumed great proportions, and the partisans of Alfonso VIII. had taken possession, in 1166, of Toledo, the capital of the States belonging to the youthful prince.

In the midst of the cares and anxieties which fell on the Leonese king, the news came to him of a new adversary who was coming to complicate the difficulties of his position. Besides the moral gifts of piety, simplicity, liberality, and benignity, which the ancient historians ascribe to him, Ferdinand was dowered with undaunted bravery, a virtue common at that epoch. In that difficulty he did not lose heart, but, leaving the larger portion of his army to sustain the war against his nephew, he proceeded with the remainder to meet the forces which were nominally commanded by his brother-in-law. The Portuguese had rapidly advanced, and were already traversing the territory adjacent to Ciudad Rodrigo, when they encountered the Leonese, who had come

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to receive him. A battle took place on a spot called Arganal, close to the threatened town. The King of Leon was victorious, and Sancho was forced to fly, a great number of his soldiers remaining prisoners ; but Ferdinand liberated them, either through generosity of spirit or, what is more natural, to soften by this means the wrath of his father-in-law, whose fiery character he well knew.

But Alfonso I., irritated by the affair of Arganal, accompanied by the Infante, personally opened the campaign along the frontier of Galicia with the veterans who had assisted him to obtain so many victories. Crossing the Minho, Alfonso I. assailed the city of Tuy, and took possession of it. Its cathedral, where the garrison attempted to resist, was attacked and violated ; and the invading army, proceeding to the north, quickly subjugated the districts of Toronho up to the margins of Lerez. Then returning to the east, the King of Portugal took possession of the territory of Limia, where the Portuguese, becoming divided, simultaneously attacked both districts.

Meanwhile that Alfonso I. was compelled to raise the siege of Castle Sandino in consequence of a terrible tempest, which the superstitious of that age ascribed to Saint Rosendo, the protector of the monks of Cellanova, upon whose seigniority this castle was built, the Count Velasco was taking possession by stratagem of those of Santa Cruz and Monte Leboreiro. In order to secure those conquests, Alfonso Henry ordered a new castle to be quickly erected, that of Cedofeita, close to Cellanova, where part of the monks in terror had fled to Leon. The violent acts practised by the conquerors in that district were unbearable, and a contemporary writer compares the rude proceeding of the Portuguese king to that of Pharaoh. Leaving the Count Valasco in Cedofeita, and garrisoning the castles in those two districts, Alfonso I. retreated to Portugal, it appears, with the intention of continuing the war with the Saracens on the southern frontier.

Ferdinand meanwhile marched to the north of Galicia, resolved upon expelling the Portuguese out of that province, and laid siege to the Castle of Cedofeita. It was a stronghold and well guarded, and the resistance was becoming obstinate and protracted, when nature intervened in the wrestling. One dark, tempestuous night a thunderbolt fell on the principal tower of the castle, striking the garrison of cross-bowmen. Terrified by that awful spectacle, the rest of the defenders of Cedofeita surrendered the following day without combating. Whether the King of Leon was able to reduce other places

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taken by the Portuguese is unknown, but it is certain that even in 1169 the two districts of Toronho and Limia were still considered subject to the King of Portugal.

The prosperous reign of this illustrious warrior had reached to its height. The extent of his dominions now equalled modern Portugal, because, although the dominion of the territory which is now called Algarve was still wanting to him, this want was amply compensated by the last conquest beyond the Minho. Successful in nearly all the undertakings which he personally conducted, it would be an act of injustice to ascribe it only to chance, as, indeed, he undisputably surpassed in military talent and firmness of purpose.

It is believed, however, that had the alliance he had entered into been as sincere as it appears it was on the side of the King of Leon, or had he been less blinded by political conveniences, he would have averted the grievous event which embittered the declining days of his life and placed in jeopardy the independence of the country which had been conquered at the price of so much blood and fatigue.

While Ferdinand fought to regain the castles held by the Portuguese in Toronho and Limia, Alfonso entered anew with his army into the Saracen territory of the Gharb, which he had been unable to subdue in his former invasion of 1166. In the spring of 1169 the King of Portugal attacked Badajoz. This city, situated on the shores of the Guadiana, and surrounded by strong walls, was still a principal town, although its environs, which at one time were more populated than the city itself, were now deserted in consequence of the civil discords. The news of the expedition of his father-in-law reached the ears of the King of Leon. To him belonged Badajoz by two titles. First, in the convention or treaty of limitation made between the two princes (probably in Cellanova) respecting the new conquests, Badajoz, it was arranged, should appertain to the Leonese crown; secondly, the dwellers of the ancient capital of the Gharb had placed it under the protection of Ferdinand, the Governor of the city submitting as a vassal tributary to him. Sworn treaties and covenants, like to all moral bonds, are but weak barriers against political calculations, and the subjugation of Badajoz enabled Alfonso I. to continue his brilliant conquests, because he thus completed the line of stronghold which secured him the possession of the left margin of the Guadiana, and almost the whole western frontier of Andalusia. For this very reason it was most important that the King of Leon should dominate that point which

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occupied by his father-in-law, prevented him from attempting any invasion into Mussalman Spain, the result of being deprived of dominion in the States of Castille.

And similarly to the many towns which had submitted to the yoke of Alfonso I., so also did Badajoz surrender; but the garrison retired to the Kassba, to sustain a useless defence. Besieged in that narrow space by the Portuguese, who were already masters of the city, they had waited in vain day by day for aid from the Almohades, when the troops of Ferdinand II. arrived to re-animate their failing hopes. The arrival of the Leonese suddenly altered the aspect of affairs, and Alfonso found himself at once besieger and besieged.

Historians vary in their accounts of what took place at the time. Some say that Alfonso went forth to meet and fight the King of Leon. Defeated by him, he retreated to the city he occupied in part, but not feeling secure, he endeavoured to return, when his leg became crushed by the bolts of the door. Unable to keep on horseback, he fell into the hands of the enemy and was made prisoner. Others say that the Saracens of the Kassba had agreed among themselves to surrender at the end of a week, should no succour arrive before the term expired. One day, when part of the Portuguese troops were sauntering about the environs, and Alfonso I. was quietly reposing in his tent, the King of Leon unexpectedly arrived. While Ferdinand encountered the King of Portugal, the besieged in the castle made a sortie, and on the opposite side attacked the besiegers. Alfonso I., aroused by the tumult, leaped on a swift steed and fled, but on speeding through the gates his leg was crushed against one of the iron bolts, breaking the limb. He sped in this state for some miles, until he fell into a pit, where he was extricated by some shepherds, who delivered him up to his son-in-law.

Had contemporary writers not given us already a testimony of the generous character of Ferdinand II., his conduct at this juncture would seem to us a stupendous act of nobility of soul. The warrior who had wrenched from the Leonese monarchy one of her most beautiful provinces to constitute an independent State, he who constrained Alfonso VII. meekly to accept that fact, the victorious captain, the lash and terror of the Saracens; in one word, he who had wrought so much evil to him was now a captive and at his feet. Writhing in his bed of pain, that proud spirit was humbled by misfortune, and we behold the pride of Alfonso I. disappear. Confessing that he had been disloyal to his God and to his relative, he offers to

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deliver up unreservedly to him his States in return for liberty. But misfortunes never found the heart of the Leonese King closed to pity and mercy, and the King of Portugal received a proof of his magnanimity on this occasion. "Make restitution of what you have taken from me," replied Ferdinand, "and keep your kingdom." And, in effect, the Castles of Limia and Toronho were dispossessed of the Portuguese garrisons, and the left margin of the Guadiana abandoned. At least we know that Alconchel was subject to the dominion of Leon in 1171.

The restored castles, it is said, numbered twenty-five, and the King of Portugal gave his son-in-law twenty war-steeds and fifteen mules loaded with gold, but this seems almost an exaggeration. After a duration of two years' captivity, Alfonso returned to his States, but completely disabled for military duties.

These grave events occurred in the spring of 1169. Alfonso I. was finally set at liberty, and resorted to the Caldas of Alafões, where, during his convalescence, he attended to the defence of Alemtejo against the Mussalmans. He endowered the Order of Knight Templars with a third portion of all he might derive and acquire in that province, on condition that the Order should spend these rents in his service and of his successors so long as the war between the Christians and Saracens continued. This powerful association of monk-knights, besides what they obtained during the government of D. Theresa, had already received from the King of Portugal the seigniority of the Castle of Cera (Ceras) and the territory divided by the Nabão and Zezere from high Estremadura, extending to the east along Beira Baixa—vast territories in which the Templars had successively founded many castles, such as those of Pombal, Thomar, Ozezar, Almourol, Idanha, and Monsancto. It was to these men, enriched by him, and whose institution obliged them unceasingly to combat against the infidels, that the King, disabled from taking up arms himself, confided the defence of his latest conquests.

In the midst of these events, Yusuf Abu Yacub, after subduing the pretenders to the throne, and reducing the most turbulent provinces, consolidated his empire in Africa. The news, however, of the alarming progress effected in Andalus by the army of the son of Henry came to him day by day, and proved to him how urgent it was to attend to the Mussalmans of the Peninsula. The siege of Badajoz compelled the Ameer to take prompt measures. Abu Hafss, brother to the

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Emperor, was chosen to lead the Almohades and some volunteer corps, with the object of repulsing the Christians. In 1169 Abu Hafss departed, landing in Tarifa, from whence he proceeded to the western frontiers in hopes of yet saving Badajoz from the horrors of a siege. Scarcely had he reached Seville, where he commenced preparations for that expedition, than he heard of the defeat of Alfonso I., and that Ferdinand had retreated to his States. Abu Hafss then wended his way towards Cordova, and from thence sent a body of troops under the command of Ibrahim Ibn Humuchk, to cover the frontiers of Badajoz.

The military progress of the Almohades in the territories recently submitted by the King of Portugal does not appear to have been very great, notwithstanding the auxiliary forces led by Ibn Humuchk. Some of the Arab memoirs vaguely allude to various skirmishes with the infidels, but the Portuguese records preserve absolute silence concerning these events. Tradition tells us of the death which took place about this date of Gonçalo Mendes, brother to Sueiro Mendes da Maia, surnamed the Battler, on account of his prowess in battle, when over ninety years of age.

In 1171, while the Saracens by increasing the fortifications of Mertola were putting in a better state of defence the district of Alfaghar (Algarve), which was all that remained to them west of the Guadiana, Abu Yacub was crossing the sea with troops to further the war. It is said he gathered together in Spain 100,000 soldiers, with which the Mussalmans obtained some advantages in the Gharb. Tradition preserves to us the memoirs of an invasion of Almohades at this juncture into the interior of Portugal, and this is confirmed by historians and chroniclers. Without meeting any serious resistance, Yusuf and his generals crossed the Alemtejo and laid siege to Santarem, when Alfonso I. was there. The affair of Badajoz diminished the terror which the prince inspired in the Saracens, and they attempted to besiege the lion in his lair. It also added to their hope of success to behold the valiant King of Leon forsake his father-in-law to his fate, irritated by former events.

In this way did they hope to avenge the past, and, perchance, reduce the frontiers of Portugal to its former limits. On hearing of the siege of Santarem, Ferdinand convoked his knights, and proceeded at once to the districts on the south-east. As soon as this march of the Leonese king became known in Santarem, grave fears assailed the heart of Alfonso I., because, notwithstanding the generous action of his son-in-

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law in the affair of Badajoz, he feared lest he might take advantage of this to deprive him of a part of his dominions and help the infidels to crush him. Straitened by circumstances, the King of Portugal sent messengers to investigate the intentions of the Leonese king, and endeavour to appease him; and as he was disabled from commanding in person his warriors to battle, implored peace. But his fears were turned into joy. Ferdinand was flying to his aid, the messengers brought word to the king; and on the news becoming known throughout the Mussalman camp, the scene changed. The Saracens, placed between the forces of Portugal and Leon, became aware that it was necessary for them to retire, and thus Santarem was saved. On retiring, it is believed, the Almohades devastated the territories adjacent to the Guadiana held by the Christians, retaking Alcantara from the Leonese king, who had taken possession of that city in 1167.

In extreme youth the Infante Sancho received the sad lessons of war in the combats with the Leonese, a duty he would be called later on largely to perform. He was scarcely fifteen when his father fell as a prisoner into the hands of the Leonese king. On being restored to liberty, one of the first acts of Alfonso I. was to bid his son receive investiture of knighthood, the ceremony being performed in Coimbra on the 15th of August, 1170.

Under the circumstances, this resolution of the King of Portugal of investing his son with knighthood was only a prelude to another more powerful resolve. As the founder of a new dynasty in the midst of a society equally new, Alfonso perceived the need of accustoming his subjects and foreigners to consider Sancho as the king, even before his own death, in order to establish the succession of the monarchy.

The family alliance entered into in 1160 by the Count of Barcelona, Raymund Berenguer, with the King of Portugal for the union of their children was not realised, owing to the death of the Infanta Mafalda. This alliance was, however, renewed in 1174, although in a different way, by Prince Sancho marrying Dulce, daughter of Raymund Berenguer, and sister of Alfonso II., who succeeded his father in the County of Barcelona, and Petronilha his mother to the crown of Aragon. For some years previous and subsequent to this event peace reigned in Portugal.

The war between the Portuguese and the Mussalmans, however, was renewed at the end of 1178, the Portuguese being the first to commence hostilities. Sancho, in the vigour of youth, followed the example of his

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illustrious father. Crossing the Guadiana, leading an army, he penetrated into Andaluz, and the warriors of Portugal trod a territory over which never had the banners waved of Alfonso I., the veteran soldier-king who had so often led them to victory. After obtaining various advantages from the Christian princes, and collecting together under his authority the whole of Mussalman Spain, without excepting the Ameership of Valencia, which had preserved its independence for many years, Yusuf Abu Yacub retired to Africa in 1176. No longer in fear of the presence of the Amir-el-muminin in the Peninsula, the Infante marched against Seville, the most important city of Andaluz, the usual residence of the Prince of Believers when on this side of the strait. Yusuf had spent large sums in fortifying Seville, erecting a magnificent aqueduct, adorning her with buildings, among them the sumptuous Mosque, constructing quays to facilitate the landing of merchandise along the Guadalquivir. The vestiges of its extent, the strength of its ramparts, the majesty of its monuments afford a brilliant proof, in spite of its successive decadence, of what Seville was under the dominion of the Almohades.

Situated on the left margin of the river, the city held communication with its principal suburb, that of Triana or Atrayan, as the Arabs called it, which was situated along the right shore, by means of a bridge of barques. Triana was like an advanced post to defend the capital on that side. A tower overlooked the bridge, which started from the opposite shore close to the Tower of Gold. Thus this populous suburb, which some say was the seat of ancient Hispalis, remained exposed to the first assault of the Christians, whose frontier extended on the right of the Guadalquivir.

The strength of the Portuguese army was inadequate to assault the city, which later on required all the united military resources of Christian Spain and her allies to conquer. Sancho, however, making a wide circuit through modern Spanish Estremadura, crossed Sierra Morena, descended by the south, and defeating some troops who endeavoured to oppose him, entered Triana. The place was sacked, and much damage done; he then returned to Portugal loaded with spoils, which the Almohades were unable to prevent him from taking.

The wrath of the Ameer of Morocco may be easily imagined on receiving the news of the loss and sack of the suburb of Seville. The Emperor of Morocco prepared to reduce definitely this new Christian monarchy, which even in its infancy had already extended itself to the

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greater part of the Gharb, and whose warriors had come to flash the steel of their lances amid the green shores of the Guadalquivir.

Resolving to attack the Portuguese by sea and by land, Yusuf prepared a fleet, and, under the command of Ghamim Ibn Mohammed Ibn Mardanix, proceeded to the coasts of Portugal, and, doubling Cape Saint Vincent, entered the Tagus in 1179. The Saracen admiral returned without effecting any decisive attack against Lisbon, contenting himself, we believe, with sacking the outskirts.

While the King of Portugal was fitting out a fleet either to resist the naval forces of Yusuf or to avenge in the ports of Andaluz the damage he had received, the title of King, which he had so greatly desired to obtain from the Roman Curia, was at length confirmed by Alexander III., as though fortune wished to console him for his recent misfortunes.

The Ameer did not forget the destruction of Triana by the Infante Sancho, nor the small result of his expedition against Lisbon. Summoned back to Africa on account of the rebellion which had arisen in the province of Efrikia, instigated by one Azzobair or Ibn Zobeir, the Emperor sustained the war in Spain with his generals. According to Christian memoirs, Yacub, the eldest son of the Ameer of Morocco, entered with his army into Portugal in 1179, and, crossing Alto Alemtejo, laid siege to the Castle of Abrantes. The besieged bravely defended themselves, and the prince of the Almohades was forced to retire. If we credit the Chronicles of the Goths, the loss to the Saracens was very great, but to the Portuguese very small. On the following year the Almohades took Coruche, destroyed it, and made its dwellers captive. Yet within two years this important castle was reconstructed and garrisoned.

The war actively continued. Our historians relate that it was sustained by the Infante, who led the armies of his father, and that various victories were gained against the infidels. Modern Alemtejo was a vast battlefield, wherein the captains of Yusuf afforded but little repose to the frontiers of Portugal. An Arab historian tells us that towards the end of 1180 or beginning of 1181, Mohammed Ibn Yusuf Ibn Wamudin, leading the troops of Seville, crossed the Guadiana, and laid siege to Evora. The Saracens encountered a stubborn resistance, because, after sacking the neighbouring territories, and destroying some fortified places, they returned to the capital of Andalusia, while Abdallah Ibn Is'hak Ibn Jami, the admiral of the

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Sevillian fleet, encountered the Portuguese armada, and, after an engagement, put it to flight, capturing twenty ships, many spoils, and a great number of captives.

After these events the wrestling on the frontiers diminished, but it was only the calm which precedes a storm on the ocean. Yusuf in 1182 prepared to go over to Spain, and was collecting together one of the most brilliant armies that ever crossed the straits during the Saracen domination on the west of Europe. Having settled all affairs in Africa, he planned how to effect the decisive blow which he purposed to deal at the Christian States of the Peninsula, by proceeding against the aged Ibn Errik, the Lord of Portugal, the most dangerous of all the adversaries to Islamism. The departure of the Emperor from his capital to carry out this expedition took place in 1182, or, as some say, on the following year. And while the forces of the Emperor were gathering and proceeding to various parts of Ceuta, Abu Yacub received the news in Salé that the province of Efrikia was completely restored to peace. Hence, delivered from the troubles of Africa, he was able to give his whole attention to preparing his expedition to Spain.

Before describing the military events which followed, we shall turn awhile from the tedious and monotonous spectacle of wars and sieges, devastations and raids, which we have followed with but short intervals during the last half-century, to the contemplation of domestic life.

The King of Portugal had witnessed the death in tender years of his daughter Mafalda, who was to be the bond of union between his own dynasty and that of Aragon. Urraca, who was married to Ferdinand II., when the military reputation and glory of Alfonso I. was at its height, and rendered it desirable to form intimate alliance with this prince and the other kings of Spain, was now in the solitude of the cloister, bewailing the affront of a repudiation which the relationship between her and her husband afforded a pretext. Another daughter remained to the aged monarch, Theresa, to whom he assigned a good portion of the lands he purchased at the high price of blood and fatigue. His love for her was very great, at least we suppose so in view of the reluctance he manifested in parting with her, and this is but natural, after the turbulent, lengthened career he had led, that he should, in his repose, gratefully bask in her affectionate love. This Infanta was singularly comely, and the fame of the beauty of the

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princess of the West was celebrated as superior to any other of the northern countries. Philip, Count of Flanders, son of Thierry of Alsace, was enamoured of the Infanta, either from seeing her portrait or, what is more probable, through meeting her at the Court of Alfonso I., when he visited the king on his second voyage to Palestine (1171-8), because Lisbon was the port most frequented by the Crusaders in their expeditions to and from the Holy Land. He was a widower, his late consort being the sister and heiress of Rudolph, Count Vermandois and Amiens, at whose death he possessed the two counties. Hence Philip was one of the most illustrious knights of that epoch, and one of the princes whose life was most restless. By his first marriage he had no children: his sister Margaret, wife of Baldwin, Count of Hainaut, succeeded to the county, and was acknowledged heiress in 1177. The new marriage which was projected must needs be distasteful to the Countess Hainaut, and no less so to the youthful Philip Augustus, King of France, who assumed the right to the States of the Count, part of which he claimed after his death.

These were frail barriers against the passion of Philip; but he met with greater ones in the reluctance of Alfonso I. to separate from his daughter. At length, after repeated embassies, the King of Portugal yielded. A fleet set sail from Flanders to Portugal, to conduct the Infanta, who left Portugal attended by various knights. On bidding farewell to his daughter, whom he was never more to see, the aged monarch conducted himself in a very generous manner towards her, and contemporary historians extol the wealth of gold, brocades, silk, priceless jewels, and precious stones with which the Flemish ships were laden. On reaching Rochelle, after a prosperous voyage, Theresa found commissioners from Henry II., King of England, who greatly favoured this union, charged by him to provide all that might be needed to ensure a happy journey as far as the frontiers of Flanders, since nearly the whole country she would have to traverse belonged to Henry II. The enamoured Philip of Alsace came to receive the princess on entering his States; and in presence of his army and a great concourse of people who had assembled, he was joined in nuptial bonds to the beautiful Infanta, who, on this occasion, changed her name for that of Mathilde, although some erroneously call her Beatriz.

The invasion of the Saracens did not afford Alfonso I. much time to bewail the absence of his daughter, and graver cares soon assailed

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him. When Yusuf had collected together in Ceuta all the troops from Africa intended for the war in Spain, he ordered the army to pass the strait, while he followed with his guard of negroes, the officers of the Court, and his Ministers, in May, 1184 (5 of Sapher of the Hegira 580). From Gebal-fetah (Gibraltar), where he landed, the Emperor of Morocco proceeded along Algesiras and Seville, joining the numerous squadrons of his son Abu Is'hak, the Wali of the province, and marched to the west, when, crossing Alemtejo, he proceeded to pitch his camp close to Santarem about the end of June.

The narratives of Arab historians concerning the siege greatly differ, and are almost at variance with the details given us by the Christian chroniclers, although virtually similar as regards the principal facts. The first state that Yusuf, on passing the river, laid the province under siege, pitching his camp on the north side. The Saracens were repulsed during successive combats, repeated for a fortnight, although they used every effort to avoid it. At night, on the 4th of July (or 22 of Rabieh 1°) Abu Yacub had the encampment shifted to the western side, to the surprise of every one, yet none dared to question or oppose the resolve of the Emperor. They, perchance, judged that, losing all hope of reaching Santarem, he had resolved upon marching to the interior of the province, devastate it, and return to Seville. When it was already night, Yusuf sent for his son, and bade him depart on the following morning with the Andalusian troops, march against Lisbon, and reduce the territory by fire and the sword. Abu Is'hak understood that his father was sending him back to Seville at midnight. The army began to cross the Tagus, and at break of day Is'hak departed with the rest of his men, Abu Yacub remaining alone in the camp, together with his negro guards and the Andalusian Alcaldes, who always accompanied him as van and rear guards. At sunrise the Christians, who garrisoned the towers and *adarves*, observed that the camp had struck, and the army were departing. The outposts sent to reconnoitre the camp soon returned and confirmed the news, assuring them that the Ameer remained, with only a small portion of soldiers. Opening the doors, the besieged cast themselves on the encampment with loud cries—"To the King! to the King!" The guards of negroes attempted to resist, but became broken up and dispersed by the Portuguese; they then rushed into the Emperor's tent. The prince bravely defended himself with his sword, striking six dead at his feet. The terrified cries of the

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Emperor's wives drew to that spot the Almohades and the Andalusians who had remained firm, and these compelled the Christians to retreat, driving the guards to the very walls of Santarem. Yusuf fell, grievously wounded, and retreat was inevitable. The Emperor was placed on horseback, already insensible, it appears, and unable to command. Deprived of their leader, the troops crossed the Tagus, and, directed by the drummers, took the road to Seville. From that city Abu Yacub was taken to Algesiras, where he died of his wounds on the 12th of Rabieh 2° of 580 (or 24th July, 1184), and ere he could reach Africa.

Such is the narrative of Abd-el-halim and other Arab writers. The discrepancies are evident: how can we credit that Is'hak did not understand that his father was sending him against Lisbon, bidding him at the same time devastate that district, which would be an absurd order in respect to Seville? Besides which, are the Andalusian troops the ones assigned for the expedition, and, with the son of the Ameer, retreated from the invaded territory, while their chief did not accompany them, but remained close to Yusuf? From these and similar contradictions may be deduced that some sudden attack of the Christians had spread terror and caused a panic among the Mussalmans, and Yusuf, being surrounded in the midst of the tumult, terror increased, and the army became undisciplined and took to flight. It is certain that two of the most trustworthy of the Arab historians, Ibn Khaldun and Al-Makkari, omitted the circumstances referred to by Abd-el-halim, which were probably invented to colour the sad result of the undertaking.

The Portuguese monuments which might enlighten us concerning this important event do so in curtailed terms. From them we scarcely know more than that the Mussalmans spread themselves over the whole of Estremadura, and, during the five weeks which they remained there, devastated it. This period agrees, with slight difference, with the Arab writers. That defeat, against nearly the whole force of the Moghreb and of Andaluz, which had been collected together for the undertaking, must have resounded throughout Europe. An English historian who wrote about that date has presented us with the most interesting narrative of the event and the manner in which the furious tempest which threatened to utterly ruin Portugal was thus averted. The narrative of Radulph of Diceto was probably received from some of the actors in that drama, for it is

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certain that relations were frequent between Portugal and England, as we have already seen, and shall further have occasion to notice in the history of subsequent reigns. For this reason it appears to us preferable to that of Mussalman writers who had an interest in dissembling the truth. Hence, according to Radulph, Abu Yacub led in his numerous army thirty-seven Walis (Reges), with the soldiers of their respective provinces. On crossing the Tagus the invaders assaulted Santarem, and continued to assail it for three days and three nights, until the walls fell, when the Almohades entered, and compelled the garrison to take refuge in Alcaçova. On the following night a body of Christian troops, led by Sancho and the Bishop of Oporto, arrived. These assailed Gami, one of the principal Mussalman chiefs, probably Ghamin Ibn Yusuf Ibn Mardanix. The admiral of the Almohade fleet perished in the conflict, with the greater portion of his troops, whose bodies, heaped up in the breach, served as a parapet to the conquerors. Meanwhile, as soon as the coming of Yusuf became known, an army of 20,000, commanded by the Archbishop of Santiago, descended from Galicia to succour the Portuguese, and arrived at Santarem on the 26th of July, at daybreak, and immediately after the victory effected by Sancho. Being suddenly assailed, the Mussalmans experienced a frightful loss. The advantages obtained were not yet sufficiently decisive, and the siege continued the whole of the following month. Perchance, with the object of diverting the attention of the King of Portugal, a body of Saracens proceeded towards Alcobaça, and, in its desolating march, put to the sword all the women and children, which, it is said, numbered 10,000. The Castle of Alcobaça, however, offered a more stubborn resistance, and three Walis, with a great portion of the unbridled army, paid with their lives for the cruelties perpetrated. At length the news arrived, on the 24th of July, at the Mussalman camp, that the valiant King of Leon was coming towards them, to challenge in single combat the Emperor of the Almohades. Yusuf was already preparing for the combat, when, on attempting to mount his horse, he was seen to stagger and fall. Thrice he attempted to mount, and thrice he fainted away. Was it an arrow shot from the ramparts that had pierced him? Was it a stroke of some sudden and deadly sickness? The English chronicler does not tell us. The news of this unexpected event spread through the camp. Terror and panic took possession of the army, and they broke up and fled in disorder,

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abandoning the spoils they had collected when devastating Estremadura.

Delivered almost in a miraculous manner from the perilous position he was placed in, the King of Portugal manifested his gratitude to Providence in the manner which in those days was considered most agreeable to God. A great number of Saracens had been made captive, and these were condemned to servitude, and distributed about the country, were compelled to work in bringing the stones needed for repairing and rebuilding the churches; and the gold accruing to the State after the sacking of the camp of Yusuf was applied to the making of a casket for preserving the relics of Saint Vincent, which many years before had been transferred to Lisbon, from the cape bearing his name, and during the Saracen domination had been preserved by the Mozarabe priests in a temple constructed upon its lofty promontory, a temple which was always respected by the exemplary tolerance of the Mussalmans.

Shortly after Yusuf besieged Santarem, and the territory of modern Estremadura was devastated by the Almohade troops, a numerous fleet, which probably united the naval forces of Africa and Andalusia, entered the mouth of the Tagus prepared to attack Lisbon. Among the galleys composing this fleet was distinguished one which, on account of its size, was called by the especial name of *dromon*, or *dromunda*.

These first-rate ships corresponded in a certain sense to our ships of the line. Upon this potent galley the Saracens carried an ingenious war-engine, from which, when the ship anchored near the walls of a city, the troops could leap upon the fortress wall, and combat hand to hand with the Christians. Such an attack was one to be dreaded, as the advantage of fighting behind the parapet walls was unavailing, but among the Portuguese one man offered to remove the common danger, at the risk of his own life. Unfortunately, history has not preserved to us the name of that brave man, nor the details of the event. We only know that in the silence of the night he approached the dreaded vessel and sprang a leak, and the water, entering into the ship, overset it, and the ill-guarded machine, descending to the brink of the water, was brought to the shore and suspended to the walls. At dawn of day the Saracens perceived that their efforts had been foiled, and they gave up the project, but not before they had leaped on land, and taken captive all the Christians who imprudently wandered in the suburbs and neighbouring fields.

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Such, for the Almohades, was the unsuccessful ending of their attempt against Portugal, which, in their pride, they judged they could easily erase from the list of the Christian States of Spain. During the long weary years of sickness of Alfonso I. his heart once again, and for the last time, beat with pleasure at this new victory. His faithful sword had lain long in its scabbard by his bed of suffering; but he derived consolation from the fact that he would leave a son worthy of him in martial valour, and a nation brimming with energy and hope, which owed to him, almost entirely, its political life. The invincible resistance which the naval and military forces of the Mussalmans had encountered in Portugal proved that the people trained by him had, in a few short years, passed from weak infancy into robust youth. The edifice of national independence designed by Count Henry, consolidated by D. Theresa, and substantiated in all its details by himself, was now completed, with the necessary strength to resist the destroying action of ages. When, perchance, in the intoxication of victory, or on feeling his greatness and power, the King of Portugal assumed to himself the titles of Excellent and Triumpher, the pride which dictated this was noble and legitimate, because founded on the testimony of his own conscience and the unanimous one of friends and enemies, of foreigners and natives.

The last year of the life of Alfonso passed away without history recording anything worth mentioning respecting the prince. The warrior was already slumbering in the sleep of death, which so soon was to close his eyes for ever. The documents left to us barely tell us more than that in his last days he did not quite cease to hold the reins of government, while he continued his liberality to the Church, with which he always largely divided the fruits of his conquests. He died on the 6th day of December, 1185, having governed the country twelve years as Infante and Prince, and forty-five with the title of King. He willed to be interred in the Monastery of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra, where the remains of his Queen D. Mafalda reposed. Hence in this spot at length was laid to rest that frame, worn out by continual combats, in a modest sepulchre, until the King D. Manuel raised up a rich mausoleum, which to this day holds the mortal remains of the founder of the monarchy.

Following the phases of this long reign, and judging impartially the actions of the man whom Providence placed at the head of a

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nation, to guide it during the first years of its existence, it may be perceived that the thought of assuring the independence of Portugal pervaded above all other considerations, even at the expense of some worthy to be respected. And, in truth, that idea induced many acts which, taken separately, give us the right to accuse him of bad faith or unbridled ambition. Besides the rebellion against D. Theresa—which ought to be attributed more to the nobility than to an inexperienced youth—the breaking of the treaty made to the Emperor in 1137, the deceit conceived in order to entrap the garrison of Santarem unawares, the cruelties practised with the Saracens, and, finally, the manner he behaved towards his relative the King of Leon—whose noble, generous character cannot but place that of Alfonso I. in the shadow—were actions which, weighed by themselves, will be always worthy of reprehension, at least until other documents are found which may reveal some circumstances, hitherto ignored, to induce posterity to absolve him.

But if we bring them to bear on the one idea the King had at heart, and which almost, we may say, formed a part of himself, who would not excuse these actions if we take into account the barbarism of the age, the difficult situation of the country, and the extreme weakness of a society dismembered from another which was striving to win it back to its fold? The great need which Alfonso I. attended to was to give uniformity and strength, both internally and externally, to the nation that was being constituted. In order to effect this it was necessary likewise to court the favour of the Church, the primary element of power in those days, and favour the nobility, who were the principal nerve of the armies, and finally impart to the municipal spirit the highest degree of vigour, without which, in our opinion, there never was, or ever will be, national energy or ardent love of home.

Moreover, besides this work of interior organisation, it became his duty to extend the limits of inheritance, since it was too circumscribed for establishing an independent State. The terror which his name inspired among both Mussalmans and Christians, and the daring of his soldiers, were the means he employed to obtain it. Naturally of a bellicose character, he taught two generations the hard science of war, and attained to bequeath to his successors the glorious traditions of prowess and patriotic love which the nation religiously preserved for several ages. However, before Alfonso I. entrusted the independence of his country to the fortune of the battle-

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field, it was essential to protect it with political skill while still weak. From thence sprang, under peculiar circumstances, a proceeding which, morally considered, was worthy of condemnation.

But viewing the scene in a more appropriate light, these spots almost disappear; and the sympathy which, in all ages, the people of Portugal have manifested towards the memory of the son of Count Henry becomes venerable, because its roots are planted in a love which is rarely found in nations—gratitude towards those to whom much is owing. This national affection has reached so far as to attribute to Alfonso Henry the glory of the saints, and to claim the martyr's crown from Rome, to placè it on the brow of the fierce conqueror. If the creed, which is one of peace and humility, does not consent that Rome should bestow this crown, another religion, likewise venerated—national love—teaches us that, on passing the discoloured and worm-eaten door of the Church of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra, we should salute the ashes of the man without whom the Portuguese nation would not be in existence to-day, or, perchance, the very name of Portugal be unknown

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE THIRD.

1185—1211.

Accession of Sancho I. to the throne—Territories of the Portuguese at the end of the Twelfth Century—State of the Almohade Empire—The defences and population of Portugal—Alfonso IX. succeeds Ferdinand II. to the Leonese Crown—Ambitious designs of Sancho I.—Renewal of the Crusades—The idea of the King of Portugal to join the Crusade is changed—Algara of the Almohades—An invasion is projected against the Mussalman Gharb—The two fleets from the North arrive—War is commenced on the coasts of Al-faghar—Siege and taking of Silves, and subsequent conquests—Reaction of the Almohades—Yacub enters into Estremadura—The devastations which were effected, and withdrawal of the Saracens—The English fleet in Lisbon practises violent acts, and satisfaction is taken by Sancho—Marriage of Alfonso IX. with the Infanta D. Theresa—Yacub enters again, and the former conquests in the Gharb are lost—Failing state of material strength of the country—Internal policy of the King of Portugal—Divorce of Alfonso IX.—War between Alfonso VIII. of Castille and Yacub—Defeat of the Christians in Alarcos—Union of Alfonso IX. with the Almohades, and alliance of the Kings of Castille and Portugal—General war in the Peninsula—The King of Leon is united to the daughter of Alfonso VIII.—A short term of peace follows—Contentions are renewed—Questions arise with the Pope regarding the tributes—Efforts of Sancho to populate and defend his kingdom—Death of the Queen D. Dulce—Wars with Leon—Political negotiations between England, France, Castille, and Portugal—Development of internal strength—Foreign Colonies—Erection of new Municipalities—General famine—Sancho continues the pacific system he had adopted—State of the Peninsula, and effects of the peaceful situation of Portugal—Marriage of the Infante Alfonso, heir to the throne, with Urraca of Castille—Disagreement of Sancho with the Clergy—Phases and circumstances of the strife—Illness of the King—Reconciliation with the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra—Death of Sancho I.—Observations upon his character and government.

THREE days had scarcely elapsed after the death of Alfonso I., when his son, who was away far from the Court of the aged monarch, arrived to Coimbra in order to ascend definitely the throne he had strengthened at the price of so much fatigue. Sancho was taking upon his shoulders all the duties of the laborious and precarious life of a king,

under circumstances of great difficulty, although in part advantageous In Leon reigned Ferdinand II., who during his father's lifetime had several times defeated him. On the other hand, the last advantages obtained from the Saracens, particularly the disastrous death of Yusuf, and the dispersion of his army, were calculated to inspire new courage for repelling the attempts of the Almohades, and recover the Gharb, a portion of which Alfonso I. had won. The family alliances effected with various princes more or less powerful, the confirmation of the royal title obtained by his father from the See of Rome, the mature age of thirty when he assumes the crown after his large experience of warfare, were so many motives of hope for Sancho I. and for the country. But before we follow the new monarch through the various events of his reign, we must consider what was the territory which Alfonso I. definitely separated from the Monarchy of Leon to bequeath to his son, or, rather, what were the limits of Portugal at that epoch.

When Sancho I. assumed the entire administration of the kingdom, the northern and southern limits of Portugal were the same as during the government of his father, with the exception of the fleeting changes which the wars with Leon had induced. From the mouth of the Minho where it enters into Spanish territory was, as it is now, the natural line which divided the two States. The events we have already related show us that Tuy with its district, which extended along the right margin of that river, belonged to the Leonese; while Alfonso Henry, ruling the left margin, founded Lapella (we know not what year) and Melgaço in 1181; and his son later on peopled Contrasta, (Valencia), opposite Tuy. From Melgaço the frontiers form an angle descending more or less from north-east to south-east in the same direction as in our time to Lindoso. From thence returning by a new line towards the east, it run along the extremities of the two districts which divided the most northern part of the province of Tras-os-Montes---that is to say, Montenegro and Bragança—and turning round to the north-east, the capital of the last district, from whence it derived its name, veered towards the south. In that direction it turned to flow towards the east, winding round the territory of Miranda, until it ascends once more and flows into the Douro on the right margin, dividing Spain from Portugal. Hence the division of the two counties was, at the end of the reign of Alfonso I., the same, or nearly so, as in our days from the mouth of the Minho to the Castle of Alva on the Douro. From the left margin of this river towards the

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south, the limits of our country were, however, more circumscribed: the Leonese frontiers extended to the mouth of the Coa, then followed its course to the confluence of Pinhel, and along the length of this river, probably to near its source, near Sabugal and Sortelha, until it flowed into the fountains of Elga. From thence the Elga to the Tagus formed the division of the two States, as it still does.

It is not possible nor necessary to fix the bounds of Portugal, whether in relation to Leon or to the Saracen dominions to the south of the Tagus, because all was then uncertain and changeable. The conquests of the two rival border-lands extended or became abridged in proportion as circumstances favoured their common adversaries, the Mussalmans. It is certain that between Ferdinand II. and Alfonso Henry some basis, unknown to us, had existed, probably was defined in 1160, to assign beforehand the line of division which should determine which districts were to be subjugated on the Gharb, and united to each of the crowns; but it is obvious that the realisation of this convention, whatever it might be, depended on many casualties, and therefore could not altogether be depended upon. The increase or diminution of each of these two States dependent on the fortune of war or domestic events, the difference of military genius and the energy or ambition of their respective princes, the pretensions of Castille, to whom it was similarly important to crush Spanish Islamism, the aggression of the Almohades, who considered the various Christian States as one only country, and in their dreaded reprisals would compel the Christians to retreat to either dominion without any investigation of their respective political standing—all this, we say, prevented any certainty or permanence of international rights as regards the demarcation of territories whose definite conquests were still doubtful.

The Gharb, similarly to all other provinces south of the Peninsula, was a vast battle-field, where, amid torrents of blood, of villages burnt down, of tribes and families oftentimes fugitive and vagabond, was seen waving on the heights of the conquered castles, taken and retaken, lost and taken again ten times over, and from the towers of fortified cities, which as frequently changed masters, the standard of Mahomet or the banners of Christianity. Of what use, then, to attempt to fix, even if that were possible, the limits, which at best were nominal, and that were one day confirmed and the next annulled?

Also in respect to the northern and central provinces of Portugal

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the reader would conceive a false idea concerning the frontiers we have designated above of the limitation of Leon, should he imagine that at the end of the twelfth century these were defined and precise as they are now. From this continual change of masters resulted what is obvious, that the lands withdrawn from the fortified places where the agriculturist could easily and rapidly save himself and the produce of his industry had necessarily become barren, because untilled; and cultivation scarcely extended beyond the environs of the castellated towns—all the rest was but a desert. Hence it was no precise line, or a series of fixed points, which definitely determined the borders of the country at the end of the twelfth century, the epoch when the discords between the Portuguese and Leonese constituted the normal state of the two kingdoms, and wherein peace was the exception. The strongholds and castles which protected the towns were the landmarks which indicated to what point the dominion of the two nations had reached, and if between these points there existed any extent of uninhabited land, it is probable that in the greater number of cases neither could tell amid the woods and sandy places where the boundary lines should be.

But while these circumstances forbade the exact limitation of the frontiers, and resulted in much evil by preventing the natural increase of the population and the development of agricultural industry, they indirectly produced a useful consequence—it imparted life and energy to the municipal spirit. The municipalities were so many societies which were becoming formed and united by rights, and by interests, and, above all, by troubles and common dangers. Further on we shall have occasion largely to develop the history of that great institution, the Municipality—the most precious legacy that the Peninsula inherited from the Roman domination. We shall only say, in passing, that our first kings, constrained by force of circumstances to multiply these popular corporations, soon became aware that they constituted their most powerful barriers against the aggression of foreigners, and at the same time a secure and safe instrument of government—an instrument they employed not only to create a system of repression against the privileged classes, but likewise to increase the number of unpaid soldiers, so greatly needed in an existence of continual warfare.

Ferdinand II. only survived three years the death of his father-in-law, and during this period there appears no discords took place between him and Sancho I.

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If it is certain that when the entry of Yusuf took place in the year 1184 the King of Leon did not judge sufficient that the Archbishop of Compostella should come to aid Santarem, but also personally marched against the Almohades, this noble proceeding on his part was calculated to diminish any mutual resentment which might yet exist between them.

In truth, by the documents of 1187 may be deduced that in the autumn of that year the King of Portugal proceeded to his frontiers on the north to defend himself from some impending assault. Beyond this doubtful vestige, none other authorises us to suppose that any discord or cause of perturbation existed between the two countries.

The war with the Saracens was also limited to attempts of minor importance after the death of Yusuf. But Yacub Abu Yusuf, who was to succeed him in the empire, transferred to Salé the body of his father, and only then did he publish officially the death of Yusuf, and acclaimed himself Amir-al-mumenin in 1184. This prince was dowered with uncommon and superior gifts to those of his predecessors of the Almohade dynasty, if not in valour, at least in talent and culture, and this new master of the Empire of Morocco dedicated the first years of his reign to securing and strengthening the crown, and improving the interior administration of the vast States he inherited. Convinced that two of his brothers were conspiring against him, he, following the sanguinary traditions of Mussalman policy, ordered them to be put to death, and was forced to smother in blood a revolution which broke out at that juncture in Africa. Thus engaged with other affairs, he allowed the Christian princes of Spain a term of repose.

During the last two years preceding the death of the Leonese king, the King of Portugal, D. Sancho I., employed in actively providing the internal needs of the country by restoring the deserted ruins of former towns, or in erecting new castles and cities, the latter to be included in the vast social municipal system, the importance of which and their ends have been briefly stated—the castles to form landmarks against the attempts of Leon, or against the desolating invasion of the Saracens. To this epoch belongs the tithing of various municipalities especially established in the eastern districts of Beira, and to this conjunction may be also attributed others given by the same prince, but its exact date is unknown. From the very commencement of his reign, Sancho I. attended to one of the gravest public needs, that of repopulating the territories devastated by wars which had lasted, not

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simply years, but centuries. And while he sought to promote and increase public strength, and, as a consequence, supply new resources for the maintenance of the State, he likewise employed other means which policy, custom, and the various circumstances of the time rendered needful for the defence of the country. Among these means was the increase of the Orders of knighthood of military monasticism, to whose martial spirit the monarchs of Spain owed, in a great measure, the expulsion of the Saracens. These warrior-monks, among whom monastic discipline supplied, up to a certain point, the deficiency of military discipline, which was but little advanced in those days, exercised, on that account, a certain advantage over other knights and warriors, among whom, there is no doubt, obedience was oftentimes wanting in combating, and the force which unity of purpose and action inspired. For the defence of the castles entrusted to their keeping, they were endowed with the temporal dominion of them; hence no garrison could equal them, because these strongholds or castles usually became converted into *tutories* or benefices (*mansio*), and the monks who dwelt in them, in their dual character of monk and knight, held their residence as a kind of home or convent, and this to the degree that when compelled to defend it, it was the feeling of love for home and hearth that induced them to employ their whole strength and skill. In relation to other border countries, the influence and power which these Orders obtained in Portugal during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries brought grave inconvenience to her, in consequence of the subjection of the Portuguese preceptories to their respective superiors *(procuratores ministri)*, who usually resided in Leon and Castille, and were subjects of foreign kings; but in relation to the wrestling against the Mussalmans, these institutions were of immense utility to the monarchy.

Besides the Jerusalemite Orders of the Temple, the Hospitalliers, and of the Sepulchre—which already existed, and were amply endowed during the preceding reign, and whose first foundation goes back as far as the epoch of D. Theresa—some members of the Castillian Order of Calatrava had entered into Portugal about the year 1166, and, it appears, established themselves first in Evora, which had been conquered, and these individuals later on assuming the name of Friars of Evora and Friars of Calatrava. A new Order, meanwhile, was founded by Ferdinand II. in Leon, that of Caceres, Ucles, or Santiago. Notwithstanding the superiority of the Templars—a superiority which

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shines brightly in the documents relating to the various monastic-military corporations—and in spite of Alfonso I. having previously endowed the Temple with a third part of all which might be conquered beyond the Tagus, Sancho I. judged it expedient to deliver up to the friars of Caceres the castles of Alcacer, Palmella, Almada, and the borough of Arruda, the seigniory of which they possessed since 1172—that is to say, if the endowment made by Alfonso I. in their regard was ever effected. He also ordered the borough of Alcanede to be occupied by the knights of Calatrava, and likewise that of Alpedriz, in modern Estremadura, and assured them the dominion of the stronghold of Jurumenha, as soon as it should be conquered from the Saracens who lorded over it.

At this juncture of affairs the King of Leon died at Benavente, on January, 1188, in the prime of life. A son, the Infante Alfonso, was the only issue of his first marriage with D. Urraca, sister to Sancho I., who was repudiated in obedience to the Pope owing to the degree of consanguinity existing between them, or, what is more probable, this repudiation was on account of the discords existing between Alfonso Henry and his relative. After this separation, Ferdinand II. took to wife D. Theresa, daughter of Count Nuno de Lara, and granddaughter of the renowned Ferdinand of Trava, he who played such a conspicuous part in Portugal. D. Theresa died childless; and the King of Leon married, for the third time, another D. Urraca, daughter of Count Lopo Diaz de Haro, Lord of Biscay. By her he had two sons, Sancho and Garcia, still in tender years when their father died.

The Portuguese Infanta, the forsaken Queen of Leon, was still living at the time of Ferdinand's death, and had taken the veil in a convent of Nuns Hospitalliers. Her son, being the eldest, was heir to the throne; and, as a fact, Alfonso IX. was acclaimed King, being then seventeen years of age. This event seemed to be a presage for establishing a permanent peace between Portugal and Leon. D. Urraca left the cloister for the court of the youthful prince, and her influence, together with the blood-relationship which united her to the new King of Portugal, was calculated to contribute towards a sincere friendship; but the reverse was the result.

It is said that even in the lifetime of Ferdinand II. the third wife of the prince, D. Urraca de Haro, had sought to arrange things in such a manner as to exclude Alfonso IX. from the succession, in order that Sancho, her elder son, should be called to ascend the throne; and it is

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even said that, finding himself persecuted and irritated, the legitimate heir to the throne proceeded to the court of his uncle Sancho I. to beseech his protection, and that on the road he received the news of the death of his father. He then turned back, and the Infante obtained the crown in spite of all attempts of his step-mother, who vainly endeavoured to corrupt the fealty of her brother, the first ensign, Diogo Lopez de Haro, and induce him to raise the standard of revolt in favour of his nephew. Should these events be true, which we doubt, they would offer us a natural explanation for the hostilities of Sancho I. against the youthful prince, who, in order to obtain his protection, no doubt had made promises which, when once seated on the throne, he would be unable to fulfil. But whether true or no, it is, however, certain that scarcely had Alfonso IX. commenced his reign than he was threatened by his uncle and by the King of Castille. Moreover, even supposing that the youthful monarch had given some pretext, as the Archbishop of Toledo seems to wish us to infer, for this violent and ungenerous proceeding of the border princes, it is more credible that, under some specious pretext, the true motive of war was ambition, which the Castillian King and the Portuguese one hoped to easily satisfy, at the expense of a youth inexperienced in the art of governing and in the science of warfare, and at the same time avenging, in the person of the son of Ferdinand II., the oppressions which the Leonese King had made him experience under analogous circumstances, and the King of Portugal for the humiliation which he and Alfonso I. had passed through in their former discords with the deceased prince. If we credit an Aragonese historian, comparatively modern, but who had consulted contemporary documents, Sancho endeavoured to renew former alliances with his brother-in-law, the King of Aragon; but the latter exacted that in the new covenant the Leonese Prince should be included; and as the King of Portugal refused to accede to this, the ambassadors retired to Zaragoza, without concluding their mission.

Unable to defend himself against two dangerous adversaries who were menacing him, the King of Leon resolved to cast himself into the arms of one of these in order to suppress the other. The one more powerful, not only on account of the reputed greatness of his States, but also by reason of the reputation he held of victorious, was Alfonso VIII. of Castille, and because, moreover, Sancho, the weaker one, had repulsed him. Hence the Castillian was preferred. Negotiations were

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arranged, and Alfonso IX. proceeded to Carrion, where his cousin was holding the Cortes. In these Cortes they treated upon definitely sanctioning the matrimonial contract between Conrad, son of the Emperor of Germany, and Berengaria, eldest daughter of Alfonso VIII. On this occasion the successor of Ferdinand II. received the investiture of knighthood at the hands of his cousin, humbling himself to the point of kissing his hand. In this act the new Leonese King acknowledged himself in a manner dependent on the Castillian King, the pride of the princes of Spain being such that they did not receive from others the investiture of knighthood, but, as we saw before, they took the arms themselves, and vested them with their own hands.

These events took place in the summer of 1188. The King of Portugal must necessarily experience grave fears, on account of the alliance celebrated in Carrion between Leon and Castille. At least it was a fact which compelled him to proceed with extreme moderation in regard to his nephew. And this was evidently the case, as we learn that the dissensions which had commenced with the youthful Alfonso IX. did not make any progress, and during that year the country appeared to enjoy a profound tranquillity. The civil war which was devouring Africa made it improbable that any serious attempt on the part of the Almohades to recover their past losses of 1184 and prestige should be made. Therefore not only in regard to Portugal, but to all neighbouring States, days of peace seemed in store.

The news, however, of a deplorable event re-echoed from one extreme of Europe to the other, which called forth tears of anguish and indignation from all the followers of the Gospel. In the battle of Tiberiada the King of Jerusalem, Guido de Lusignan, was taken captive, and his army annihilated, and the wood of the cross fell into the power of the terrible Saladin, who successively reduced nearly all the cities and strongholds of the Christian monarchy of Syria, and finally besieged the capital, which soon capitulated (October, 1187). Tyre and Tripoli barely escaping the Saracen conquest. When these disasters were known in Europe, and all the details narrated, some true, and others fabulous, calculated to arouse indignation and horror at an epoch when religious beliefs and strong passions predominated, the agitation it produced was truly extraordinary. Pope Urban III. died at this juncture, it is said by some from the effects of excessive grief, caused by the untoward events of the East.

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He was succeeded by Gregory VIII., a man of lively faith and severe rule of life. He was therefore fitted in every way for renewing the moral fever which had induced the first and second Crusades. In the Encyclical letter which he addressed to all the princes and the faithful, and also in the especial bulls promulgated about this time, can be perceived the grief of the sovereign head of the Church, which he was suffering at beholding the Holy Places in captivity, and the indignation felt by this fervent, upright-minded ecclesiastic against the perversity of customs, the want of concord among the reigning princes, the corruption of the clergy, of the nobles, and of the masses, to which, in the simplicity of his heart, he ascribed the misfortunes of Jerusalem. Summoning to arms all the warriors of Christendom for the redemption of the Sepulchre of the Saviour, he likewise enjoined amendment of life and penitence, placing under the especial protection of the Apostolic See the families and the goods belonging to those who should enlist for this pious end, and suspending all litigation respecting such property, at the same time that the College of Cardinals was declaring all or any princes who should enter into war with each other during the space of seven years to be excommunicated and cursed of God. Gregory VIII. did not attain to see the result of his designs, as he died at the end of 1187, after barely two months' pontificate. Clement III., who succeeded him, actively followed up the project of his predecessor, and was fortunate enough to see it realised.

Sancho I., it appears, yielded at the moment to the general impulse, and resolved to proceed to the Crusade. Perchance he felt secure and with no apprehension from the Saracens of Portugal, after the severe lesson they had received in Santarem, the decadence of the Spanish Mussalmans, the revolts which kept the Almohades engaged in Africa, and, on the part of the Christian princes, the threats of Rome against all who should make war at this juncture with each other. A document dated 1188 renders this idea a plausible one. This document is the testament of the King of Portugal. In the prime of life, in the midst of peace, he foresees the possibility of dying in some remote spot, or of being taken captive, which presupposes his intention of undertaking a long and perilous voyage, and therefore desires to establish the order of succession, and arranges the manner of preserving the treasures he possesses until his successor should arrive to years of discretion. Accustomed to combating daily the Saracens of the Peninsula and of Africa, and, what is more, to conquering them in every

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engagement, such a proceeding on his part shows that he had resolved upon some arduous, extraordinary undertaking.

However, if the idea of Sancho I. was to imitate his grandfather in what was considered the most glorious enterprise in that age, the expedition of Ultramar, this prince met, as we believe, with opposition in the country, and not only from the orders of Knights Templars and Hospitalliers, who were well aware of the perils and dangers of these wars, but also from the nobles and burghers. But though he severely punished the obstinate, he did not carry out his intention, probably because circumstances quickly changed aspect. Between the Christians of Spain and the Arab and African races, who disputed inch by inch the possession of its blood-stained ground, fatigue might induce a truce to the combatants, but a peace of any duration was impossible.

Yacub, who must have retained a vivid remembrance of the death of Yusuf and the routing up of the numerous Almohade army during the invasion of 1184, was fortunate enough to subjugate the rebels of Efrikia, and his authority acknowledged throughout his empire. He returned to Morocco triumphantly in the month of Rejeb, 584 (September, 1188), and while engaged in beautifying his capital, he continued to receive information concerning the state of the Mussalman frontiers of Andaluz, and prepared to avenge past reverses.

And, in effect, during the following spring he crossed the sea with his troops, disembarked in Algesiras, and proceeded to the west. Arab writers enlarge on the devastations effected by the Mussalman prince on Portuguese territory. According to their account, the Almohade army had encamped close to the walls of Santarem, and continued their incursions as far as Lisbon, leaving terrible signs of desolation in fields, burning down towns, and taking thousands of individuals captive. However, in our contemporary writers we find no records of this event, but the tendency of both Arab and Christian historians was to exaggerate the advantages derived by their own party, to the detriment of the adversary; and this tendency affords us sufficient evidence to prove that the entry of Yusuf was no more than a simple raid, from which no great result followed, such as the reconquest of any castle or important town, and moreover was so fleeting that though he crossed the strait at the end of April, he had already returned to Fez by September.

In the supposition that the King of Portugal really purposed to proceed to the East, it was necessary and imperative not only to leave

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proper previsions for the good government of the country during his absence, in case of any unpropitious event, but likewise should collect together his troops, arms, and all needful military equipment, not only for the expedition itself, but also for the security of the State. On preparing, although with diverse ends, for the war, Sancho necessarily opposed a serious resistance to the Almohades; and the return of Yacub to Africa without being able to reconquer so much as one of the many castles and cities which Alfonso I. had wrested from the Mussalman power warrants us in the conjectures which supply the deficiency of national monuments.

The retreat of the Emperor of Morocco, however, would not be a sufficient explanation, did we not put together the events which were then taking place in Africa. Arab historians inform us that Yacub Al-Manssor (or *victorious*, a surname he assumed), on arriving at Fez, received the news that a fresh revolution had burst out in the eastern districts of his States. It is possible that, previous to quitting the Peninsula, Al-Manssor had some indications of the intended revolt, and for that very reason, joined to the small results attained, induced him to return to Mauritania.

The war with the Saracens had become once more ignited with the entry of the Almohades, and this circumstance constrained Sancho I. to alter his plans, and abandon the idea of proceeding to the East.

The considerations he represented to the Pope in this respect, and the attention they merited from the Apostolic See, as we are told by the ancient chroniclers, inclines us to believe that in this tradition there was a legitimate foundation. But whether these representations were accepted or not, we know that the King of Portugal resolved to take advantage of the departure of Yacub to continue the conquests on the Gharb which had so largely been furthered during the previous reign. Of the three provinces into which the west of Andaluz had been divided formerly, one, that of Belatha, was definitely united to the Portuguese territory, but the same could not be said of Alkassr. On the north of the latter Coruche was the last castle on the frontier of which we find any mention made on that side, while the Christian dominion had extended in the centre of the province as far as Evora.

Towards the east, in view that Alfonso I. had taken possession of various places on the left margin of the Guadiana, the disaster of Badajoz must, in all probability, have caused him to lose them, because it is certain that at the end of the twelfth century the Saracens

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possessed Badajoz, and Sancho I. hoped to take Jurumenha, meanwhile that the conquests of Leon by Ferdinand II., which had greatly extended to the south of the Tagus, were now retreating once again beyond the right margin of this river, the Leonese only attaining to occupy anew, about the commencement of the next century, the districts between the Tagus and the Guadiana, and towards the south of the river a vast tract of land where Alfonso IX. founded (to the east of the central point of modern Alemtejo) Salvatierra and Salvaleon. It is certain, however, that even in 1202 the friars of Saint Julian, of Pereiro, and of Santiago, the chief defenders of this frontier, considered as a perilous battle-field the whole of that part of Spanish Estremadura which lies to the south of Coria.

About this time an event occurred in the affairs of the East to encourage the King of Portugal to further his designs of conquest. The efforts of Popes Gregory VIII. and Clement III. to enkindle the ardour and fervour of the warriors of the Cross in their project of rescuing the Holy Places took the desired effect. All things were in preparation in Italy, Flanders, France, England, and Germany, and even in more northerly countries, for the departure of the Crusaders by sea and by land. Fleets more or less numerous were coming down daily by the North Sea to the ports of England and France, to join the ships of these nations, and continue their devastations along the coasts of Spain, in their impatience to combat the Mussalmans, and where richer spoils awaited them than in the already devastated lands of Palestine. During the Lent of 1189 a fleet of sixty sails started from the North Sea in the direction of Palestine. This fleet conveyed between ten and twelve thousand men from Frisia and Denmark, among whose leaders was the nephew of Knud, King of Denmark. Favoured by propitious winds, the Crusaders in a few days reached the coasts of Galicia, probably porting in the *ria*, or inlet, of Noia, and proceeded by land to Compostella, to visit, as usual, the Temple of the Apostle, one of the most celebrated places for pilgrimages. Whether on account of their number or because they suspected the intentions of these people, brought principally from rude, barbarian countries of the North, the following scene took place : A rumour was circulated that the pilgrims purposed to rob the head of the Apostle whose mortal remains were preserved in the church. The Crusaders were repulsed by the inhabitants of the districts, and compelled to return to their ships after experiencing some losses, and, on continuing

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their intended voyage, came seeking harbour to the mouth of the Tagus. As they had vowed to fight against the Infidels, it was an easy matter for the King of Portugal to persuade them to enlist in his intended project. The Portuguese fleet was manned, and departed with the Crusaders, and together sailed towards the south, following the coasts of the Algarve.

This province, which, as we said before, was called by the Arabs Al-faghar, or Chenchir, and whose chief towns were Chelb, or Silves, the capital of the territory, and Sancta Maria and Tabira, towns on the shores, and the powerful Castle of Mirtolah, situated on the river Iana, or Guadiana, on the borders of the province of Al-Kassr, enclosed, besides these, many other places more or less fortified and populated, particularly near the coasts of the ocean.

Albur (Alvor) was one of the most powerful castles which guarded the maritime limits of Chenchir. It was against this point that the expedition was directed. Terrified at the appearance of so many ships, and probably driven away from the villages and open fields by the assaults of the men as they landed, the Saracens, who had been unable to retreat to Silves, had taken refuge in Alvor, where, instead of harbour and safety, they met their utter ruin. The Christians were too numerous for resistance to be of any avail. Taken by scaling the walls, its dwellers experienced the cruelty of the conquerors, who spared neither sex nor age, and put to the sword nearly six thousand persons, leaving the whole place a heap of ruins.

After this the north fleet, not wishing further to delay their voyage, proceeded to the strait, accompanied by the Portuguese ships, which followed up to that point, when they returned, and passing along the coast, brought some Saracen captives, while the Crusaders entered the Mediterranean Sea, laden with the spoils of Alvor.

The successful issue of this attempt redoubled the hopes and courage of Sancho I., but he needed to take advantage of these expeditions, because the Northern tribes, whose ferocity exceeded their valour, and their enormous frames, variety of military weapons, and machinery of war, joined to their daring when assailing the strongest ramparts or when fighting hand to hand on the battle-field, instilled terror into the hearts of the Saracens. Ships laden with soldiers came along the English Channel, furrowed the Bay of Biscay, and boarded Galicia, or entered the Tagus, and finally sailing along the coast, would cross the strait, and port in Italy. Hence, in order to effect a decisive

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blow, it was necessary to employ simultaneously the forces by land and sea which the affairs in the East were drawing forth from all the European nations.

And while these expeditions were preparing, Sancho I. gathered together the warriors of Portugal, in order that, by employing diverse elements, he should extend the line of conquests commenced by his father.

In the spring of 1189 thirty-seven ships from Germany and Flanders entered into the English port of Sandwich, laden with Crusaders. The Germans were commanded by Ludwig, the Landgrave of Thuringia, and among the chiefs of the Flemish were Henry Count of Bar-Airard or Ailrad Count of Braine and many other illustrious knights. On quitting Sandwich, the ships from Flanders proceeded on their voyage, but the German fleet entered into Dartmouth, to take up many pilgrims from England, mostly burghers from London.

After some days' delay in the ports of Galicia, the Germans and the English arrived at Lisbon in the first week of July, where the Flemish ships had already ported. There were thirty-six ships in all, conveying 3500 soldiers, a force, it is true, much inferior to the former one, which had left a trail of blood in its passage along the coasts of modern Algarve, but the elements for continuing the war in that province with more important and permanent results had been planned.

The King of the Portuguese stood at the head of an army which was daily increasing, and the storming of Silves, the opulent capital of Chenchir, should it be crowned with success, would soon bring to subjection the castles and towns of lesser importance. Sancho I. conferred on this affair with the foreign captains, who bound themselves to assist him in the undertaking, on condition that the proceeds of the sacking of the city be given to them and theirs.

All preparations being now ready, the Portuguese fleet, composed of thirty-seven galleys and men of war, besides a great number of caravels which had returned from the expedition to Alvor, now joined the ships of Flanders and Germany, to which was added a galley from Ruas, in Galicia, and on the 16 of July they sailed together from the Tagus, and four days after anchored in the Bay of Portimão, distant two leagues from Silves, where they found encamped, a short distance from the shore, the vanguard of the armies which had, previously to the sailing of the fleet, departed by land.

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The environs of Silves, fertile and well-cultivated fields, which extended to the margin of the river, had become deserted at the approach of the Christians. The country people had sought shelter within the walls of the capital. Hardly had the indomitable people of the North, in whom the spirit of rapine was greater than their religious sentiment and even the dictates of prudence, effected a landing, than they commenced to spread themselves inland, with the intention of sacking the abandoned habitations. Two of the soldiers of Braine who had separated from their comrades were found dead on the road, speared by some Almogaures who still wandered about, and perchance were held as martyrs according to the ideas of those times. After robbing the few effects which the rural population had been unable to save, the Crusaders retreated to their respective ships, after reducing to ashes the neighbouring villages.

At night a caravel from the Portuguese fleet was despatched up the river to the encampment of the army, which was pitched some four miles inland, with messages to the commander, who, on the following evening, came on board to confer with the foreign captains. He had meanwhile reconnoitred the fortifications of Silves, and considering the means at command, judged these were insufficient. He therefore proposed to attack the Castle of Gardea, whose situation is unknown in our days, but which necessarily was not far from the sea-shore. However, the hatred against the Saracens, and, what is no less probable, the hope of obtaining rich spoils, induced the captains of the Crusaders to follow a diverse course. At length, all being agreed, at daybreak the ships sailed up the river as far as the tide allowed them, while the troops on land marched along the shore, protecting the fleet.

After sailing for some time, that huge line of ships stopped. The river was no longer deep, and the city stood before the gaze of the Crusaders in all its vast and proud proportions, and they beheld for the first time a Mussalman capital, Silves being one of the most important towns of the Peninsula. The Almedina, or ancient city, was crowned with its kassba, or castle, which capped the mountain at whose base lay a plain along the right margin of the river, and where stood the largest portion of the city, the suburbs alone forming a large town. Compared with Lisbon, Silves was far more powerful and more important, on account of its opulence and sumptuous buildings. It possessed abundant markets, its environs covered with orchards and delightful gardens, while the elegance of the dwelling-houses equalled the cultured manners

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of the dwellers. Its commerce principally consisted of timber felled in the magnificent forests which covered the adjacent mountains, and the figs of Chenchir, whose capital Silves was, were sought for all over the globe, as incomparable for their richness and sweetness. During the epoch of the Saracen colonisation that district was divided among the Arabs of the Yemen, a race to whom belonged not only the inhabitants of the city, but likewise the people of the *alcarias*, or adjoining villages. Even in the time of Edrisi this common origin was recognisable, because both in the city as in the country pure Arabic was spoken. The rural population was distinguished by a generous, hospitable character, and the dwellers of the towns by their eloquence, poetic genius, and a natural quickness of intelligence which rendered them ready merchants.

These and other circumstances, resulting from their situation, rendered that city one of the most important of Mussalman Spain. The Portuguese not only considered Silves as a most difficult place to assault, but as the very focus of resistance against the Christian conquest. And, in effect, the vestiges which still subsist of its ancient walls, and the contemporary memoirs which describe its grandeur, show us clearly the difficulties it offered, according to the military tactics of the time, to any who should attempt to take it by sheer force. The line of fortifications enclosed within its area all towns holding not less than twenty to thirty thousand inhabitants. These were surrounded by an extensive wall, which included the suburb, and at a certain point connected with the Almedina and kassba by an embankment and a path which reached the tower of defence of the lower city, and which served as a watch-tower to the surrounding country. Any shots fired from this tower would fall on the coast, and defended any attack from that side. The embankment or earthworks sloped towards the river Drade, and was fortified by four towers, thus affording a safe passage to those who, residing in the Almedina and kassba, might descend to a well situated on the extreme end of that fortification. All the lines of walls were covered by towers, and the entrances were so winding and difficult to find that it was easier to effect an entrance by scaling the walls than attempt to enter the city by the doors.

Trusting to the strength of the fortifications, the defenders of Silves appeared to despise the storm which was about to burst over their heads. At nightfall the city was illuminated by a number of torches, and the fleets responded to this sign of fierce joy by lighting

many lanterns. At daybreak the Crusaders entered their boats and leaped on shore, where they were joined by the troops that had come overland, and encamped opposite the castle, and so close to it that the stones hurled by the war engines of the besieged fell into the camp. In that first assault some of the besiegers had an encounter with the Almogaures, who appeared to defy them, but were compelled to retire. The siege was then reduced to a narrower circle, and it was decided to attack the lower portion of the city on the following day (21 July), the besiegers raising the ladders and preparing for the combat.

Similarly to the superior portion of the city, access to the walls of this vast and powerful suburb, situated on the river shore, offered greater difficulties, because the moats or ditches around the walls were full of water. Religious excitement, joined to the greed of gaining the plunder enclosed in Silves, and emulation among that multitude of combatants of diverse races, roused up their fierce passions to the point of losing all control over them. The moats and ditches were crossed, notwithstanding the depth of water, and through a perfect storm of stones hurled from the towers, the Christians reached the fortified line. The daring with which they drew up the scaling-ladders to assault the castle produced a panic among the Saracens, and terror seized them, a terror which at times has seized brave and well-disciplined armies. Forsaking their posts, they fled to the Almedina, while the enemy, scaling the walls and gaining the battlements, pursued them on obtaining so easy a victory. But the damage done was not very considerable. Clad in heavy mail, the Christians could scarcely overtake the fugitive Saracens, who were lightly equipped, and to whom fear lent wings to their feet. The greater number who perished were those who, crowding at the door, blocked it up and fell victims. Having taken possession of the suburb, the conquerors remained within the city walls, the Portuguese and the foreign troops encamping separately. Irritated by the weakness of his own troops, the Kayid of Silves ordered the first who had fled and entered the upper city to be beheaded.

At daybreak the Christian troops marched to attack the higher fortifications, leaving the subordinates from the galleys to garrison the environs. But a more effectual resistance awaited them at the Almedina. Here the moats were perhaps not so full of water, but they were deeper and rugged, on account of the nature of the soil which descended to the valley.

The archers and crossbowmen covered the attack of the warriors,

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who with great losses overstepped the moats, and for a long time laboured to raise their ladders. Over them rained shots and arrows, and although amply returned by the Christians, the constancy of the Saracens triumphed over the ardour and vehemence of the Christians. Repulsed on all sides, the Portuguese and the Crusaders turned to fly, resolving to abandon the position they had gained the previous evening. They set fire to the lower city, which, however, did not produce any considerable damage, owing to the system of Arab construction, most being mud walls, or formed of small stones and mortar, and lined outside with bricks, which prevented the conflagration from spreading. Some of the shipping of the besieged were reduced to ashes, as on the arrival of the fleet these craft had been brought to land and placed close up to the walls for shelter. After taking this vain revenge, they were able, in the midst of the reigning confusion and disorder, to return to their original battle-ground, and the Mussalmans recovered the ground they had lost almost without fighting.

However, discouragement did not last long among the besiegers, and the siege became strengthened. Great activity reigned throughout the camp; all kinds of machinery were prepared, wooden towers fitted up, catapults, ladders, and all manner of war materials for the attack. Meanwhile from the inland daily arrived fresh reinforcements, until at length the standard of the King appeared. It was Sancho I. who was arriving (29 July), the body of his army following more leisurely, owing to the heavy war implements and the supplies they were bringing to provide the campaign. The camp was swelling in numbers, and the circle of the siege was completed around Silves, when a lamentable occurrence took place, which goaded the troops, already impatient for the combat.

The deserted suburb was, it appears, a neutral ground for the combatants. The Christians had pitched their tents against the walls, while the Mussalmans occupied the two advanced fortifications—that is to say, the tower, with its covered way, which joined it to the Almedina, and the embankment which descended on the brow towards the Drade. On the eve of the arrival of the King, the English had slain one of the Saracens, inside the mosque, situated in the lower city. Perchance this individual was a priest or some person of note, and the blood spilt in the temple was nothing less than a sacrilege in the eyes of the Mussalmans. On the following Sunday they took revenge for this affront by suspending three Christians by their feet from the turret of the tower Al-

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banan, and then were speared to death—a repugnant scene—thus taking retribution on the day held sacred to God, which clearly proved this revenge to be due to fanaticism. The spectacle aroused the fury of the besiegers, and they clamoured to go to the combat. The Germans advanced with a certain machine known by the name of *ouriço*, with which they assumed to destroy the battlements between two of the towers. The Saracens used every effort to set fire to it by flinging upon it tow steeped in oil, and the solidity of the construction facilitated their project, because its weight was such that it was difficult to turn it back. The attempt was unsuccessful, and the Crusaders were constrained to retire. These were people gathered from all parts, many without any practice in warfare, and, as a consequence, little accustomed to conform to the various and tedious phases of a siege, and they became discouraged at this failure. There were already cries of raising the siege, the Flemish being those who most desired it. Others held the contrary opinion, and these latter conquered. The machine was repaired, and they battered the wall on the following day with greater success, and part of a tower fell to the ground.

Sancho I. meanwhile ordered two trains, or catapults, to be laid, and which, although of lesser size than the *ouriço*, effected great damage among the besieged. Terror began to take possession of some of the defenders of Silves, because during the night a deserter presented himself before the King, bringing two rich standards, and asserting that, on taking the fortification of the declivity, the city would surrender. This news enkindled fresh hopes and spirit in the camp; moreover, excited by the deed of a certain knight of Galicia, who had fearlessly approached the wall broken by the German machine, wrenched a corner-stone and safely returned. Carried away by the impulse of emulation, the Crusaders began to mine the tower, in which, to the surprise of the Christians, the Saracens continued immovable, notwithstanding that thousands of arrows were flying over them, and the danger they ran of being buried beneath the ruins. The besiegers did not desist from working the mine, but during the night they heard the Saracens speaking, and believing that they were also springing a mine on their side, they were stricken with sudden fright and fled. The illusion was dispelled when daylight came, and setting fire to the props which supported the mine, the superior part of the tower fell. The fire being extinguished, they proceeded farther, and by this means more of the wall fell. The large breach effected rendered the assault

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on that side an easy one; and setting up a ladder, they commenced, one by one, to ascend. The number of Saracens who opposed the entry was very considerable, but the very ones who had manifested such extreme perseverance when a danger stood before them which no human power could save them from now vacillated, and trembled at a hand-to-hand combat with men over which they had the advantage of numbers and situation. The flight of the first was the signal for the rest, and flinging down their weapons in order to be more free, they not only abandoned the wrecked and broken tower, but likewise the three which defended the declivity. The retreat, however, did not assume the proportions of a complete flight until a sufficient number of Christians ascended above, and compelled them to take refuge in the Almedina. The first act of the conquerors was to stop up the well defended by the tower, thus cutting off the supply of water to the besieged, and rendering useless that line of fortifications. After this the men, worn out from fatigue, returned with the wounded, to repose in their camps.

The environs and the line of the cliff being now despoiled of Moors, on the following day and night were continued the preparations for combating the higher portion of the city, the last refuge of the besieged. Two mines were commenced in the lower part of the town, and concealed by the buildings under which the besiegers carried on the works. The enemy understood the project of the invaders, and on the following morning they made an unexpected sortie, setting fire to the houses beneath which the works were carried on. The fire caught the props and woodwork which supported the excavation, and compelled them to abandon the scheme, but not before the archers had effected much damage among the Saracens. The besiegers attempted a new road, the Flemish beginning by breaking down a wall of the suburb which had an interior communication with a tower of the Almedina, in the supposition that by this means it could be reached; but the Mussalmans were alert, and marching along the subterranean passage, expelled them, and effecting a breach, divided the tower from the wall of communication.

Meanwhile there daily appeared deserters from the city, who, losing all hopes, sought by this means to save their lives. The Christians would receive them kindly, in order to incite others to imitate them. On the 14th of August, when the Saracens came out to skirmish the besiegers, one of those who had remained in the Almedina leaped

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down the wall and delivered himself up to the enemy. He was treated with kindness, and the first thing he asked for was water, which he drank with extraordinary avidity. The worst of all evils, thirst, was afflicting Silves; many had already perished from want of water, because all the water which they had in the cisterns or wells was but little and brackish. These and other motives of discouragement induced the invaders to make a decisive attack, and it was decided to effect it on the 18th. The Christian forces ascended the declivity, and approaching the walls, judged they could scale the castle. The troops who advanced on the north side (probably Portuguese) attained to fill up the moat with fascines, but the besieged, casting firebrands from the turrets, set fire to them. The ruggedness of the ascent on this side increased the difficulties which the desperate resistance of the Mussalmans offered, while on the other side the foreign troops, who advanced by the suburbs, driven between clusters of dwellings, could not very well turn or keep in order; at least, it was these excuses the Christians advanced, and with which they tried to console themselves after they were repulsed. It is certain that the Mussalmans, in spite of their sad position, defended themselves like lions, and that the Christians retired from the assault with great losses.

Part of the army, broken down in spirit, were in favour of retiring, on the plea that provisions were getting short, and also fodder for the cavalry. The King of Portugal hesitated; and if we credit the anonymous narrative of one of the Crusaders, it was due to the latter that the King of Portugal eventually decided to continue the siege. New mines were sprung at a farther distance from the walls, meanwhile that on the north side three trains of engines of the Portuguese and foreigners were acting against corresponding ones placed by the Saracens to defend themselves.

The situation of the besieged was becoming truly intolerable. The small portion of water which remained to them was most economically doled out to that multitude of people clustered together in Silves. Provisions were still sufficiently abundant, but could not be cooked, owing to want of water; even bread ceased to be made, and they subsisted principally on figs. The Christian captives, to the number of 400, were compelled to fight against their co-religionists, in return for their allowance of water, which was doled out to them as to the Mussalmans. Women and children chewed clay in order to appease their thirst. This enforced state was further aggravated by increasing illness, and the

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streets were full of dead and dying. Yet the persistence, under these conditions, of the Saracens who defended the city was one of the most memorable instances on record of human energy and endurance.

On perceiving that the Christians were again attempting to undermine the walls, they made a sortie to destroy the work, but the besiegers were forewarned, and after a useless combat and considerable losses, the Mussalmans were obliged to retreat within the walls. The attempt was renewed the following day at daybreak, when the Christians were unprepared, but they were very quickly attacked by a small force, which drove the Saracens back to the entrance of the Almedina, where the Christians would have eventually effected an entrance had their forces been more numerous.

At this juncture, whether owing to a false report that the chief of Andaluz was sending succour to Silves, or whether discouragement caused by the persistence of the Saracens, or, what it is more probable, the want of provisions and fodder to continue the siege, or for some other reasons the King of Portugal desired to raise the siege. The Crusaders, however, who feared to lose the plunder, induced Sancho to delay the retreat for four days, during which every effort was made to reduce the city. A mine was opened near the wall, commencing at one of the *matmoras*, or subterranean granaries, and in a short time reached the foundations of the wall. The heroic defenders of Silves, no longer strong enough to come out on the field where they had been twice repulsed by the enemy with great losses, were endeavouring to offer a more proportionate resistance. They sprang a mine within, to correspond to the one opened on the outside, and the two underground passages being opened, the belligerents met, and a terrible fight ensued, lit up by the lurid glare of torches in those extensive subterranean galleries. The Saracens had prepared inflammable materials, and when they perceived that it was no longer possible to repress the soldiers of the King of Portugal, they set fire to the combustibles, and a river of fire rushed against their fierce enemies. In face of such a fearful adversary, against which no effort or skill could avail, the Christians retreated, and they were for abandoning the enterprise, because the Saracens followed them and destroyed all that the Christians were effecting.

But these daily combats, these vain efforts of the brave Saracen garrison to save the capital of Chenchir, were the last brilliant flickers of the expiring lamp. To surrender, or perish from want of water with

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all the inhabitants—this was their alternative. They elected to surrender, and on the 1st of September the Saracens began to summon from the ramparts and towers some of the officers of the King of Portugal to propose conditions. These conditions were, to be allowed to quit, taking what movable goods they could, and deliver up to the conquerors the ruined Almedina and Alcaçova. Sancho I. acceded to the proposal, but the deserters of the city were becoming numerous, and described so vividly the agonies they were enduring from thirst, and the terror they were in from the falling ruins, and the desperate state of the inhabitants, that the Crusaders, in spite of the efforts of the King, refused to agree to the stipulation. This refusal, coming from Christians, who were supposed to combat for the glory and advancement of their religion, and this resistance on the part of foreigners, which only prolonged the horrors of war, was a detestable piece of covetousness. However, considered as mercenaries, who were selling their blood and lives to satisfy the greed of rapine, it was just they should receive their due. It was, therefore, in this light that Sancho I. viewed the case. Ever generous towards the vanquished, he attempted to redeem the spoliation of Silves by offering the Crusaders 10,000 *morabitanos*, or *aureos*, a sum which finally was raised to 20,000. This was, however, pertinaciously refused, on the plea that it would be needful to proceed to Coimbra, or at least Evora, to obtain the money, and this would greatly retard their voyage to the East. Constrained by the promises he had made in Lisbon to his allies, the King yielded, and only conceded to the inhabitants of Silves that they should leave, with their lives, it is true, but bereft of everything. On the 3rd of September, at length, the doors were opened of the surrendered city, and the besiegers beheld with their own eyes the fearful state of the besieged. The Saracen chief, who probably was the Kayid Abdullah, son or grandson of a former Wali of Silves, quitted the city, riding on horseback at the head of a large number of Mussalmans, who were barely covered with rags, which indicated sorrow and captivity, and proceeded like pilgrims, seeking an asylum within the walls of Seville. The respect due towards fallen valour was unable to restrain the ferocious brutality of the Crusaders, who even in that hour of anguish would strike the conquered, and despoil them of their garments. Irritated by the covetousness of the foreigners, the King of Portugal grew wrathful in view of that spectacle, and the Portuguese were very nearly coming to blows with their allies. When night came the

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Portuguese alone occupied the interior of the city, closing the doors, in order that no inhabitant should venture out in the darkness. The scenes which took place that night may be easily imagined. The Mussalmans remained enclosed within their dwellings, and many, despite the most solemn promises, were tortured, in order that they should confess where treasures were concealed. The light of day revealed who had been the victims of their barbarity. People half-dead, and scarcely able to stand, were creeping along as best they could. Along the streets lay a great number of persons, and the stench from the dead and of animals was truly unbearable. Of the Christian prisoners, who numbered over four hundred, only two hundred were found, and these were in the throes of death. In a word, out of the numerous population of Silves, scarcely sixteen thousand souls survived.

The painful scene laid before their eyes at length touched the hearts of those hard men. They conducted the rest of the inhabitants outside the doors, and the Crusaders abstained from further violence. The fear of encountering the wrath of the King of Portugal, already sufficiently enkindled against them, contributed, no doubt, to render them more moderate, but the disagreement between the Portuguese and the foreigners increased nevertheless, owing to another reason. During the siege, it appears, the Portuguese troops, whose constancy was certainly not due to any expectations of pillage, had desired the siege to be raised, as also did some of the Crusaders when losing hope. To restrain the troops, therefore, the soldiers had been promised a certain portion of the booty, and in this case the foreign troops yielded up some from their former bargain. We have seen that the King himself was constrained, through want of victuals, to yield up the project, and when arranging the division of the spoils he chose for his own the provisions, of which there was still a considerable quantity in the forsaken city. As the Crusaders had quartered within the walls, and knew that food did not fall to their lot, they began to rob them, and to sell secretly to the Portuguese camp. The King complained very strongly of this proceeding, because, should the provisions in this manner be dispersed, he saw himself in the hard necessity of abandoning the place he had conquered at such a high price. But far from the complaints of the King restraining them, that unbridled horde proceeded to sack the city, without awaiting orders from their commanders. It was a veritable anarchy, and Sancho I., whose indignation

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had now reached its height, put a term to this, by ordering Silves to be occupied by the Portuguese troops, and the Crusaders expelled, who, discontented, returned to their fleet, and descending the river, anchored near the bar. There they arranged their ships, and divided the result of three days' sacking, while they attempted to obtain something more from their ally, either by appealing to his generosity or to his piety; but they were unable to obtain anything. The affair had nearly reached its culminating-point, and it is only probable that Sancho I. passed the limits of moderation; and although on one side there had been violence and rapine, yet on the other hand their proceeding was not altogether worthy of praise.

However, after twelve days the Crusaders quitted the port of Silves, accusing Sancho and the Portuguese of not fighting or working during the siege, and of defrauding them of what really belonged to them. These accusations, the first of which was repeated in Europe, are belied by the narrative of one of themselves, who, convinced of its falsehood, or at least of exaggerating the complaints against Sancho of avarice and disloyalty in view of the amount of spoils which the foreigners carried away with them. These spoils tended to cool down their ardour for liberating the Holy Places, many of them being induced to return to their mother-country, and enjoy the fruits of the expeditions against the Saracens of Spain.

The formidable fortifications of Silves had remained partly ruined, and some portions of the tower of the Almedina fell a week after the sacking of the city. Wishing to repair these ruins, Sancho I. marched from Silves with the strength of his army before the departure of the Crusaders, leaving as Alcaide with a considerable number of men the same officer he had elected to lead the vanguard of the army. If the traditions of our historians be true, it was the Count D. Mendo, or Sousão (Mem Gonçalves de Sousa), the most renowned peer of Portugal and Master of the Household, he who commenced the siege, and who took upon himself to defend Silves and establish the Portuguese dominion in Chenchir. We know for certain that a few months after this event Silves was governed by one Rodrigo Sanches up to 1195, when this warrior perished in the battle of Alarcos.

The fall of the capital of Al-faghar occasioned the loss to the Saracens of the whole portion of modern Algarve west of the cordilleras which run north to south from the serra of Monchique and Caldeirão to the seaport of Albufeira. Beyond these cordilleras, Sancta Maria de

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Faron, Hayrun or Pharum was the most important town on this side of the Guadiana. With the troops which Sancho had left in Silves, the governor at once attempted to attack it, calculating upon the assistance of the Crusaders, who, it is said, still lingered in port. These were, however, too irritated against the Portuguese for not acceding to their demands, and although the pleadings of Nicholas, a Flemish ecclesiastic who was elected bishop of Silves, was added to those of the governor, they obstinately refused to associate themselves to this project.

The surprise which the taking of Silves, the capital of the province, produced among the Mussalmans was such that it caused the Castle of Alboheira (Albufeira) to surrender before it was assailed, and the same, probably, was the case with those of Lagos, Portimão, Monchique, Messines, Paderne, and all others to the north and west of Silves, which we know were delivered up to the Christians at that juncture.

But why did Sancho I. so speedily depart from the newly acquired capital without first invading the eastern territories up to the Guadiana? If we topographically examine the two modern provinces of Alemtejo and Algarve, we shall easily find an explanation. Evora was, so to say, insulated on the frontier, having on the north various deserted territories, and towards the south castles which were taken by Alfonso I., but which soon after fell again into the power of the Almohades.

Silves now being reduced, this city and Evora might be considered as the two extremes of a new line of frontiers from north-east to south-east, and whose centre was Beja, its most notable place. Beja, if once conquered, all the castles situated between these three principal stations, or to the north-west of them, would be abandoned by the Saracens, as was soon proved to the south of the serras of Monchique. These considerations most certainly moved the King of Portugal to traverse the mountains and march towards Beja, which we know submitted to the Christians. We possess no details of that campaign, but it appears the conquest was quickly effected, because the Portuguese army quitted Silves about the middle of September, and we find Sancho I. in Coimbra in the month of December, 1189.

And while the Portuguese prince was thus extending his States to the south, Alfonso VIII. of Castille was invading the Mussalman territories, and taking possession of Reyna, Magacela, Baños, and

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Calasparra, crossing the Andaluz to the sea-coasts, and the Christian troops, advancing to the environs of Seville, broke up the Almohade troops. The news of these disasters soon reached Morocco. Yacub, full of wrath, after bitterly upbraiding the chieftains of Mussalman Spain with negligence in repelling the aggressions of the infidels, ordered them to prepare for war, because he would not fail to take retribution for the injuries they had sustained. At the time the Wali of Cordova and head of the Almohades of the Peninsula was Mohammed Ibn Yusuf, brother to Yacub Al-Manssor. It appears it was he who was charged with collecting the Saracen forces on this side of the sea. While this was done the Emperor crossing the strait in the spring of 1190, with a numerous troop, disembarked in Tarifa, and proceeded at once in forced marches towards Silves, close to which he joined the army of Andaluz. Leaving him to continue the siege, Al-Manssor, with the Africans, crossed the Serras, resolved upon penetrating into the States of Sancho, and visiting with equal calamities as the Mussalmans of Chenchir had experienced the subjects of his adversary. An English vessel with 100 soldiers on board was proceeding to Syria from London, and ported at Silves.

Induced by Nicholas, the English, who were young and brave, joined willingly the Portuguese to assist them in the dangers which the preparations of the prince of the Almohades led them to consider as grave and imminent. In order to understand the reason for this unexpected arrival of Crusaders, and in part illustrate subsequent events, we shall give a brief outline of them, which, although they may appear at first sight to be foreign to our history, nevertheless bear an intimate connection.

Richard I. of England, called Cœur de Lion, who succeeded his father, Henry II., had allied himself to Philip Augustus, King of France, for the Crusade. Joining together their respective armies, they descended along the Rhone. Philip Augustus proceeded towards Geneva, and Richard to Marseilles, where it was his intention to embark with the people of Great Britain, and from the vast states he possessed in France. The rest of the troops were to proceed in a fleet from various ports of England and Normandy, and await his arrival in Messina, or, as some say, take him on board in Marseilles. The admirals or chiefs charged with conducting this fleet were Richard of Camwill, Robert of Sabloil, William de Forz, and the Bishops of Auch and Bayeux. The fleet was composed of over 100 ships between galleys, store ships, and

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other craft, and which, in proportion as they were fitted out, would leave in squadrons from Normandy, Brittany, and England : these squadrons, after navigating around the Peninsula up to the strait, were to join one another in the Mediterranean. The first, composed of ten ships, departed from Dartmouth, proceeding to Lisbon, there, as usual, to take provisions for the voyage; but on entering the Bay of Biscay a tremendous storm arose, with a such a heavy sea that the fleet became dispersed, and had to seek shelter along the coasts of Spain. When the storm subsided nine of these ships proceeded towards the Tagus, and one which doubled Cape St. Vincent, driven by the wind, entered the Bay of Silves, on being assured that she had not gone beyond the limits of the Christian States. It was the aid of these Crusaders that the Bishop of Silves invoked. They agreed to participate in the fate of their co-religionists, and assist to garrison the ramparts, while the ship was broken up to afford materials for repairing the fortifications and defend the city, the Portuguese binding themselves, in the name of Sancho I., to indemnify them for the delay by giving them a new ship in place of the one they had used—promises which, later on, the King of Portugal religiously fulfilled.

Not having succeeded in reducing Silves at the first attack, Yacub marched, as we said, across modern Alemtejo, and leaving Evora on the right, approached the shores of the Tagus. Crossing the river above Santarem, the Mussalman army attacked the Castle of Torres-Novas, which was taken after four days of useless resistance. The Saracens then proceeded against Thomar. This castle was one of the most powerful of Portugal, and probably the best defended, because it was guarded by the Templars, who had made it the central establishment of their order, and capitular house. Gualdim Paes, one of the first Portuguese affiliated to that order, and one of its most illustrious members, on account of his prowess in the East and in Spain, was then Master, or Procurator, of the Temple in Portugal. In the midst of those walls which he himself had helped to join together with the broken boulders of the rocky mountain, the stern veteran awaited with his knight monks the fury of the Pagans, as, in their simple ignorance, our forefathers denominated the Mussalmans. These were not long in coming; and devastating the environs, the Emperor laid siege to the castle, destroying all the habitations which were beginning to cluster together around the almost inaccessible walls.

The rapid march of Yacub, penetrating into the centre of the

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States of Sancho I., proved to him that he had a skilful adversary to contend against. Convinced that Yacub was proceeding against Santarem to avenge the death of his father, Sancho, with the few knights and men-at-arms of his suite, cast themselves into the town. The march of the enemy on the north side of Estremadura, far from diminishing his fears, increased them. Attacked by the Almohades in Santarem, he might possibly engage them until troops from Beira and beyond the Douro should arrive; but now the difficulty of aid was rendered more patent, for two reasons—because the invaders would intercept communications by entering the territories between Alcobaça and Leiria, and it would be a grave imprudence to remove the garrison of Coimbra, the centre and capital of the monarchy, as up to its environs the Almohade troops had reached after destroying Leiria, putting all to fire and to the sword. The situation of the King of Portugal was indeed a critical one; but once more Providence permitted an unexpected succour to come, through the intervention of the Crusaders.

We said that nine ships of the first Anglo-Norman squadron, which had sailed from Dartmouth, had taken refuge from the storm they encountered in the Bay of Biscay, and had come afterwards to meet together in the Tagus. Al-Manssor had a few days previously passed up the river to Santarem. Sancho sent messages to the admirals of the fleet describing the state of affairs, and they at once sent up the river five hundred picked men, who had volunteered to strengthen the garrison of Coimbra. On arriving, the English perceived how necessary their presence was. The forces the King had with him were small, and the inhabitants also few and insufficiently armed; moreover, Yacub had already taken Torres-Novas and besieged Thomar, hence this aid rendered the defence of Santarem more hopeful.

The season in which the invaders had reached the Tagus, and the fevers which usually visit Estremadura during the heat of summer, explain the reason why Yacub sent proposals of peace to the enemy. He demanded the restoration of Silves, offering to retire, and restore, on his part, Torres-Novas, and allowing a truce of hostilities for seven years. Sancho I., however, was firm in refusing to deliver up the capital of Chenchir, a surrender which would virtually mean the loss of his last conquests. On receiving this reply, Yacub sent anew messengers to the King of Portugal, threatening on the following day to come and break down the doors of Santarem. The threat was taken in earnest. The

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walls and towers were garrisoned by the five hundred English, who selected the most dangerous places. The night passed, and in the early morning the report was circulated that the Saracens had been sighted; but soon after the outposts returned to say that Yacub had died three days previously, and that the Saracen army was retiring in disorder, and hence that the proposals and the threats were all false. This news was repeated by others who successively arrived. In part it was true. Yacub was not dead, but the siege of Thomar had been raised on the 11th July, after barely lasting six days. The Almohade troops once more crossed the Tagus, and retreating to the south, proceeded to Seville.

Thus terminated an invasion which promised to prove so deadly to the country, and Sancho bade farewell to the allies, at the same time promising that he would not prove ungrateful for their proffered services. Meanwhile the two principal heads of the fleet of the King of England, Robert de Sabloil and Richard de Camwill, had entered the bar of Lisbon with sixty-three vessels. The people who came with these ships were, it appears, a rude, unbridled mob, and in order to keep them under control, Richard I. had been compelled to decree some atrocious conditions for the police of the fleet. Hardly had they entered the port than the Crusaders leaped on shore, and began to treat the inhabitants of Lisbon as though the city had been taken by assault. Running along the streets and market-places, they attacked every one they met, violating brutally the wives and daughters of the burghers. The fury and perversity of that troop of scoundrels were especially directed against the Jewish families and the Saracens who, at the time of the conquest, not wishing to abandon their homes, had been admitted as vassals by Alfonso I. By sheer force these were expelled out of their houses, and the English robbed them of all they possessed, and then set fire to their dwellings. The damage they did in the neighbouring fields was no less. This unbearable behaviour and contempt for all the laws of hospitality and Christianity lasted long enough for the news to reach Santarem. Sancho I. at once marched to Lisbon with forces, but on reaching the city he disguised his indignation, and pretended to forgive the injuries received, treating them with great moderation, promising not to take revenge for the unworthy behaviour of the Crusaders. In this way he obtained from Robert de Sabloil and Richard de Camwill the promise that they would compel these brutal men to keep inviolably towards the Portuguese the regulations concerning the police which Richard I. had given.

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Peace lasted three days: the irritation of the burghers and the violence of the passions of the Crusaders did not allow a longer term. The captains of the fleet committed the error of allowing the men to go on land, and the past disorders were incentives for the renewal of more serious quarrels. The Portuguese were forewarned, and a fearful strife commenced. Blood flowed, and the slain on both sides covered the streets and market-places. The noise of the strife reached the ears of Sancho, who at once ordered the city gates to be closed, in order that the Crusaders should not leave the city. The soldiers then descended from the Alcaçova, and arresting all they met, flung them into the *masmorras*, or dungeons, to the number of seven hundred. Sancho no longer followed the system of moderation which he had pursued in the former strife, since he found it useless. The prisoners he had in his power were secure pledges against any other attempt of the fleet; hence he dictated to the Crusaders what conditions he desired to quell the discord. It was finally arranged to condone the evils received, in return for the mutual restitution of all the arms and robberies effected, and finally that the Crusaders should respect all Portuguese subjects and their property, at whatever port they might touch, the King in return pledging that they should receive a peaceful reception throughout the maritime ports of his States. The prisoners were then released, and the fleet soon after weighed anchor opposite Lisbon, approaching the bar on the 24th of July, when the fleet of William of Forz arrived, consisting of thirty ships. The three admirals being now together, the fleet of the King of England, which numbered one hundred and six men-of-war, set sail to continue their voyage towards the Mediterranean.

But notwithstanding the retreat of Yacub to Seville, the war with the Saracens had not entirely ceased. The Andalusian Alcaides were scouring the fields of Al-faghar, and Silves was continually combated, or at least threatened; but the garrison of that city, as well as of the castles to the west of Faro, the last point of the Mussalman frontiers, maintained the conquests of the preceding year. Time has destroyed the memoirs of these strifes, but many a noble knight of Portugal no doubt lost his life, although it appears that these strifes did not assume sufficient proportions to absorb the whole energy of Sancho I., who was meanwhile dedicating his time to other affairs of the political order. One of his first cares was to obtain from Clement III. the confirmation of his crown, which was conceded to him by a bull in

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every way similar to the one directed to his father by Alexander III. in 1179. Another no less grave affair also attracted his attention, and which had reference to what passed in the two neighbouring kingdoms. Alfonso IX. had received the investiture of knighthood at the hands of Alfonso VIII. of Castille, and had kissed hands in the public and solemn assembly of Carrion ; a sign of respect which, in the opinion of many, was equivalent to a confession of inferiority, and perchance of subjection. This thorn was bitterly wounding the spirit of the youthful King of Leon. His favourites fostered this irritation, either from pride or a desire for war. It is said that the motive for a rupture between the cousins was the foundation of Placencia, which Alfonso VIII. had established on territory which belonged to the Leonese Bishopric of Coria. In order to resist his cousin, the King of Leon sought to ally himself to Portugal, and to render it sincere and firm, the two princes resolved to form a family alliance, Alfonso IX. taking to wife Theresa, the eldest daughter of Sancho. The latter proceeded to Guimarães, where he met his future son-in-law, and the marriage was there solemnised in the spring of 1191, the bride Queen receiving as dowry a part of the rents accruing from the various lands and castles of Leon. This marriage, arranged through political motives, became converted into a union of affection, and, as we shall see further on, survived the separation of the consorts imposed upon them by the discipline of the Church and the unyielding spirit of Celestine III.

The treaty between Portugal and Aragon which had been put aside three years previously, owing to the persistence of Sancho I. to exclude from it his nephew, was now concluded, both defensive and offensive, between the three States, and signed at Huesca in May, 1191.

Meanwhile, the Amir-al-Mumenin, who had not derived any advantage from his last invasion in Portugal, except to devastate the enemy's territory at the expense of his own forces, was contemplating a fresh *gasvat* against the infidel King of the West, by commencing to recover the lost districts beyond the Tagus, and perchance afterwards attack the central States of Sancho, invading the northern borders of the province of Belatha, which for so many years had divided on the west the dominions of the Saracens from those of the Christians. Having strengthened his army, Yacub came with forced marches to besiege Silves. The details of this siege are not known, nor how long the city resisted, or under what conditions it surrendered. What is

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conjectured is, that the garrison troops defended the city for a long time, and that, either through some convention or otherwise, they escaped the sad fate of captivity.

During the siege the Kayid Abu Abdullah Ibn Wasir, who, it is supposed, was the same who maintained the heroic resistance of the capital of Chenchir against Sancho and the Crusaders, and who was, moreover, the leader of the vanguard of the Saracens, entered by another side into the disputed territory, and after subduing a stronghold (probably Béja), came to join the body of the army of Al-Manssor close to the walls of Silves. After Silves surrendered, the conquerors marched to the north, and traversing Southern Alemtejo, successively reduced Alcacer, Palmella, and Almada, and thus not only regained for the Mussalman monarchy the recent conquests of Sancho, but likewise deprived him of a part of the dominions which his father had bequeathed to him. Of the whole province of Al-Kassr, scarcely Evora resisted the invasion, or was not assaulted. Satisfied with the results of this brilliant campaign, the Amir, after garrisoning the frontiers of the Gharb, retired to his States in Africa.

Al-Manssor was invading the territories beyond the Tagus with such superior forces that the King of Portugal did not feel equal to resisting the torrent, which seemed to be adverse to him. Yacub, who was a man of extraordinary political and military talents, and superior in intellectual culture to the reigning princes of the Peninsula, now dominated without contradiction the whole of Andaluz, excepting the Balearic Islands, where a few Almoravides still preserved themselves independent, and he was likewise absolute lord of the empire of Morocco, where he was highly esteemed for his love of letters, his religious character, and the firmness with which he administered the State, and it was even said that any caravan might safely traverse the empire from the deserts of Barca to the most eastern shores of Africa without incurring any risk.

Sancho, however, although a brave soldier, did not equal his predecessor in military talent, since men like Alfonso I. are rare to find, nor did he supply this deficiency of genius by superior intellectual culture. This inequality of talents and resources between the Mussalman Emperor and the Portuguese King had hitherto been counterbalanced by the perturbations of the Moghreb, which had almost entirely diverted the attention of the Ameer during the first years of his government, by the valuable assistance afforded by the Crusaders and their fleets,

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by the traditions of prowess which Alfonso had bequeathed to the warriors of his son, and, in a word, by his own personal valour. But now that the dominion of Yacub was generally established in Africa and in Spain, and, moreover, foreign aid was not at hand, the conquest of Al-faghar demanded an enormous amount of money and lives, while the invasion of the Almohades, besides spreading terror and devastation over part of Portuguese territory, produced distress and despondency; and finally the intimate alliance contracted by Sancho with the King of Leon, while bringing him a powerful ally, naturally caused jealousy to Alfonso VIII. of Castille, and converted him into an enemy worthy of dread, since he was the most powerful and most skilful among the Christian princes of Spain. There was still left to the King of Portugal his own prowess and energy and that of his own soldiers; but these were insufficient to compensate for the disadvantages of the situation. Hence the passiveness evinced by Sancho at the loss of his conquests, and of a part of those obtained by his father, was evidently due to the necessity he was under of employing what forces he had in defending his dominions on the north-west of the Tagus.

When assuming the crown, Sancho I. had employed in his decrees sometimes the title of King of Portugal, at others King of Portugalense or of the Portuguese, in the same way as had been used by Alfonso I. After the conquest of Silves, and of the province of which Silves was the capital, he assumed the additional title of King of Silves and Algarve, or only the last. And in effect this was quite proper, since he was lord of nearly all the territories which formerly composed the great division of Mussalman Spain, and which the Arabs usually designated by the name of the West (Ghrab or Al-Gharb). But now that the fate of arms scarcely allowed him one of the three provinces which constituted that division, with a stronghold in the midst of Al-Kassr, and with little hope of restoring the lost conquests, it would be but sheer vanity, and a subject of bitter memories, to retain a title to which there was no reality. Sancho therefore abandoned the latter title, and only retained the former one, meanwhile that he directed his attention towards strengthening and organising his exhausted and retrenched dominions.

According to the custom of historians of that epoch, the four years which followed the retreat of Yacub to Africa were cast into oblivion as regards the reign of Sancho, because during this term there were no wars or sieges to describe. Yet there are documents

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which show us that the activity of this prince was not lessened during that enforced peace. He feared, and with reason, the renewal of attempts against Portugal by the Almohades, attempts which, judging from former experience, might bring desolation into the interior of the country; therefore it was necessary to multiply the strongholds, strengthen the frontiers with warriors, and gather together every resource to repel the enemy. Hence new preceptories or monasteries of military orders were established in the most important towns on the right margin of the Tagus, and many endowments of various castles or vast portions of land were made under condition that monasteries be founded there. The town of Lower Beira also merited serious attention, and ancient Egitania (Idanha) commenced to rise from its ruins. The foreign colonies which in the time of Alfonso I. had come to populate Estremadura having prospered, the territories were increased, Pontevel and its borders being given to them, near the margins of the Tagus. Leiria was repeopled, and municipal institutions were established. The founding of various other castles and villages at this period proves to us the activity of the king in restoring the internal life of the monarchy.

The misfortunes, however, of Sancho were not limited to the evils he sought now to redress, and as though Providence had accorded him these four years of peace solely to strengthen him and his nation for bearing other and greater calamities, the King of Portugal speedily found himself compelled to wrestle with more than one disaster. In the marriage of the Infanta D. Theresa with the King of Leon, there was a circumstance which in all analogous marriages between the princes of Europe induced, sooner or later, grave perturbations. These consorts were cousins, and Celestine III. ruled then the Catholic Church. As soon as the fact was proved, or the pressure of other affairs allowed him, he publicly condemned this union prohibited by ecclesiastical laws, and as neither the King of Leon nor his father-in-law in Portugal manifested any inclination to yield to his threats, the Pope, or his delegate, fulminated against either monarch sentence of excommunication. This was insufficient to separate the two spouses, who sincerely loved each other; but, as generally happened, the Pope triumphed, and Sancho had to endure the bitter affront of seeing his daughter repudiated.

A contemporary writer tells us that Alfonso VIII. of Castille was not altogether averse to this event, and policy imparted to the fulmina-

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tions of Rome an efficacy which during four years they had been unable to obtain. It is certain, however, that if the Castillian king had in view the severance by this means of the alliance of Leon and Portugal, it does not appear probable that at this very juncture he should already treat upon substituting his daughter for the repudiated princess, because the union of Alfonso IX. with Berengaria was effected two years later, after the active war which the Leonese and Castillian kings had for a long time sustained between themselves.

The family bonds which united Sancho to Alfonso IX. being now severed, it was but natural, in view of the violent character of Sancho, that any spark of discord between their respective States should produce a conflagration. At the moment a grave event effected this. It was a new incursion of Yacub from Africa into Spain, a terrible impetuous wave which flowed into and along the Christian territories, making the throne of Castille totter ere it returned to its source. A long illness and affairs of State had kept Al-Manssor in Morocco between three and four years. Meanwhile Alfonso VIII., taking advantage of the absence of the Ameer, ravaged the lands of the Saracens, and the Archbishop of Toledo, crossing the Guadalquivir, carried fire and sword into the heart of Andalusia. The Castillian troops reached as far as Algesiras, where, according to Arab memoirs, Alfonso VIII. sent to the Emperor of Morocco an insolent cartel or letter of defiance. Yacub accepted the challenge, and mustering his troops, he summoned to a holy war all the tribes of the empire, and passed over to Spain with one of the most numerous armies which at any time have crossed the strait. The news of the arrival of the Almohades reached the King of Castille, and invoking the aid of the other Christian princes of the Peninsula, he immediately marched with all the forces he could collect to meet Al-Manssor. The Kings of Leon and Navarre in effect moved their troops, but they either could not reach in time, or, as the Archbishop of Toledo affirmed, their aid was only simulated, and therefore none joined the Castillian army but a few from Portugal, among whose leaders were the Master of the Order of Evora, Gonçalo Viegas, and the former Alcaide of Silves, Rodrigo Sanches, who, perchance, sought to avenge the taking of that city by the Saracens.

Proceeding to Seville, Yacub quitted it for Cordova, and from Cordova, crossing Sierra Morena, he descended to the plains of Mancha. Alfonso VIII. was marching to meet him, and the two armies sighted each other (August, 1195) near the town of Alarcos, Alarcur, or Hacen

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Al-arak, of which scarcely any vestige remained at the end of the sixteenth century. A battle was fought, which was long disputed and bloody, but at length the Christians were defeated with frightful losses, and Alfonso VIII. barely escaped with the remnants of his army, leaving on the battle-field many illustrious knights, among them the Master of the Order of Evora and Rodrigo Sanches. The Almohades, whose losses were likewise considerable, retired to Seville loaded with spoils.

Notwithstanding the victory of the Almohades, and the perilous situation of the diverse monarchies of Spain, hatred and ambition among its princes were more powerful than all other considerations which might move them to preserve peace between them. It is true that the dissensions of the two cousins reigning in Castille and Leon had somewhat subsided with the coming of Yacub. Alfonso IX., whose delay, as well as that of Sancho of Navarre, many imputed to the routing of Alarcos, proceeded to Toledo, where he resided for some length of time with Alfonso VIII. after this disaster. On the return of the youthful Leonese King to his States tranquillity reigned for a time, but this peace only served to afford breathing-time to the contenders, and enable them to prepare for a new wrestling. Why and how Portugal took a part in these we shall endeavour to prove as far as it is possible, showing the secret means by which, in our opinion, long and sanguinary wars were prepared.

The Infante Pedro, heir to the throne of Aragon, was extremely attached to the King of Castille, his cousin. Nothing was more natural than that Alfonso VIII. should seek an alliance with Sancho I., knowing how deeply the repudiation of D. Theresa must wound the pride of a violent man like the King of Portugal. A chronicler of those times tells us that in February, 1196, the King of Aragon came to Coimbra to establish peace among the Christians. It is our belief that this King was Pedro II., then Infante, and who was called two months later to ascend the throne at the death of Alfonso II., who died in April of that year, and his mission, no doubt, was the union of the King of Castille and of Portugal, in view that the latter was separated from that of Leon, with whom, it is said, he was leagued against Alfonso VIII.

This hypothesis springs logically from the preceding events, and in a certain sense illustrates the subsequent ones—above all, the alliance of the Leonese King with the Almohade Emperor. It was not uncom-

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mon at that epoch to see many illustrious knights of the Cross combating under the standard of Islam, and *vice versâ*, Saracen chiefs offering the help of their soldiers to the Christian princes. Public calamities and the impulses of passion, joined to the frequent revolts and changes in the diverse States of the Peninsula, were the principal causes of these events, incompatible with the creeds and lively faith of those times. Pedro Fernandes de Castro, one of the most powerful Castillian noblemen, passed on to the service of the Ameer of Morocco, on account of discords with Alfonso VIII., and in the battle of Alarcos he contributed in a great measure to the victory. Through his intervention, about the year 1196, the King of Leon and Al-Manssor made a treaty between them, the conditions of which are not known, but in which Alfonso IX. forewarned the other, and, as we said, was probably already made between Portugal, Castille, and Aragon. Sancho VII. of Navarre associated himself also with the Leonese King against the Castillian, both parties by this means being equally divided.

But still among the Christian princes continued this simulated good-feeling. The storm, however, which was gathering, broke out in that same year. Al-Manssor departed for Seville with his army, and, crossing to the north of Merida, successively took Montanches, Santa-Cruz, Truxillo, and Placencia. From thence turning towards the east, passing beyond Talavera, he desolated the territories to the north-west of the capital. Having vainly attacked Maqueda, he marched against the city itself of Toledo, which he besieged for ten days, the environs of which he devastated (June, 1196). He then returned to his States, and retired to Seville.

It was at this juncture that the Navarrese and Leonese Kings declared themselves. Taking advantage of the weakness of Castille, by reason of the Mohammedan invasion, Alfonso IX., assisted by Saracen troops, while Sancho VII., King of Navarre, was desolating the territories of Soria and Almazan, advanced towards Terra-de-Campos, threatening the States of Castille by the north-east. But Alfonso VIII. and his allies, taking advantage of the circumstance that the King of Leon had confederated with the infidels, obtained from Pope Celestine III. a bull in which the Pontiff excommunicated Alfonso IX. and Pedro Fernandes for this criminal proceeding, making general the indulgences granted equally to those who should combat the Leonese Prince, or made war against the Mussalmans of Spain, or

enlisted in the Crusades to Palestine. Besides this, the Pope absolved the subjects of that monarch, should he persist in introducing the Saracens into his dominions from the obedience due to him; and in the bull especially directed to Sancho I. he permitted him to incorporate with his crown all that he should withdraw from the King of Leon by whatever means, and without his having any right to claim it again. In this way the Kings of Castille, Portugal, and Aragon attained to counteract by moral force the material forces which the dreaded alliance with Al-Manssor had invested their adversary, and which, perchance, was no less efficacious than resulted from the fulminating declarations of Rome.

Between Sancho I. and Alfonso IX. hostilities had already broken out in August, 1196, the former marching to the districts of Alemdouro, to strengthen newly established municipalities, and otherwise prepare himself to invade the territories of his adversary, and annex to his own dominions a portion of his, warranted by the concessions of Celestine III., which he had previously obtained. The war became more violent during the following year, probably when the terrible sentence arrived from the Pope which separated the Leonese King from the communion of the faithful, and incited his subjects to disobedience.

Sancho I., who had returned to the capital, again quitted Coimbra for the north, and besieged Tuy, which surrendered, whether from the effects of this conquest or from the impression which the bull of Celestine produced; but there were some in Galicia who broke their oaths of allegiance to Alfonso IX.; and if we credit the chronicles of the nation, the Portuguese invasion extended far beyond Tuy, the towns of Sampaio, Lobios, and Pontevedra being reduced to submission. Authentic memoirs are wanting to confirm this, but it is in every way probable if we consider that the King of Leon could ill afford to resist Sancho I. when he was at open war with the armies of Aragon and Castille, which, penetrating the eastern frontiers, took many important places, in spite of the auxiliary troops sent by Al-Manssor, and which were broken up.

Meanwhile Yacub returned to invade the provinces of Castille, and after a new attempt against Toledo, and destroying various towns and castles, and otherwise effecting incalculable devastations, he retired to Seville, loaded with spoils. According to Ibn Khaldun, the Christian princes then sent him proposals for a truce, which he accepted, delivering up to Abu Rabi and to Abu Abdullah, sons of his brother Abul

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Hafss, the government of Badajoz and of the Gharb. He departed to Africa in 1198, where he died the following year.

The narrative of the African historian is confirmed by the Christian memoirs. As a fact, we know that Alfonso VIII. of Castille effected a suspension of hostilities with Al-Manssor, in order to employ all his forces against the Leonese and the Navarrese; but these truces, which, to all appearance, ought to have induced an increase of violence in the deplorable wrestling of the Christian princes, produced, on the contrary, a momentary peace between them. Deprived of the co-operation of the Saracens, Alfonso IX., who saw himself attacked on the west by the Portuguese, and on the south and east by the united forces of Castillians and Aragonese, proposed to marry the Infanta Berengaria, daughter of the King of Castille. The prince refused, but eventually yielded through the intervention of the Queen D. Leonor, his wife. The marriage was celebrated in 1197, at Valladolid, and Alfonso VIII. restored to his relative all the places he had conquered.

This treaty of pacification included the King of Portugal and the rest of the belligerent princes, but Alfonso VIII. soon broke it as regards the King of Navarre. Leagued with the King of Aragon, both entered into the dominions of Sancho VII., devastating and taking possession of many places. In consequence of this, or from some other motive unknown to us, war was kindled between the Leonese and Castillian princes, whose mutual ill-will was barely disguised in the family treaty entered into a few months previously. Alfonso VIII. passed the frontiers of Leon, and took several castles; but Alfonso IX. was proceeding against his father-in-law with a powerful army, when Pedro Fernandes de Castro and other noblemen endeavoured, and finally obtained, to make peace between them, and thus avoid a war which would have been fatal, not only to them, but likewise for Christian Spain.

While these events were going on, the Saracens, notwithstanding the victories of Al-Manssor, were not calm observers of the spectacle, so pleasing to them, which the wrestling of the Christians offered. A fleet bearing various princes and prelates from Germany entered into Lisbon on their way to Palestine. Among these distinguished men were the Duke of Lower Lorena (Lothier) and Hartwic, Archbishop of Bremen. The Crusaders were warmly received into the city, Hartwic meeting with a most generous hospitality and every demonstration of esteem from the Bishop D. Sueiro.

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Probably the German Crusaders, on learning the deplorable events of the two previous years, resolved to avenge in part the evils endured by their co-religionists. Leaving Lisbon, and sailing towards the strait, they entered the port of Silves, when the German troops unexpectedly attacked the city and entered in. Convinced that Sancho I. had no means at command to uphold the city, they contented themselves by dismantling it, and re-embarked to proceed to Syria.

The silence maintained by all memoirs and national documents respecting the relations between Portugal and Leon at the end of 1197 is explained by the general events which were taking place in the Peninsula, but whether Sancho I. retained possession of Tuy and other places is not known. In 1198 discords began to rise up anew. Celestine III. died in January, and Innocent III., an individual possessing an indomitable character, ascended the Papal throne. From one of his letters, addressed to the Legate Raynerio, is deduced that Rome already knew in May that the dissensions of the princes were again springing up. The Pontiff, who enjoined him to dissolve the bonds which united the two contending parties, and compel Leon, Portugal, and Castille to come to peace, even by employing the most extreme moral means, yet in this same letter casts the seeds of hatred between the Leonese King and the Castillian. Berengaria, the second wife of Alfonso IX., was, like the first, related to that monarch, although in a lesser degree of consanguinity than D. Theresa. Celestine III. had not opposed the union, or else only did so faintly, but Innocent now exacted a separation in a terminating manner and under the severest penalties. Should the King of Leon yield to the threats of the Legate, and repudiate Berengaria, the quarrels between the two cousins, far from becoming pacified, as the Pope appeared to wish, would, on the contrary, become more violent.

It is needless to enter here into the details of the resistance of Alfonso IX. to the resolutions of the Pope, and what followed, since we do not deem them necessary to illustrate the events which took place in Portugal at that juncture. It suffices to know that the King of Castille acceded, or pretended to accede, to the decisions of the Pontiff, by declaring that he should receive back his daughter in the event of her husband repudiating her, and that the latter absolutely refused to separate himself from his wife. Political motives influenced this resistance. By the marriage settlement the castles which Alfonso IX. had dowered his Queen with would remain as hers, hence were virtually

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united to the crown of Castille; and although the Pope might render null and void the contract, and in the event of a divorce the King of Leon should resume dominion over these castles, yet Alfonso VIII. was not the prince who would permit Berengaria to be expelled from the throne, and at the same time be deprived of the dowry she had received.

We do not know whether it was owing to the efforts of Pedro Fernandes de Castro and the barons of Leon and Castille, or the admonitions and threats of the Legate Raynerio, or, again, the influence of D. Berengaria—whose political capacity was proved later on—that the tempers of the two princes, who up to that time had been enemies, were kept under control, and peace existed between them. But not so Sancho I. Although we have no records of raids effected or wars fought between the Portuguese and Leonese during the year 1198, yet the internal movements of the country and the certainty of war being declared with Leon in 1199 are evident signs that the union of Sancho in the general peace was very short, and that he expected hostilities to be renewed. And, in effect, various decrees of that year reveal to us the apprehensions of the King of Portugal, and that he was striving actively to strengthen the defences of his States. Pope Innocent took advantage of the difficulties of the King of Portugal to bring forward an affair which Pope Celestine III. had vainly endeavoured to effect. This was the question of tributes to the Apostolic See. Accepting, in presence of the Legate Raynerio, the fact admitted by his father in 1143, Sancho enjoined the Master of the Hospital to forward to the Pope, by the hands of two of their knights who were proceeding to Rome, 504 *morabitinos*, which represented, at the rate of four ounces (*onças*), the tributes due from the date of the third Lateran Council.

In the midst of these negotiations, which assured him the protection of Rome, Sancho I. actively proceeded with the defence of his kingdom. He had already given in 1197 Idanha and its district to the Templars. In this year, however, he assigned to them the gift of Açafa, a vast territory which extended along the right margin of the Tagus from the district of Idanha (already assigned to them) to the west up to the Castle of Belver, which belonged to the Hospitalliers. In this donation of Açafa was also comprehended an extensive portion of Alto Alemtejo, which, it appears, the Christians were gradually peopling. He then departed for Tras-os-Montes, whose frontiers it is very probable he was

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endeavouring to fortify, when a domestic sorrow fell upon him which for a time withdrew him from the cares of war and of political affairs. The Queen D. Dulce died on the 1st of September, 1198. By her the King of Portugal had issue the Prince D. Alfonso, who succeeded him, and the two Infantes D. Pedro and D. Fernando, both celebrated in Spain and abroad for their restless, warlike character; and the Infanta D. Theresa, Queen of Leon; D. Sancha, and D. Mafalda, who afterwards married Henry I. of Castille; D. Branca, and D. Berengaria, besides others who died in infancy. Concubinage was a common vice of that time, common among princes as among the nobles, and history preserves the names of two mistresses of the King of Portugal, D. Maria Ayres de Fornellos and D. Maria Paes Ribeira. Martin Sanches, who played so conspicuous a part in the discords between Alfonso II. with Leon, was son of the first; and from the second he had five sons, one of whom, Rodrigo Sanches, also belongs to history. From these and others are descended many a noble family of Spain.

The war with Leon, which about the end of 1198 or beginning of 1199 broke out, clearly proved that the previsions of Sancho I. were not vain. Existing documents afford us but very scarce information as to the cause of this outbreak, but we know for certain that Christian blood was spilt by Christians. Alfonso IX. entered in the spring of 1199 with his troops into Portugal, to besiege Bragança, and Sancho marched against him. Whether defeated in some combat or not daring to accept it, the invaders retired. It is probable that the Leonese endeavoured about this time to rescue Tuy, which had fallen into the hands of the Portuguese, while the negotiations of Sancho I. with the Apostolic See, and the right which Innocent III. invested him with, to despoil in every possible way the King of Leon, induce us to believe that it was not restored by Portugal. Moreover, we ascribe the renewal of hostilities to this cause, although this is only a conjecture, as also that of Alfonso IX. having recovered Tuy, either by his own hand or by those of his captains.

Some vestiges are found in ancient memoirs of a battle which took place near the shores of Pinhel, on the plains called Hervas-tenras, where some illustrious knights of Portugal perished. But neither date nor details have been transmitted to us. Portuguese historians ascribe this event to the discords among the Portuguese noblemen, but it is our opinion that it had its origin with the Leonese. We know that Sancho had crossed the Coa about the middle of 1199, and attacked

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Ciudad-Rodrigo, where perished by his side Lopo Fernandes, Commander of the Temple in Portugal, and another celebrated knight, Nuno Fafes. Was the battle of Hervas-tenras fought before or after the entry of Sancho? We know not. Amid so many conflicting memoirs, we can only affirm that war raged between the two States during this year.

In order to understand the simultaneous events which subsequently took place, we must needs turn our eyes towards other nations, outside the Peninsula. Richard Cœur de Lion died in France during the assault of the Castle of Chalus (April, 1199), and his brother, Count de Mortain, known under the appellation of João Sem Terra, succeeded him. By right of representation, the existence of a nephew, Arthur, Duke of Brittany, son of an elder brother, rendered his legitimacy doubtful. To the King of England belonged, in those days, Normandy and Guienne, Poitou, Maine, Anjou, and Turraine, besides other territories. The barons of the three last provinces declared for Arthur, while Philip Augustus fanned the discord. From this proceeded a warfare which was terminated by Arthur acknowledging the sovereignty of his uncle, and by a treaty of peace entered into by the two monarchs of France and England (1200). By this treaty Blanca, the daughter of Alfonso VIII. of Castille, and niece of the King of England on his mother's side, was to wed, as she actually did, the heir to the crown of France, Prince Louis. These pacific arrangements, however, did not prevent discords from arising anew between the two nations.

The marriage of the Castillian Infanta, which was offered by the King of England as a condition to a treaty entirely foreign to the affairs of the Peninsula, might appear sufficiently strange did not some circumstances concur to somewhat explain the fact.

In the war of Portugal with Leon, Alfonso VIII. continued neutral, as we find no memoir to show us that he intervened in the wrestling between the two princes. We have ample proofs that he was at peace with his son-in-law about the year 1200, and it was only natural that he should endeavour to establish harmony with Sancho I. Meanwhile, no sooner was the death of Richard known, and that Count de Mortain was ascending the throne, than, by mutual accord, it appears, he and the King of Portugal sent ambassadors to the new monarch. The object of the messengers is not transmitted to us, but it is known that João Sem Terra delegated three persons to confer with the messengers of the King of Castille, at the same time that he wrote

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to all the ecclesiastical and civil authorities of his kingdom, advising them of the arrival of the Portuguese ambassadors, and enjoining them to receive them with the greatest demonstrations of welcome, supplying them with all they might require. This took place in June, 1199, and in the same month of the following year Prince Louis of France was to marry D. Blanca of Castille. In these facts may be traced a mutual relation; but the co-operation of Sancho in these events would be inexplicable did not Radulf of Diceto, a contemporary chronicler and a political individual who more than once mediated in the public affairs of his time, throw some light upon these events. It appears that the King of England being in Rouen arranging peace terms with Philip Augustus, the Bishop of Lisieux, William d'Estang, Radulph of Ardennes, Robert Burch, and other Norman and English noblemen were delegated to Portugal to demand in marriage for their sovereign from Sancho I. the hand of one of the Portuguese Infantas, whose fame had come to the ears of João Sem Terra.

When elevated to the throne, Count de Mortain resolved to repudiate his wife Hawista, daughter of the Count of Gloucester, and in effect obtained the decree of divorce from the condescending prelates of English France; but being a man of changeable character, self-willed and weak, he took to wife Isabel, only daughter and heiress of the Count d'Angouleme, who was betrothed to Count de la Marche, without apprising the legates sent to Portugal, thus exposing them to be made victims of the violent character of the King when he should know that he had been treated thus. In view of these facts, we can safely conjecture that either Alfonso VIII., whose talents and political genius are indisputable, or João Sem Terra himself, had conceived the design of uniting all the princes of Southern and Central Europe into a vast family alliance, and thus be the instrument for the political alliance of the respective monarchies, torn asunder by incessant wars. From these facts may likewise be deduced that, in spite of his ambition and of his aversions, the King of Portugal seconded this thought, which, as there exist no proofs to attribute to him meaner motives, we may justly call generous.

The activity of Sancho I., or rather that of his able Chancellor Julian, is, in truth, admirable when we behold the multiplied objects which at that epoch he attended to. In the midst of a violent war with Leon, he entertained grave political questions, and while promoting the foundation of towns on either side of the Tagus by delivering

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up to the military orders, especially the Templars, vast territories wherein these powerful corporations were gradually establishing villages and granges, and making allotments of land for agricultural purposes, agents departed from Portugal, charged to proceed to the central regions of Europe, and bring new colonies to supply the dearth of population in the northern provinces of the kingdom. This charge must preferably be entrusted to foreigners already established in the country, and whose relations with their own native land would naturally enable them to attract new migrations to their adopted land. The donation of Pontevel, made in 1195 to the ancient colonies of Lourinhan and Villaverde, presupposes an increase of population which was more rapid than could be due to natural development; hence we believe that these municipalities had augmented with the adventurers who came seeking their fortunes in the hospitable country. Among the provisions made in 1198 with the object of rendering the southern provinces, which had been devastated by the long and varied wrestlings of the Almohades during their recent invasions, less deserted, was the important one of inducing new colonies to come to the country. By offering these colonists advantages, two results accrued—first, they not only reclaimed the land, and rendered it fit for cultivation, but they likewise peopled it, and trained hardy men to become, later on, brave soldiers to defend the country. William, the Dean of Silves, who, it appears, remained with the Bishop Nicholas when the city was taken from the Mussalmans, and later on was expelled on the occasion of the terrible return of Yacub, passed over to Flanders, from whence he returned with a number of followers, besides others which he had enlisted, who came in the following year.

The chief or leader of this Flemish colony was Raolino (Raulin?). This colony was established on a portion of land assigned to them, which extended from Santarem to Alemquer, the limits being the fields or arable land which is fertilised by the rising of the Tagus, and known by the name of Leziras. They then founded the *villa-dos-francos* (Villa-franca), a name which was afterwards altered to Azambuja.

Raolino was appointed head alcaide, or mayor, of the new municipality, and this man, who in his own native country was poor and obscure, became honoured and enriched by the Portuguese prince, and during his long term of life he attained to see that new State which he had raised in a strange but friendly land prosperous and thriving.

When in 1191 Yacub for the second time attacked the King of

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Portugal, the Saracens advanced up to the mouth of the Tagus, along the left shore, expelling the Christians out of all that district; but instead of garrisoning the castles which stood there, they only fortified Alcacer, which therefore became the frontier and bulwark against their adversaries. The Portuguese were not long before they occupied the territory between the two deep bays of the Tagus and of the Sado, and, at least, from this resulted the re-establishment of the Friars of Santiago, in the Castle of Palmella, in the year 1210, a most important spot, on account of its military position, and the residence of the colonies of Franks brought into Portugal at the end of the twelfth century. One of these colonies peopled the place called Cezimbra, near the mouth of the Sado; but the greater number were sent to the wastes between the Tagus and the Ervedal, the centre of the municipality being in a place called Montalvo de Sor, and probably the same now called Ponte de Sor. The want of inhabitants constituted these solitudes the limits of the three important councils, or municipalities, of Santarem, Alemquer, and Lisbon, because it was to their magistrates that Sancho entrusted the distribution of sufficient land, to enable the foreigners who had come and those who were to arrive to live and maintain themselves abundantly. The wish of the King of Portugal that the colonists should be satisfied, as an incentive for other colonists and new immigrations to come, is clearly seen in his letters addressed to the three councils. He tells them that he would esteem as done to himself all the good they should do to the new-comers, and that should any aggrievance be done to any of them he would visit them with the extraordinary penalty of 6,000 *soldos*.* Besides this, he declared them exempted from paying dues throughout the kingdom, under penalty of 500 *maravedis*, to any who should exact it, the infringer to be considered a personal enemy of the King.

After the military events above related, which are entwined in the history of the foreign colonisation, the vestiges of war with Leon disappeared. Time had, in a certain sense, modified the wrath of Sancho, enkindled by the repudiation of his daughter, and perchance the fate of arms was not favourable to him. We know that in 1200 Alfonso VIII. invaded Navarre, and that his son-in-law accompanied him in this expedition with his army, from which may be concluded that hostilities had ceased between the two Kings, Leonese and Portu

* Ancient Portuguese coin.

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guese, probably through the intervention of Castille. From this epoch Sancho, although in the prime of life, turned his attention towards the internal affairs of the monarchy. It is said that a great change came over the spirit of the son of Alfonso Henry, and that fatigue and weariness were withdrawing him from the battle-field, where once he took such delight. But those who have followed the extraordinary efforts made to attract people from other lands to the country will perceive that this existence of almost incessant combats, this war-fever of three successive generations, induced by the needs of the situation and the ferocity of the times, had devoured, if not all moral energy, at least the material strength of the nation.

On the same occasion (1199), when to the Templars were distributed the vast seigniories above mentioned, on the extreme end to the east was founded an important town, not only on account of its size, but for its situation. We refer to the foundation of Guarda, which continued towards the south its line of strongholds from the western frontiers of Leonese Estremadura. This was a haughty bulwark against the enemy, whether Christian or Mussalman. Founded on one of the mountains of the Serra da Estrella, it stood forth, overlooking on all sides an extension of from fifteen to twenty leagues. Hence its position, difficult to assail, on account of its rough and rugged site, commanding the fields and valleys around it, was at the same time a watch-tower and citadel of defence. The Goths and other races which passed through the Peninsula had comprehended the military importance of that point. The name of Guarda (Ward Gard), of Teutonic origin, at once indicates that there was here a castle, or Gothic fortress, the memory of which had been preserved at the epoch of the new foundation. The limits of the territories of this town, or rather, we should say, deserts, were no less extensive than those above stated belonging to Santarem, Alemquer, and Lisbon, because while on the north-west and west it was encircled by the most ancient councils of Celorico, Linhares, Valelhas, and Covilhan, and towards the east the frontier of the Coa (*alias* river Pinhel), it was joined by the narrow strip of land which, extending towards the south, passed between the confines of Leonese Estremadura and Idanha and Açafa, until it finished in the Tagus along the Elga. The vast dimensions assigned to the new city, in harmony with the result of its charter, reveal at once that the foundation of Guarda preceded the idea of converting it into the centre of a military district, as it became of

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a diocese transferred to it from the ancient See of Egitania, or Idanha.

And while thus actively the scheme was carried out of attracting dwellers to the wilds of Beira-Baixa, the military orders, founding new towns beyond the Tagus upon territories dowered to them, joined their efforts to those of the King to acquire, under the shadow of the truce made with the Saracens in 1107, the north and west of Alemtejo, which Sancho I. had lost during the invasion of Yacub, not because the Almohades had taken possession of the land, since they barely preserved Alcaçer, on the south, to cover the province of Al-faghar, but because the scythe of devastation had razed to the ground the castles and places which had begun to rise up. Benavente was peopled at this epoch (May, 1200) by the order of Evora or Calatrava, and in the following year the foreign colonisation, and perchance the Portuguese one, to the length of the bay of the Sado, had increased to the point of municipal rights being conceded to Cezimbra.

This policy, far more prudent and enlightened than might be expected from men in that age, was, however, counterbalanced by a calamity which afflicted various regions of Europe, and which fell heavily on France and the southern peninsulas of Italy and Spain. The irregularity of the seasons in an epoch of agricultural ignorance, of continual and desolating wars, of difficulty of communication, frequently produced extraordinary seasons of famine. The people died from want and exposure; then followed epidemics and contagion, which were more destructive even than famine. At every turn we find contemporary memoirs recording the sad effects of the ruin and desolation caused by these scourgings, which were repeated frequently towards the end of the twelfth century and beginning of the thirteenth. In the year 1202, however, the want of provisions was extreme. A contemporary writer informs us that famine spread all over the globe, and desolated France, Italy, and Spain. National memoirs record with horror this terrible scourge of God, assuring us that it exceeded the greatest ever witnessed. Wailing and lamentation rose up on every side, and death furiously claimed men and beasts. To the incessant wars with diverse nations, the deficiency of population, and the devastations of the Saracens was added this terrible and irremediable event, to further cut down the inhabitants of the Peninsula.

Had not national monuments preserved the remembrance of this great calamity, it would be less easy to explain the long spell of tran-

quillity enjoyed by Portugal in relation to the border counties, and the increasing energy manifested for filling in the spaces left void by the decrease of population. The country, already sufficiently exhausted, must have remained, after the famine, fearfully barren. From thence to 1208, efforts were redoubled to continue the work commenced, and Sancho went from province to province, through the whole of his kingdom. While he distributed lands to those who had served him well, the properties of the various monasteries were extended, although not so generously as his father had done. In some parts the noblemen and prelates were charged to found new towns in the interior of the country, or to repair the castles on the frontiers, while, on the other hand, the King was giving charters to the newly established councils, not only on the south, but also to the provinces of the north. Along the rugged declivities of the Mountains of Hermio, or Serra da Estrella, up to the Tagus, the preponderance of the Templars increased, and Sancho, when founding Idanha Nova, in 1205 or 1206, delivered up to them the seigniority of the rising colony. The establishment of foreigners to the north-west, and of the Templars to the north of Alemtejo, facilitated the pacific conquest of the northern line of that province—territories which the Mussalmans evidently had totally abandoned, contented to possess the districts to the south of Evora, better populated, and protected by the fortress of Alcaçer. Hence the walls of Montemor-Novo commenced to rise up (1203), while Pedro Alfonso, half-brother to the King, and whose friendship had been unalterable, received from the Crown (1200) the seigniority of the lands bathed by the Zezere, which had its rise on the west and south-west, with the preceptories of Pombal and Thomar, and where the royal castle of Monfalude was situated, established successively the councils of Arega (1201), Figueiró (1204), and Pedrogam (1206). In the fields of the ancient Belatha (Lower Estremadura), covered by foreign colonies, were laid the foundations of Alhandra, by the efforts of Bishop Sueiro of Lisbon (1203), and the King endeavoured to mix the Franks with the Portuguese, by establishing between Portevel and Azambuja the municipality of Aveiras (1207). Wandering constantly through the various provinces of Portugal, this prince, who formerly had carried death and devastation with him, now strove only to raise up villages, towns, and castles. During the latter years of his reign, in which history almost forgets him, because he had made the roar of battle and the drama of political strifes to cease, it is that existing documents speak

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more highly in favour of Sancho I.; and whether through him or through the superior intelligence of his counsellors, a greater impulse is given to the energetic development of national material forces. Charters are multiplied in *reguengos* (royal patrimonies), as well as in the Crown lands already permanently colonised without municipal institutions, and subject to the authority of noblemen (*ricos-homens*), of the military orders, and prelates. These bulwarks of popular liberty, beneath whose shadow rose up, from the ruins of former and abandoned towns, flourishing ones, and human life broke the saddened silence of deserts, are far more glorious to the successor of Alfonso I. than the roar of past wars, the motives for which do not always appear to us justifiable or legitimate.

Fortunately, external circumstances favoured the realisation of the thought which pervaded Portugal in those days. The Almohades had respected the truce offered by the Christian kings to Yacub; and if a few encounters did take place in Alemtejo, between the border Mussalmans and the Portuguese, they were so insignificant that no vestiges remain. What passed in Africa also prevented fresh troops from coming to Spain, as the only means of exciting new energies in the Andalusian Saracens, whose political decadence was as rapid as the increase of Christians was great. But in spite of this decadence on one side, and the increase on the other, if discords were weakening the Mussalmans, hatreds and civic quarrels rose up constantly amid the nations of Gothic origin; and if the aid of the Franks beyond the Pyrenees contributed to their conquests, it can be said of Portugal that the auxiliary troops sent from Africa, of well-disciplined men, to the Mussalmans were of greater value to them. Hence it was only the increase of internal energy and vigour instilled into Christian society, and the moral degeneracy of Mussalman society, that can explain the final result of that terrible strife, sustained for more than four centuries, between the sectaries of two inimical religions, which disputed the exclusive dominion of the Peninsula.

But the peaceful occupations of Sancho I. were soon broken by cares of a different kind, which covered with sorrow the declining days of his life, and perchance even shortened them. His eldest son and heir to the throne had attained the age of twenty-two, and Sancho, worn out by a life of continual agitation and perils of war, felt probably that within him had commenced the long illness which a few years later deprived him of life. The King of Castille, united to him by the bonds of a long, faithful friendship, had by his wife D. Leonor

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of England three daughters—D. Berengaria, married to the King of Leon, and now divorced; D. Urraca, and D. Blanca, who married in 1200 Prince Louis of France. D. Urraca was still unmarried, and D. Sancho endeavoured to bind still closer his friendship with Alfonso VIII. by a family alliance. D. Urraca was selected for the consort of the heir to the Portuguese throne, and the betrothal was celebrated at the end of 1208 or commencement of 1209. This event, which seemed to be a new pledge of tranquillity for Portugal, was, on the contrary, an occasion, or pretext, for violent civil discords, which embittered, in course of time, different parties, and proved the first link in the chain of combats between royal authority and the clergy, the most powerful class of the State — combats in which neither of the contenders gained much, but which retarded the moral and material progress of the country. For two years this discord continued, from 1208 to 1210, which affords little interest, and is greatly involved by diverse opinions.

Meanwhile, Alfonso IX., following the policy of Sancho, was covering the territories along the shores of the Coa with castellated towns. Of all the frontiers between Portugal and Leon, the least populated portion, and, as a consequence, the weakest, was from the confluence of Agueda with the Douro towards the south, down to the mouth of the Elga. Invasions were rendered easy for both nations along that frontier, because the want of castles, the solitude of those vast wastes, favoured unexpected raids to the Portuguese in the districts of Salamanca as in Upper Estremadura, and to the Leonese in Beira. From this dates the municipal charters of Castello-Rodrigo and of Castello-melhor, and about the same epoch were also founded the councils of Almeida, Villar maior, Castello-bom, and other places called Cima-Coa to Sabugal and Alfayates, where the sources of the Coa and of Elga descend, the first towards the north, and the second to the south, and nearly unites the frontiers. Sancho, however, notwithstanding domestic disturbances, continued to raise fresh bulwarks against the recent line of Leonese castles. In this way he erected the walls of Pinhel in the north, and Penamacor and Sortelha towards the south, opposite his adversaries. These towns, side by side of Guarda, formed on the line a species of vanguard to the castles which on the interior defended Beira. Such are Numão, Longroiva, Marialva, Trancoso, Celorico, Linhares, Gouveia, Covilhan, and, descending to the Tagus, the powerful preceptories of the Temple.

The Bishop of Oporto was endeavouring to obtain the terrible weapons of the Church from the Roman Curia, in order to combat the King of Portugal, Sancho I., who, worn out by the discords with the clergy in the person of Martinho Rodrigues, by his political cares and extreme anxiety to further and strengthen the development of the country, was now verging towards the grave ere he had turned into old age. His chronic infirmities were increasing to the point that all hope of a cure had disappeared. In this extremity, Sancho, who, in spite of his corporeal strength failing him, was still energetic in spirit, looking into the future, viewed with dread the domestic perturbations which he was bequeathing to the heir of the throne. To these considerations, and no less to the terrors of a future life, may be attributed the acts he performed at this juncture. On making his testamentary dispositions in view of death, he expressly declares his successor to be the Infante Alfonso, and distributes among his sons and daughters the large wealth he had amassed, dowering above this, in a more solemn manner, to the repudiated Queen of Leon, D. Theresa, the seigniory of Montemor-Velho and Esgueira, to D. Sancha Alemquer, and to D. Mafalda the two monasteries of Arouca and Bouças, with various lands in Seia, whose rents, it appears, his daughters already enjoyed. Besides the immense donations already assigned to the military orders, he did not forget those illustrious corporations which had rendered to him so many loyal services. With the intention of calming the excited spirit of the clergy, towards whom he had never shown himself over-favourable, and to whom the fate of the Bishop of Oporto could not be indifferent, Sancho distributed with profuse hand nearly all the large sums remaining in the treasury. Beseeching the Pope to confirm his will, he left him a legacy of 100 marks of gold, a goodly sum, which proves how greatly he valued the force ascribed to the Apostolic confirmation. The Archbishop elect of Braga, Peter, who was promoted from the See of Lamego to the metropolitan one of Galliza, on the death of Martinho Pires, the Abbots of Sancto Thyrso and Alcobaça, the Prior of Sancta Cruz, the Master of the Temple, the Prior of the Hospital, and various noblemen named executors of the will, swore to fulfil literally the dispositions therein contained. Sancho also summoned the Prince, and in his presence and that of the Archbishop D. Pedro, the Bishop of Coimbra, and the Abbot of Alcobaça, bade him take the oath. The King of Portugal seemed to mistrust the sincerity of his successor, and time proved that these suspicions were not altogether unfounded.

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This act was celebrated in October, 1209, at the juncture when the Bishop of Oporto, banished from Spain and Italy, was working to obtain means to avenge his injury. In the spring of 1210 Martinho Rodrigues returned from Rome with letters from the Pope, directed to the Bishop and others, in order to settle disputes. Sancho, already despairing of life, and his former energy weakened by suffering, bowed down his head to the storm which Rome might break over his well-nigh expiring form. The fierce and hard character which had hitherto distinguished him was giving way in view of the grave, and the most influential members of the Church watched and hovered around his dying bed. His sincere friend the Archbishop elect of Braga, who, nevertheless, did not abandon the cause of the clergy, the Bishop of Coimbra, the Abbot of Alcobaça, and the Prior of Sancta Cruz surrounded him, and daily obtained new concessions and privileges for the ecclesiastics of all hierarchies. As though wishful to escape from death, Sancho abandoned his capital, Coimbra, and went to reside a few days with the monks of Alcobaça, from whence he besought the vassals and burghers, not to fight battles, nor gold to enrich himself, but prayers and supplications. The violence of his temper disappeared. He had resolved to humble himself, and reply benignly to the banished Bishop, who addressed him a letter, along with others from the apostolic judges. In reply, the King of Portugal related the concessions made to the clergy in general, exempting its members from all military service excepting in the event of a Saracen invasion, and subjecting them solely to the payment of a tribute called *colheta (collecta)* once a year, and even so only when he should pass through their respective places. Besides this, he submitted to all the delegates might judge proper, and to do all that the Portuguese prelate should counsel him. It would be long and wearisome to follow all the intrigues and dissensions of the clergy at the time, which would alone fill a volume.

Towards the end of March, 1211, Sancho I., at the age of fifty-seven years, succumbed to the internal complaint which afflicted him. He was laid to rest beneath the vaults of Sancta Cruz, of Coimbra. The historic value of the reign of the son of Alfonso I., which lasted twenty-six years, perchance is not less than the lengthened government of his predecessor, but the characteristics of the two epochs are as different as were the gifts and tempers of the two princes. A less skilful commander than his father, without that superiority

of genius and daring which incited the founder of the monarchy to undertake great projects, Sancho I. was far from obtaining equal renown as a conqueror, although he consumed in wars of little glory and often useless the best years of his manhood. On this head neither of the kings, or the two epochs, bear comparison. At sight of the sword of Alfonso, Saracens and Christians retired in terror, the cities and castles flung open their doors, the limits of the country became widened, and the basis of the existence of Portugal, cemented with torrents of blood, becomes established firmly in the west of Spain. Sancho I., after a conquest which he soon lost, engages in barren strifes for years with Leon, and restores a portion of the north and west of Alemtejo, because the Almohades, whose decadence is already taking place, and no longer possess forces sufficient to maintain an almost useless dominion in those inhospitable barren lands, abandon them, and the Christians, principally the military orders, commence to reclaim and construct upon them castles and preceptories. But if we withdraw our eyes from the line of frontiers and behold what is done in the interior of the country, we shall find that the renown of Sancho I. is not less glorious than that of Alfonso I., and his reign stands before us as a complement to the former one. Fertilised by the ashes of the martyrs to the Gospel and the Koran, furrowed and ploughed by the steel of the combatants and the turmoil of warfare, the land of Portugal receives at the hands of Sancho the seeds of greatness and regal force in those councils which were everywhere established, in those granges and villages which were spread over districts less subject to invasions and raids, in those castles on the frontiers crowned with turrets and filled with weapons of war. The bravery which scorns death was in those days held as a trivial virtue. Without the grand thought which directed all his conquests, without the military skill and extraordinary military genius with which he supplied the deficiency of forces and resources of the monarchy he was founding, Alfonso I., in spite of all his prowess and activity, should not be considered otherwise than a fortunate knight. His son, as far as this is concerned, was not over-much favoured by fortune. He nobly avenged it, however, by labouring to acquire, and meriting as a fact, the title of Populator. History, so prone to appraise the barren crown of laurel as far more beautiful than the fertile branch of the olive-tree, treated with contempt the last years of the reign of Sancho, because this prince sought to substitute towns for deserts, and

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cultivated fields in place of wilderness—in a word, life instead of death.

The energy with which he continued this project has been already narrated, and his highest eulogium is found in the bulk of the monuments which prove his activity, and which, perchance, are only a limited portion of those which formerly existed. Whether owing to the weakened state of the country, in consequence of nearly a whole century of incessant combats, or whether from the knowledge of his own deficiency of military skill to compensate for the want of resources of Portugal against the superior forces of the Mussalmans and the Leonese, or through his own inspiration, or counselled by his favourites, among whom rises up, vaguely and dimly, the sagacious form of the Chancellor Julian—one thing is certain, that this monarch sincerely followed the system which the internal state of the country advised him, and he enabled his successors to be, if not more valiant, at least more fortunate soldiers.

Such is the just estimate due to Sancho I. as a sovereign. As an individual his moral character was not relatively bad: he was vulgar—that is to say, he had defects which were common to princes and barons at that epoch. Ignorant and credulous, because science was then supposed to be made for poor spirits; violent and irascible, because moderation is not learnt in the battle-field, where his father educated him, although he was inclined to deeds of gallantry and the pastimes of hunting. Certain facts also of his life cast over him the suspicion of covetousness, and of having amassed considerable sums by means which grieved the nation.

In effect, even supposing that he drew such spoils from the transitory conquests of Al-faghar and other entries into Leon, it is certain that these conquests entailed unavoidable expenses. If we reflect on the devastations of the territories by the enemies, the famine which destroyed the population, and the erection of so many castles, with their expenses, and the contribution to the paid municipalities, any one will be convinced that not only the nation, but the prince, must be impoverished. Sancho I. himself assures us that oftentimes the defenders of the State were themselves needing the bare necessaries of life, yet he willed nearly one million of *morabitinos*, nearly all in gold coin—that is to say, more than three million *cruzados* of actual coinage, a sum which appears well-nigh incredible when we take into account the scarcity of precious metals at that epoch.

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Wealth like this presupposes frequent rapines, or a too violent tributary system. In effect, in a law of Alfonso II. are found proofs that the King, as well as his barons, obtained at a low price the most necessary requirements of life—monstrous imposts, which may afford us an idea of other fiscal exactions. This proceeding, diametrically opposed to the scheme of repeopling the kingdom, affords us, in part, an explanation why it became useless to attempt in many places to render habitable deserted places or heaps of ruins.

But where the reign of Sancho stands with a more historic significance was in having commenced the complex and varied fact which, protracted for three centuries, constitutes the principal public feature of the Middle Ages in Portugal. We refer to the alliance of the King and the councils against the privileged classes, the clergy, and the nobility. The burghers of Oporto attacking their bishop and lord, and the officers of the Crown sequestrating his goods, expelling him ignominiously, and scorning the wrath of the members of the powerful family of Martinho Rodrigues, are a type of the resistance and ill-will that the municipalities and kings generally met from the two higher classes of the State, until the monarchy obtained from them a final and decisive victory. Sancho, forsaking the inhabitants of Oporto—transporting, so to say, his failing, dying strength to the adversary's camp, and associating himself to the clergy to assist in reducing the burgher—was offering a deplorable example to his successors. Nevertheless, history cannot condemn him, because all things indicate that the last months of his existence were a prolonged agony; and if even in our days, when religious sentiment is found attenuated and weak, there are souls who tremble at the approach of death, and bend low, not only beneath the holy and salutary terrors of religion, but even to the superstitious beliefs of infancy, which rise up importunately at that hour, how can we do less than excuse an ignorant, credulous man, born in an iron age, who sacrifices to the voice of remorse political convenience and loyalty?

END OF THIRD BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

1211—1223.

Alfonso II. succeeds Sancho I.—Prelates and Nobles assemble in Coimbra—Definite resolutions respecting the disputes between the Crown and the Clergy—Discords between the King and his brothers regarding the inheritance of Sancho I.—Departure of the Infantes Pedro and Ferdinand from Portugal—Spoliation of Mafalda: Theresa and Sancha resist—Renewal of the strifes between Christians and Mussalmans—Aid is sent to Castille—Battle of the Navas—Infantas continue to resist Alfonso II.—Civil war, and intervention of Alfonso IX.—Through the influence of Alfonso VIII. of Castille the Leonese retire—The question with the Infantas becomes judicial—The litigation is continued, and its conclusion favourable to the King—Probable causes for the goodwill of the Pope—Tributes to the Apostolic See are resolved upon—Union of the Infanta Berengaria with Waldemar of Denmark—Death of Alfonso VIII. of Castille—His successor, married to Mafalda, dies soon after—Internal state of Portugal—General confirmations and their significance—The southern frontiers and the Mussalmans—State of the East—New Crusade—A fleet from the North arrives—The project of Alcacer and its failure—Proceedings of the King Alfonso II. during and after the war—Symptoms of fresh contentions with the Ecclesiastical Orders—Discords between the Bishop of Lisbon and the favourite Dean of the King—Motives of discontent among the Clergy—Martin Sanches, the bastard son of Sancho I., becomes powerful in Leon—Suspected relations of the Archbishop of Braga, Stephen Soares, with Alfonso IX. and Martin Sanches—Policy of Alfonso II.—His journey to Compostella—Final rupture with the Archbishop—The frontiers on the North are altered, and invasion of the Leonese — Pacification — Contentions with the Clergy are continued—Entry of the Dominicans and the Franciscans—Father Sueiro Gomes—Administrative providences of the King of Portugal—Investigations are made—Their effects and complications, and resistance of the Clergy—Dying condition of the King—A reconciliation with the Archbishop of Braga is commenced—Death of Alfonso II.—His will—His system of government—Characteristics of the Prince—The internal situation of the kingdom.

Alfonso, the heir to the Crown, had attained the twenty-fifth year of his age when his father died. During the campaigns of Sancho I., whether against the Saracens or against Leon, his son, the Infante Alfonso, was too youthful to be present, and the delicate state of his

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health rendered it doubtful whether he should live to survive his father; moreover, he was assailed by a dangerous illness, and his cure was attributed to a miracle. Subsequently days of external peace came, when the attention of the King, and of the barons and knights of Portugal, were solely directed towards repopulating the land and contending with the clergy, which almost exclusively agitated the declining years of his reign. For these reasons Alfonso II. had not received the education of the battle-field and the art of warfare like Sancho I., the sole school where the sad lessons of devastation are learnt.

Scarcely had Alfonso II. commenced to reign than he took up an affair no less important to him than the mutual grievances of ecclesiastics; and taking advantage of the gathering in Coimbra of the prelates, regular and secular, of noblemen, and many other distinguished persons, he convoked a solemn *Curia*, or Cortes, where, besides providences tending to regulate the administration of justice, it was promulgated as a law of the kingdom that which Sancho I. had conceded to the clergy only as a privilege. The ecclesiastical rights, reduced to a whole since the middle of the preceding century, were now enjoined and considered inviolable, declaring whatever legislation contrary to the Church to be null. It was imposed upon the governors of the districts *(principes terræ)*, and to judges and public officials, the obligation of protecting the parishes and monasteries against the laity. The form of nominating parish priests was established in churches whose patronage belonged wholly or in part to the King, and in collegiate ones declared elective. Besides this, the clergy generally were exempted from the tributes called *colheita*, and municipal taxes from councils where the royal rights were let for a fixed sum. All individuals belonging to the clerical order were likewise exempted from the tax or contribution exacted from work, and giving lodgment to the King or his delegates. The custom of compelling widows to marry against their wish, which constituted one of the accusations against Sancho I. by the Bishop of Coimbra, was virtually abolished, the King prohibiting in his own person and that of his successors to constrain any person whatever to contract matrimony against the free-will of the contracting parties.

This extreme condescension on the part of Alfonso II., as regards the ecclesiastics, could not be sincere, since it was equivalent to condemning treaties in which he had taken part, and which were contrary to the interests of the Crown. In this way the discords which commenced during the latter end of the preceding reign were allayed as

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regards the clergy, to whom, probably, the King delivered up at once the large sums assigned by his father to the various sees and monasteries, likewise fulfilling the rescript of the Pope, in which he counsels Sancho to carry out in life the pious legacies he was bequeathing. Thus Alfonso acquired the reputation of being a pious prince, and merited from Innocent III. a bull confirming his kingdom, which was expedited in April of the following year, with a renewal of all the privileges conceded, and conditions imposed upon the former kings, the Pope not forgetting to remind him of the two marks of gold due annually to the Holy See, which on impetrating this bull the new monarch offered, acknowledging the Portuguese Crown to be tributary to the Apostolic See.

The affairs which, it appears, compelled Alfonso II. to afford the clergy these demonstrations of good-will were sufficiently grave, since he wished to pacify this powerful class and attract it to his party, or at least render the clergy indifferent to the contentions which might arise. The proceedings of D. Theresa towards Alfonso Henry during his minority, and of his towards D. Theresa, who could barely dispute the power with him, offer a sufficient proof that family bonds are but weak barriers against covetousness, ambition, or jealousy of power. Once again this observation is verified in the person of Alfonso II. He admitted with ill-will the ample legacies left by Sancho I. to his other children, legitimate or otherwise. The existence of this reluctance is perceived in the fact of an oath being exacted from him to respect the last wishes of his father; the exclusion of the Prince himself from the number of executors; the solemn promise made by these—their oath to be held as false, and traitors, should they not fulfil strictly what had been imposed upon them; and finally, all other cautions taken to remove any difficulty which might rise up to oppose the execution of the will, difficulties which only the successor to the throne could suscitate. The deep suspicions which these circumstances gave rise to are confirmed by the events which occurred during the same year in which Sancho died. The latter, as we said above, had left the seigniory of the towns of Montemor and Esgueira to his daughter D. Theresa the divorced Queen of Leon, and those of Alemquer to D. Sancha. Montemor and Alemquer were important places, perchance the most important ones from the Mondego to the Tagus, excepting Coimbra, Santarem, and Lisbon. The two Infantas, who knew the intention of their brother, and feared him, implored Innocent III. to especially confirm the

dominion of those places, a confirmation which was, moreover, virtually included in the will of the deceased King. D. Mafalda, to whom fell the monastery of Arouca and of Bouças, and, it appears, already possessed that of Tuyas, in the diocese of Oporto, impetrated likewise from the Roman Curia a title to protect her against the attempts of Alfonso.

To the prelates of Compostella, Guarda, and Lisbon was enjoined the execution of the bull in relation to Mafalda, and to the first, along with those of Zamora and Astorga, with respect to the more important inheritance of the other two Princesses. Nevertheless, the reluctance of the youthful monarch is visible in obeying the last dispositions of his father, and it is not easy in our days to say how far he intended to elude them as regards his brothers. The opinion of our gravest historians is that in what respects Theresa and Sancha their pretensions were legitimate, and this opinion, up to a certain point, is well founded. The circumstances, however, which preceded the discords of Alfonso with the Infantes Pedro and Fernando—circumstances which might inculpate or absolve the King—are unknown excepting that as soon as Sancho expired both Princes quitted Portugal. Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, the head of the most powerful family of Portugal, and who, since the death of his father, D. Mendes, had almost uninterruptedly exercised the principal offices of the State, was not only substituted by the chief ensign, Martin Fernandes, but also quitted the Court, probably left the kingdom; it is certain, however, that various noblemen were expelled from Portugal, and the alterations of names in existing documents of the noblemen who composed the Court prove to us that the nobility were not indifferent spectators of the contentions of the royal family; and even Pedro Alfonso, the bastard son of Alfonso I., and a staunch friend of the deceased monarch, seems to have abandoned his nephew. We must bear in mind that Gonçalo Mendes and Pedro Alfonso were the chief executors of Sancho, and that the legacies of the Infantes consisted solely of pecuniary value; hence it is justifiable to suppose that Alfonso II., not being able to allege against them the motives he alleged against his sisters, should refuse, under less plausible pretexts, to deliver up the sums which belonged to them. It is, therefore, no less probable that this led to the departure of the Infantes from the kingdom, and induced discords between the King and some of his nobles. D. Pedro sought protection in the Court of Leon, and D. Fernando retired to France, where his aunt Mathilde, the

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Countess of Flanders, then resided. She had come as a widow to beseech favour from Philip Augustus, King of France, against the two Baldwins, VIII. and IX., who, after the death of her husband, Philip of Alsace, had governed Flanders and Hainaut. Time passed, and their ideas became modified, until Baldwin IX., on departing to join the Crusade, judged it convenient to entrust to her, and to the Count de Namur, the tutorship of his daughter and heiress Joanna of Flanders. Baldwin died in the East, and Philip Augustus, as the suzerain of the Count, assumed the supreme tutorship of Joanna, who, accompanied by Mathilde, was taken to Paris. The daughter of Alfonso Henry was ambitious, as the history of the contentions she sustained with the successors of her husband amply proves. The arrival of the nephew opened to her the hope of regaining a great influence in Flanders, should she attain to form a matrimonial alliance between him and her pupil. She was shrewd and energetic, and, in accord with the King of France, she gained her object. The marriage was celebrated, and the exile was elevated to a brilliant position. He was a valiant warrior, and this youthful Count figured greatly in the events of Europe. The motive ascribed to him by an ancient chronicler for the dissensions he sustained with Philip Augustus, into whose hands he fell a prisoner in the battle of Bouvines, proves that he inherited the violent character of his father, but exaggerated to the bounds of brutality.

The indifferent resistance met with from men, and even brave knights such as his own brothers proved to be later on, was counterbalanced by the haughty character of the Infantas. There existed legitimate foundations against them, but their application was over-severe in this case. The pretensions of the King proceeded from the doctrine contained in the resolutions of the Councils of Toledo, which formed the preamble to the Visigothic Constitutions, wherein the political laws are laid down at the time when the existence of the monarchy commenced. By these laws the royal patrimony passed integrally from the deceased King to his successor, such property only which might be acquired previous to assuming the Crown being revertible in benefit of the children.

The changes which time and circumstances had effected in the civil and political life of the modern nations of Spain had gradually modified or rendered void the Visigothic legislation, hence it was not to be wondered at that they should have recourse to the strict interpretation of the bull of Alexander III., by which the possession of the kingdom and the dignity of kingship were confirmed to Alfonso I. and to his

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successors. In this document the Pope ordains the integrity of the dominions which comprise the new State to be respected, and restitution be made of whatsoever had been withdrawn. This sentence in the bull of 1179 was alleged against D. Mafalda, to whom her father had barely left the seigniority of some property, and two or three monasteries, over which, according to the form of confirmation of Innocent III., she could only exercise the right of patronage. The affair, however, offered another difficulty.

In order to combat skilfully in a strife wherein the forces were unequal, Mafalda had had recourse to joining her interests to the Order of the Templars. To obtain this she gave them the dominion of Bouças and other places, reserving the usufruct during her life. Resolving to lead a monastic life, she made a donation to the Hospitallers which was advantageous, since she cared little who should be her heirs, the monks or the Crown. The fear of contentions with the Order of the Hospital could not, in truth, restrain the prince from prosecuting his scheme; but the cession of D. Mafalda suscitated, as she had foreseen, grave difficulties. Alfonso II., in conformity with the peremptory customs of that age, commenced by employing force against the monks, who had at once established their residence in Bouças, in order to secure future possession. The Order appealed to the Pope, and therefore the King sent an agent to the Roman Curia to plead his cause. This agent was one Silvestre, probably the same who afterwards became Archbishop of Braga. Sent to investigate the grievance of the Hospitallers, the envoy of Portugal, in presence of the Pontiff advanced the principle which excluded the alienation of the Crown property, and likewise the circumstance that the usufruct only of the donations made by Sancho I. of those places to his daughter, and this said donation limited to the case of D. Mafalda entering the cloister, and of the King not being in his right mind when he made such a concession. Lastly, Silvestre observed that as it was forbidden to the Kings of Portugal to alienate the smallest portion of public property to the detriment of the heir to the Crown, there would be a deficit of seven thousand *morabitinos* annually in the rents of the State should the possession of the Hospitallers be legitimised. As, however, there were wanting sufficient proofs on both sides to decide the question, Innocent III. nominated the Bishops of Astorga, Burgos, and Segovia as delegates *ad hoc*, in order that, collecting all necessary information, the question should be definitely decided.

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The affair being now reduced to these terms, the King, who had taken possession of the disputed property, was now to follow, through his procurators, the long and tedious phases of a prosecution in which, in our opinion, justice was not on his side. The general principle which he supposed expressed in the bull of Alexander III. was not to be found, excepting under a forced interpretation, and the Visigothic right which offered a more solid basis he dared not to invoke. Moreover, it was no easy matter to prove that the deceased King was not of sound mind when bequeathing some property to his daughter as her patrimony. Finally, in view of the inaccuracy which existed as regards the law wherein hinged the defence of Alfonso II., it is lawful to mistrust the allegations, as far as the limitation of the concession was concerned, to be likewise incorrect. Among all the known diplomas of Sancho I., in none is found the donation to D. Mafalda, excepting in the last testament of that prince, in which, willingly, fully, and simply, it being visible in that of 1188, a period when most certainly Sancho was not of unsound mind, the intention he had of making perpetual concessions to his daughters. But be what it may, it is a fact that as regards Bouças, Mafalda was despoiled of the paternal inheritance.

The system adopted by the King of Portugal to take possession of the lands of his sister, in order to ventilate the question of right later on, was convenient, but it had its disadvantages; and if in the case of the contention with the Hospitallers it worked well, nevertheless in the case of Theresa and Sancha it bore evil results. Under the same pretexts which he employed to deny the right of his father to bequeath in benefit of Mafalda the patronage and lands which he had left, did he refuse to acknowledge the seigniority of the towns and castles of Aveiras, Montemor, and Alemquer, bequeathed to his elder sisters. The commencement of the wrestling, as often happens, was obscure. If we view the proceeding of the King relatively to the question of the seigniority of Bouças, we are led to believe that he followed, as regards other places he strove to retain, the same plan, and that he essayed to do so by means of the alcaides who resided there or through influential knights of the respective places. It appears, however, that the partisans of the Infantas took possession of these castles, and persecuted those who favoured the King. The strife was enkindled; but Alfonso II. did not at once employ open force, because perchance he felt that his pretensions were not altogether justifiable. An unforeseen

circumstance enabled him, in spite of himself, to give to these pretensions a more solid foundation, circumscribing them, and up to a certain point hiding its violence beneath the cloak of moderation. What was passing in Spain between the Saracens and the Christians produced this favourable circumstance.

We spoke in the preceding Book of the events which had taken place in the empire of the Almohades during the first eight or nine years of the government of Annasir, the successor of Yacub. The disturbances of Africa and the war with the Ibn Ghaniyyahs had occupied the whole attention of the Emperor of Morocco, while the King of Castille, who, of all the Christian princes of Spain, was the enemy most to be feared, took advantage of the occasion to commence crushing the power of the Almohades on this side of the strait. Brave, clear-sighted, and energetic, the state of affairs and the experience acquired by age had invested him with prudence, and he had for a long time weighed in his mind how to obtain a complete reparation for the defeat suffered in Alarcos. After this fearful expedition he did not lose hopes of the future, contenting himself with saying, "The sons have avenged the blood spilt by the fathers." This idea had never left him, and the occasion for vengeance had come. The truce entered into with the terrible Al-Manssor in 1197 expired, and peace, in appearance at least, existed between him and the other Christian princes. The kingdom of Castille was now strong and respected, and a firm alliance bound Alfonso VIII. to the Kings of France and England. Rome protected it, and the Saracens of Andaluz, terrified at the presages of the storm which was brewing, invoked the aid of Annasir. The Castillian king sought a pretext for a rupture, and this was not difficult to find. On founding Mora, or Moia, on the Saracen frontier, this fact was considered by them to be equivalent to a declaration of war. When things had reached to the point desired by Alfonso VIII., he sent his son, the Infante Ferdinand, with some troops to enter by Truxillo and Montanches, while he penetrated with the bulk of his army into another quarter, and successively assailed the territories of Baeza, Andujar, and Jaen. The news of the calamities which threatened Spanish Islamism meanwhile reached Morocco. Annasir at once prepared for a *djihed*, and, furnished with a large body of troops, weapons, and ammunition of war, crossed the strait. Proceeding with his large army to Seville, he left it to besiege Salvatierra, one of the most important castles of the frontiers. When Alfonso VIII. knew of

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the siege of Salvatierra, he marched towards those parts. The forces of Annasir being superior, the King of Castille did not dare to attack them. The garrison of the castle losing all hopes of aid, after defending it for some months, at length succumbed. But a deeper blow wounded the heart of the monarch: his son Ferdinand, and the heir to the throne, was attacked by a sudden illness, and died soon after. Nevertheless, his grief was unable to soften the spirit of Alfonso to the degree of giving up his project. After sustaining the campaign for some time, and reducing various Mussalman castles, he only ceased with the coming of winter. During that period of enforced repose, while calling to arms all his subjects and invoking the aid of the neighbouring princes, he sent messengers to France and Rome, charged with enlisting for Spain foreign soldiers to increase his forces. On all sides he met with assistance; the Pope gave such demonstrations as he usually did when enlisting soldiers for the expeditions to Palestine, and numerous bodies of men crossed the Pyrenees. Toledo was chosen as the meeting-place for all the corps which should compose the army, in which entered not only men from France, Italy, and other countries, but likewise Aragonese, commanded personally by the king, and the aids sent by other princes of Christian Spain. Thus in a short time the city itself and the suburbs were covered with warriors of diverse regions, full of enthusiasm and hopes.

The war, with its various mishaps, had lasted more than two years (1210 to 1212). The last act of this long and sanguinary drama was about to be acted. The Mussalmans were also preparing for an event which it was felt would prove a decisive one, and influence the future of the two inimical races. Wearied of partial combats and of weak campaigns, on both sides were collected together all their strength to decide the contention in one only battle.

On asking and receiving aid from foreign nations, and even remote ones, Alfonso VIII. had a right to expect equal aid from his relative, the youthful King of Portugal. The object of the intended war, the long and firm friendship of his father with the Castillian prince, and the family bonds which united him, compelled Alfonso II. to fly with one Portuguese troops to aid his relative, who was pledged in what might be called the common cause of Christian Spain. The King of Aragon, followed by the most illustrious knights of his States, was already marching to join the people of Castille. The King of Leon alone manifested reluctance to favour his co-religionists, and was

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suspected of being secretly in league with Annasir against the Christians. Faithful to his duty, and far from following the shameful example of Alfonso IX., the Portuguese king, besought by the Castillian to aid him, had decided to do so. But as he was not of a very bellicose character, and the state of internal affairs prevented him from leaving his kingdom, he left the charge of commanding the troops sent out to others. In view that the military orders by their institution were especially called to intervene in this faction, the Portuguese men-at-arms who had professed in these orders hastened to take part in the war, particularly the Templars, who were singular above the others for bravery, and collected together under the command of Gomes Ramires, then General or Master of the Order of the Temple throughout the Peninsula, and who sealed with his blood the victory obtained in that glorious campaign. Besides these, many knights and a vast number of soldiers departed from Portugal for Toledo. At length the Christian army, composed of such varied elements, started from Toledo and penetrated into Mussalman territory, taking possession of Malagon, and successively of Calatrava and Alarcos and the neighbouring castles. The greater part of the French volunteers, weakened and dispirited by privations and the ruggedness of the road they had to traverse under a scorching sun, abandoned the undertaking; but at this juncture the King of Navarre, who at first seemed remiss, now appeared on the field with a small but brilliant army, and the Christians, entering Sierra Morena, were preparing to attack Salvatierra, when the approach of the Emperor of the Almohades became known.

The Saracen troops had but lately taken possession of that almost inaccessible castle, while Alfonso was taking revenge for its loss by conquering many strongholds, which he submitted in his impetuous career. The camp of Annasir was already in motion against the enemies, and the two armies encountered one another on the plains of the southern declivity of the Sierra Morena, called the Navas of Tolosa. It is unnecessary te enter into the details of this battle, one of the most memorable fought in the Peninsula after it was conquered by the Arabs, because it does not properly belong to our history. It is enough to say that, according to the testimony of the Saracen writers, the loss to themselves was incalculable, and they affirm that, out of a thousand combatants, only one escaped, notwithstanding that all the forces of the Moghreb and Andaluz were gathered together.

From that terrible engagement (July, 1212) dates the decadence of

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the Mussalman dominion, in spite of a few partial advantages, becoming deep and rapid, and the routing of the Navas of Tolosa, or of Al-'akab (as it was called by Arab writers), re-echoed throughout Africa and Europe as a fearful reply to the chants of victory intoned seventeen years before by the conquerors in Alarcos.

Numerous troops from Portugal, however, distinguished themselves in that celebrated battle, and the manner they behaved is an especial event interesting to our national history, and proves at the same time the progress these forces had made. The heart of the true Portuguese beats high when, in perusing the details of the varied deeds of prowess and military skill practised by the Christian warriors recorded by foreign and contemporary writers, we find mentioned the deeds, not of the illustrious knights of Portugal or of the haughty nobility, whose only occupation was the profession of arms, but of the simple rustic villagers, condemned from their humble birth to an obscure life. Amid that multitude of men clad in steel and mounted on war-steeds and the unfurling of banners and standards, surrounded by the ranks of polished lances which glistened in the sun, the numerous but poor and rude Portuguese infantry distinguished itself by bearing the extremes of suffering, and in actively doing the hardest and heaviest service of the army, and in its impetuous bravery flung itself in the combat, as though to encounter death was as delightful as a banquet. Of what class of people was this energetic and valiant infantry composed of, which filled with astonishment one of the most eminent men of that epoch, Rodrigo de Toledo, who witnessed their alacrity and bravery? Of men from those councils organised in the cradle of the monarchy, and which with open hand our first two kings spread over the quarters of the kingdom. It was the people, strong and active, which sallied forth, because the municipal life had awakened within it the sentiment of liberty and the thought of nationality; because the chief of the monarchy was elevating them, and taking the first steps towards forming the mutual alliance of ages against the pride and brutal lawlessness of the privileged classes, converting them from dependants and vassals, almost serfs of the lords of the earth, into free subjects of the king; because, in a word, their letters of constitutional warranty, called charters, were truly contracts wherein, side by side with the duties imposed upon the burghers, were assured to them some right. The way in which the Portuguese men behaved in the battle of the Navas was not, however, the only important proof of

the development which the popular classes were already acquiring in the thirteenth century; other proofs came to confirm this, as will be seen in the course of our narrative.

Such were the events which influenced the contention of Alfonso II. with his sisters Theresa and Sancha, a contention the aspect of which was more serious than the legal defence, although useless, of the Infanta D. Mafalda. As we mentioned above, as a relative, as a knight, and as a Christian, the Portuguese prince could not honestly refuse the aid besought by the King of Castille, nevertheless the state of political affairs did not warrant him to leave his kingdom. From motives which, although we have no absolute certainty, we are convinced arose from the ill-will he manifested towards his brothers, and the contempt of the oath he had taken to fulfil the last dispositions of Sancho I., a part of the nobility declared themselves adverse to him from the commencement of his reign. These nobles, repulsed from the Portuguese Court, had followed the Infante Pedro to Leon, and naturally excited the spirit of Alfonso IX. against the King of Portugal. The King of Castille, who, it is said, was more inclined to favour Annasir than the King of Castille, had his army disengaged, and could employ it as he willed, while Alfonso II. was obliged, in order to avoid a shameful example, to send to Toledo a large number of the defenders of his kingdom. On the other hand, his sisters were in possession of the disputed castles, and manifested themselves resolved upon not yielding to simple threats. In this strait, Alfonso resorted to policy, seeking a middle term by which his pretensions should become just ones, and the interests of the Infantas be respected without breaking those of the Crown. Such at least appeared to be the intentions of the king, but we know not whether they were sincere or not. Instead of employing violence, he commenced by peacefully intimating to his sisters to deliver up the towns and castles which they illegally possessed, according to him, on the same principle which he invoked against D. Mafalda. Three times he repeated this intimation, with an interval of eight days each time. Thus nearly one month passed, which the Infantas cleverly employed in fortifying Montemor and Alemquer, and both taking refuge with their sister D. Branca in the first castle, besought aid from the knights exiled in Leon. Some of these, at whose head, it appears, was the former chief major-domo of Sancho I., Gonçalo Mendes, crossing the Beira, came with some men-at-arms and Portuguese and Leonese soldiers, to cast themselves on the towns where the Infantas were, and

instil daring into their partisans. In order to draw towards them the burghers of Montemor and of Alemquer, the sisters Theresa and Sancha reformed the charter of these towns, remitted a part of the tributes, and increased the privileges and municipal exemptions. Hence Alfonso II. was compelled to have recourse to arms.

While he marched against Montemor, Esgueira was probably occupied by his own, while a portion of the royal troops proceeded to Alemquer. After devastating the neighbourhood of the castle and spilling some blood, Alfonso sent to D. Theresa conciliatory proposals. He offered to deliver up Montemor to a nobleman worthy of his confidence and that of D. Theresa, to whom he, the King, would assign a fixed salary, and while acknowledging in the castle the supreme dominion of the Crown, should deliver up to her all the rents of the town. But their spirits were irritated, and this moderate proposal was entirely repulsed. At length the partisans of the Infantas flung off the mask completely, and proclaimed the King of Leon, breaking out in derisive shouts against their prince. The plot which had been arranged was now manifested. Alfonso IX., who had taken advantage of the departure of the King of Castille for the campaign against the Saracens to take possession of various places on the frontier of Castille, suddenly turned his army against Portugal. A Leonese army, commanded personally by the King, and accompanied by his son, D. Fernando —born to him by the Queen D. Theresa, who was now besieged in Montemor—the exiled D. Pedro, and the renowned Pedro Fernandes de Castro, were unexpectedly proceeding towards the frontiers of Alemdouro. The civil war which was imminent had drawn to the Mondego the Portuguese forces that had become so greatly diminished by the aid given to Alfonso VIII. Up to this moment no fear or suspicion existed that Leon intended to break peace with Portugal. The influence, however, of the party of the Infantas, if, as we learn by documents, had at its head the elder Sousa, would also facilitate the progress of the invading army in those districts, among its officers being a Portuguese prince. Very quickly did the most notable castles on the frontier lines north to east from Contrasta, which was destroyed up to Alva on the Douro, fall into the hands of the Leonese. Such were Melgaço Lanhoselo, Ulgoso, Balsamão, Freixo, Urros, Mós, and Sicoto. The districts of Barroso, Vinhaes, Montenegro, Chaves, Laedra, Lampazas, Aguiar, Panoias, and Miranda—that is to say, those which encircled the greater portion of the modern province of Tras-os-Montes—

were carried by fire and sword. After this, Alfonso IX. delivering up to the Infante D. Pedro one of the castles submitted, and the rest to Leonese Alcaides, proceeded vigorously to war.

The northern provinces being now invaded, and civil discords enkindled in the heart of his kingdom, Alfonso II. found himself in a difficult position, since he was deprived of the forces which were combating in Andalus, and was paying dearly for his want of fraternal piety, and for breaking the oath made to his father. The memoirs of that time do not offer us circumstantially, and with absolute certainty, the system of defence adopted by the King of Portugal. From them we barely learn that he marched to Alemdouro, probably when he knew of the approach of the Leonese, or leaving some troops to oppose any attempt from the garrisons of Montemor and Alemquer, sending the rest of his forces to repel the invasion. Alfonso lost, either through him or more probably by his generals, a battle in Valdevez, on the same site where his grandfather obtained from the Emperor Alfonso VII. the brilliant advantages which enabled him to take the royal title. Victorious in Alto Minho, having as allies the members of the family of his adversary and a part of the Portuguese nobility, who, sacrificing the love of their native land for domestic dislikes, were proclaiming in the south of the kingdom the dominion of a foreign prince, Alfonso IX., the concealed confederate of the Saracens, the old and deep-rooted enemy of Sancho I. and of his son, perchance felt his heart swell with the hope of reducing to its utter ruin that small monarchy of the west which was such an undesirable neighbour. In the supposition that Alfonso VIII. was defeated in the gigantic wrestling with Annasir, there was nothing to prevent the progress of the Leonese arms in Portugal. The troops sent by Alfonso II. to his relative being annihilated or dispersed, and reduced to defending his own State against the Amir-al-Mumenin, it was impossible that the Portuguese King could resist, for any length of time, the revolt which threatened him in the centre of his kingdom, the conquering army in Valdevez which was constraining him on the north, and the attempts made in the frontiers of Lower Beira, where, it seems, the rural knights and the men of the Leonese Council of Galisteu were invading the territory of Sortelha, and engaging in deadly combats.

The battle of the Navas, however, won by the united armies of Castille, Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal, not only saved Christian Spain from one of the most fearful invasions which threatened to open the

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road to a speedy and permanent residence of Islamism, but likewise influenced in a decisive manner the critical situation of Alfonso II., and saved him when on the brink of an abyss. The King of Castille departed from the Navas three days after the great battle, and took possession of the Castles of Vilche, Ferral, Baños, and Tolosa. Following up his victorious march, he proceeded towards the east, along the right margin of the Guadalquiver, entered into Baeza, which the Saracens had abandoned in order to defend Ubeda, and, in spite of some attempts at resistance, was reduced and razed to the ground. From Ubeda, where sickness had begun to break out, the army returned, *vid* Calatrava, to Toledo, towards the end of July, when the troops were dismissed, and each returned to their homes. This solution of a problem from which depended the future fate of the Christian States of the Peninsula filled with fear the Leonese King.

Although the places taken from Alfonso VIII., when in straitened circumstances, would have otherwise belonged to Leon, yet the way in which they were forcibly regained awakened the just indignation of the conquering prince. Dowered with a generous character, the joy of such an astounding triumph rendered the King of Castille still more magnanimous. Far from crushing his rival, it was he himself who offered him peace. Towards the end of 1212 commenced the preliminaries for a treaty of peace, and in the spring of 1213 it was definitely arranged. Grateful to his relative, who loyally had helped him in the hour of danger, one of the conditions laid down by Alfonso VII. to the Leonese King was the restitution of the Portuguese castles he had taken, and, as a consequence, the cessation of hostilities against Alfonso II.

Hence, while the auxiliary troops sent to Toledo returned to Portugal elated with the triumphs achieved, the wrestling on the frontiers became weaker, until it altogether ceased with the renewal of peace. Disencumbered from the foreign war, the Portuguese prince proceeded with new vigour against the sisters. The castles which they and their partisans defended were violently assaulted. The King's troops devastated the environs of Montemor and Alemquer, where the damage done by the first attempt had been great. Combated, however, with engines and all other means which the art of warfare taught, the knights and soldiers who garrisoned them, possessed by the chivalrous ideas of that epoch, fought valiantly in defence of the Infantas, who had evoked their aid. At least this is

what may be concluded from the uselessness of the force employed to terminate the contention by force of arms.

Notwithstanding the peace with Leon, and the return of the troops which had fought in the Navas, Alfonso, after some months of siege, was unable to overcome the desperate obstinacy of the rebels, and the damage would have become indefinitely protracted had not the Pope, summoning the contenders to the field of legal discussion, interposed his supreme authority in that deplorable question.

In order that the reader may better understand what passed in that lengthened litigation, and appraise the case on both sides, it is necessary to explain some facts of the social history of that period which bear upon the customs and institutions of the nation.

Up to the epoch of this narrative the lands, seigniorities, and properties possessed by the noblemen and noble knights were of two kinds. The first was that of patrimonial lands, transmitted by inheritance from father to son since before the monarchy, or obtained, whether from kings or from private individuals, by various ways, but passing afterwards into the nature of heritage from the original possessor to their sons or grandchildren. Both constituted what is called *honours*, and oftentimes *parks*, although this designation is more frequently applied to ecclesiastical lands. These lands or properties had privileges, without any of the feudal obligations common in Europe. When the King required the military services of a nobleman, or even a simple knight, he paid him, because among us feud did not exist. The second kind of seigniory or lands were tenancies, wardens, and prestimonies. This kind constituted, so to say, the coin with which the King paid for military and civil services, when he did not actually give money, which was less common, especially at the commencement of the monarchy. These tenancies became superior governments in the many districts into which the country was divided, and the noblemen (*ricos-homens*) were those to whom alone were confided such tenancies. The wardens constituted the special government of castles and castellated towns, and the alcaide (*prætor*) entered into the immediate hierarchy of the district governor (*princeps terræ, tenens*). The prestimonies were the properties, the receiving of the imposts or taxes paid by the towns, and even the seigniorial rights of granges conceded by the King to any individual for services to the nation. A great number of documents testify that the appointments of district governor and of alcaide, with the emoluments they produced, were entirely movable,

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while in the concession of prestimonies they were principally for life. Hence, up to the thirteenth century, from the holding of any public property could be perfectly distinguished the various appointments of the State, whether civil, military, or mixed, an idea which in our days would be trivial and simple, but which in feudal countries was of some importance, because not only the lands, estates, and fixed properties were constituted into feuds, but even appointments of all kinds. There were other laws concerning public charges of State which are unnecessary to state for the general reader.

There remains, however, another especial usage of those times which bears upon the cause between Alfonso and his sisters. It is that of securities (*securitates fidelitates*). When any treaty or convention of any importance was made between princes into which there might enter abuse of power, and any rupture in the conditions of the treaty, recourse was had to a powerful means to prevent any such rupture, an extreme measure, which was conducive of evil consequences, but of indisputable efficacy, and perchance the only one to obtain the desired end. If the affair was between princes of two independent States, each on his side appointed a certain number of castles whose *alcaides*, or governors, rendered themselves responsible for the execution of the convention, take the part of the foreign King, and deliver them up, should their own prince not fulfil what he promised. The same appears to have taken place sometimes in contracts thus secured by the King with eminent personages of his own kingdom. In epochs when the most solemn obligations were broken, and when, in reality, it was force alone which rendered right respected, the fear, in the first instance, of beholding his own vassals crossing over to the enemy, and in the second instance to meet a legal resistance repelling the abuse of the supreme power, served to curb the kings, who were as covetous and unbridled as their rude barons, and, like them, ready to sacrifice loyalty to caprice, vengeance, or avarice.

It is possible that the mental imbecility which Alfonso II. attributed to his father when making his last will was truly a fact, but the simple testimony of the youthful prince, who was an interested party, would be insufficient for us to believe it. Besides which, this accusation was evidently of bad faith. Were this circumstance a true fact, it would not have rendered null the words of the will in relation only to the Infantas, but all the rest would be likewise null; and as he invoked the principle that the whole of public finance was a sacred

right which ought to pass intact from king to king, he was wanting to his own duty in despoiling his successor by fulfilling the other legacies, especially those respecting the churches, monasteries, and orders, which, in truth, were excessive. Be what it may, it is certain that the provisions of that important document were explicit: Sancho left to his daughters towns, lands, patronage, and other properties as inheritance, or rather he declared and confirmed, so to say, as his last wishes, what had been a former act. As a parent and as a sovereign he could do it, as was the custom. Alfonso I. and he likewise had done the same, towards many individuals, and to this day the ancient parchments in the archives of the kingdom offer us innumerable examples. The Gothic law was put aside, to the point that the youthful prince or his chancellor, the astute Julian, who was still influential during the first years of his reign, did not dare to appeal to this law before the Pope, but contented himself with basing the supposed right on the alleged sentence in the bull of Alexander III.

In this way Alfonso II. despoiled his sister Mafalda, and wished to do the same to D. Theresa and D. Sancha. But the resolute manner they manifested in not yielding without a combat compelled the King to reduce his pretensions to more reasonable terms. The proposals offered when proceeding personally against Montemor the first time were strictly within legal terms. But fire and the sword had already done their work, and the spirits of the contenders were embittered, besides which, the Infantas had good motives for doubting the loyalty of their brother. He had commenced by affording them a proof of his future conduct. We remarked that the fact of Sancho I. exacting from him twice on oath to execute his last will evidently manifested that he doubted the intentions of his son. Not satisfied with the promises solemnly made in presence of the Archbishop of Braga and himself, the deceased King had recourse to the system of sureties, the nature of which we explained above. It was with this intention that his head major-domo, Gonçalo Mendes, and two noblemen, Lourenço Soares and Gomes Soares, were summoned to intervene in the execution of the royal testament, pledging themselves to fulfil it, and to see that it was carried out by every means. Hardly had the Infantas taken possession of the towns they had inherited, than Alfonso II., taking advantage of the changeableness of public appointments, substituted the alcaides or governors of the castles within the districts of these three noblemen, and perchance changed their own governorship also.

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The interpretation, which we give to these obscure acts in the case between the King and his sisters, is, in our opinion, the only possible one, and perfectly explains the sorrow of Gonçalo Mendes, a sorrow which drove him to follow the standard of rebellion, while his two colleagues, less scrupulous concerning their pledged word, or with less pride than the chief of the family of Sousas, joined the party of the new monarch, and thus continued in favour and power.

We said that soon after the death of Sancho I. his daughters impetrated from Rome bulls in confirmation of their respective inheritances. As soon as discords arose, Theresa and Sancha appealed to Rome against the violence of their brother; later on, while imploring the material aid of the Leonese, they sought to make use of the spiritual ones which Alfonso IX. might indirectly afford them. The Archbishop of Compostella and the Bishop of Zamora, who with the Archbishop of Braga (now deceased) had been appointed administrating executors of the testament of Sancho I., did not fail to fulminate excommunications against Alfonso II., and place Portugal under interdict, while at the same time the army of Leon was invading Minho and Tras-os-Montes.

Alfonso had recourse to the Pope also to defend himself, and other judges were appointed in the persons of the Abbots of Spina and Osseira, who were bidden to proceed to Portugal, and pledge an oath to the King that in the question at issue they would strictly fulfil the Pontifical resolution, relay the imposed interdict, and receive an equal pledge from the Infantas, exacting from the Portuguese prince that they should not be molested pending the suit, and to expel from Montemor and Alemquer all persons suspected of plotting against the King, and the castles to be delivered up to individuals who should work no evil against the King, their brother. Finally, they were enjoined to endeavour to bring the contending parties to an amicable agreement, and should their endeavours prove fruitless, to make an exact inquiry into all the particulars of the case, and transmit them to the Roman Curia, wherein the Infantas and Alfonso would have justice done to them through proper procurators.

As Innocent III. had foreseen, an agreement was not come to, and the war continued. Each party alleged damages received and rights to vindicate which they were supposed to have. Meanwhile, owing to his moderation, and the respect and fear which his recent victories had induced, the King of Castille, when compelling Alfonso IX. to live in

peace with him and with the King of Portugal, was indirectly placing D. Theresa and D. Sancha, with their adherents, in the same difficult position as Alfonso II. had found himself a short time previously. Deprived of foreign aid, and reduced to defending themselves within the walls of the two castles, the future offered them no happy solution, unless in the event of the new Apostolic judges manifesting themselves favourable, or the Pope himself. On the other hand, the King, who met with a stern resistance from the party of his sisters, and beheld a portion of the nobility declaring against him, would likewise appeal to the moral force which the goodwill or favour of the Pope might afford him. Hence both parties were necessarily better disposed to dispute judicially the affair than decide it by force of arms.

The Abbots of Spina and Osseira presented themselves in the Court of Portugal, and binding Alfonso II. to the conditions imposed by the Pontiff, proceeded to raise the interdict. Against this the Infantas appealed, on the plea that the premises with which their brother obtained this resolve from Rome were falsehoods, and demanding a fixed time and secure place to prove it. The judges were doubting, but at length they decided to accede to their petition. The King opposed this, exacting the restricted execution of the bull addressed to the two delegates, and appealing to the Pope. The case being carried before Innocent III., he ordered the Abbots of Spina and Osseira that on the King renewing the oath imposed they should raise the interdict, and compel the contenders, under pain of excommunication, to effect a truce to their violences, to repair the mutual injuries and damages done and proved, and finally that, on hearing the complaints of both sides on the contested points, and their respective proofs examined, should they be still unable to reduce them to an amicable arrangement, to instruct their counsel to refer them to the Roman Curia, where the litigants should send, at a fixed time, their procurators, to hear the definite sentence upon this matter.

Half the year of 1213 had already passed in this judicial wrestling when the resolution of the Pope came to hand; but as this was unable to terminate the litigation, it was continued for three years longer. In view of the mandate of the Pope, the interdict against the King and his kingdom was raised in January, 1214, but Alfonso was sentenced to pay a hundred and fifty thousand *morabitinos* in favour of the Infantas. The sum was a heavy one, and he refused to pay it. Once again he appealed to Rome, but the judges fulminated fresh excom-

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munications against him, and newly placed his kingdom under an interdict. Neither party was satisfied with condoning the damages effected one towards the other, but both wished to be indemnified amply for what had been suffered. A third time was this suit taken to the Roman Curia, and Innocent III. again annulled the censures, and ordered that the castles of the Infantas, where they continued to live peaceably, should be delivered up to the keeping of the Templars, in such a manner that no harm might accrue to the King or to the kingdom, under condition that Alfonso II., either in his own person or through others, should not molest them, rather defend and protect them in all they had a right to. In this commission he substituted for the Abbots of Spina and Osseira the Bishop of Burgos and the Dean of Compostella, and these determined that an inquiry should be made of the justice or injustice of starting a war, the damages to be paid by the offending party, should the other not wish to remit the indemnification. On this point Innocent III. appeared to leave the door open for new doubts, and insinuated indirectly to the judges to decide in favour of the King. Supposing, and rightly, that the testament of Sancho I. was understood only relative to the rentals of the lands bequeathed to his daughters, and not the royal and superior jurisdiction over those same lands, he ordered the Infantas to yield on that point without restriction or obstacle whatsoever, the delegates to put this sentence immediately into execution.

In this way was the intestine wrestling temporarily settled which had lasted five years, and had brought great evils upon the Peninsula. Besides the devastations effected by Alfonso II. in the lands of his sisters, and other evils resulting from this affair, devastations and evils valued at a hundred and fifty thousand *aureos* or *morabitinos*, the entry of the Leonese along the frontiers of the north, the inevitable expenses of war, and the ruin effected by the partisans of the Infantas must have produced even greater losses to the Crown. Besides this, the ill-will of the noble families divided between the two parties, necessarily produced lengthened quarrels, which were bequeathed as honourable inheritances from father to son. Illustrious blood certainly flowed in these contentions, and the tradition of times nearly contemporary records many deeds of valour. This division of the nobility, part of whom, in their ill-will, held the King as one, or rather as the principal of their adversaries, would heap opprobrium against the dynasty of Alfonso Henry, aversions which had commenced in the preceding

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reign between the relations and friends of the noble Bishop of Oporto. It was this fact which explains the hapless fate of the successor of Alfonso II., and most certainly the clergy could not have attained to expel him from Portugal had the nobility been united around the throne, and had not this powerful class felt in their souls a hatred and ill-will inherited from their fathers against the Crown.

In order to narrate the course of a litigation which was protracted till the year 1216, we omitted to refer to other political events that took place about that time, which no less concern the history of that epoch, and which we shall do now.

Of the five daughters of Sancho I., Branca and Berengaria were the youngest. Branca followed the fate of Theresa and Sancha. Mafalda, however, and Berengaria either had yielded to the will of their brother or had only offered a moderate and legal resistance. Mafalda, by reason of her timid, pious character, which, it appears, merited for her a place among the category of saints, and Berengaria, perchance because being still very young, could not mix in these sad contentions. Happier, however, than their sisters, who were combating to save the paternal inheritance, they peacefully conquered two thrones of Europe. Waldemar II., King of Denmark, on his second nuptials, chose for his consort Berengaria (1214), although it is difficult to know by what circumstances or intervention a prince of the north regions came to espouse the orphan daughter of a monarch of the extreme west. Was it due to the influence of the unfortunate Ingerburge, sister of Waldemar, and Queen of France, who had been divorced from Philip Augustus for ten years, and now was reunited? Was Waldemar the prince whom ancient memoirs tell us came at the head of the Danes in the Crusade of 1189? and did their relations with the Court of Portugal date from that epoch? In the latter hypothesis it would be, however, the nephew, and not the brother of Knud VI., who was the illustrious Crusader. In this affair did the former Countess of Flanders, Theresa, widow of Philip of Alsace, who had obtained a short time previously for her nephew Ferdinand the hand of Joanna of Flanders, intervene? We know not. It is a fact that Berengaria departed for Denmark two or three years after her father's death. The goodness of the virtuous Margaret of Bohemia, first wife of Waldemar, who was still beloved and wept for by the Danes, rendered it difficult for the new Queen to be beloved by the subjects of her husband.

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Besides which, the character of Berengaria participated in that of her father and brother; she ardently loved wealth, and the people attributed to her the new exactions which pressed upon them. More fortunate than Margaret, the Princess lived a long life, and left three sons, who successively bore the crown of Denmark. While this marriage was being effected the events which took place in Spain indirectly prepared unexpectedly that of Mafalda.

And meanwhile that the King of Portugal was engaged in civil wars, which were useless to effect the aggrandisement of his country or conduce to the glory of Christianity, the Kings of Castille and Leon were deriving the advantages of the time by collecting the fruits of the victory of the Navas, in which Alfonso IX. had had no part, and where the Portuguese troops had so daringly fought. Alfonso VIII. continued the war in the spring of 1213, and successively took various places and castles of the Saracens, meanwhile that the King of Leon, crossing his frontiers on the south, assisted by various Castillian knights who had entered the service of the prince, took possession of Alcantara, on the Tagus, and marching afterwards to the south-east, vainly assaulted Caceres. A great famine was then oppressing the Peninsula, and various other unfortunate accidents of that campaign induced a truce of peace between Christians and Mussalmans, which lasted some length of time. But Alfonso VIII., wishing, so it is said, to take advantage of this attempt to bring in his son-in-law to the military undertaking he was planning against Gascony, convoked him for a meeting in Valencia, where he proceeded to await him and discuss personally the affair. However, he was attacked on the road by a grave illness, which proved fatal, and he died in Guttierre Muñós in the district of Arevalo, where his wife and children met him. It was afterwards said that his life had been shortened by the refusal of the King of Portugal to hold the conference in the States of his father-in-law, although Palencia was the last town on the Castillian frontier. Thus ended, more full of glory than length of days, the reign of one of the greatest princes which Spain, with reason, can be proud of.

The Crown of Castille fell to an infant king. Henry, the only son left to Alfonso VIII., by D. Leonor of England, was about ten years of age. The widowed wife only survived her husband a few days, and the reins of the State appeared to be left forsaken, while it excited and favoured ambition. The repudiated Queen of Leon, Berengaria, the eldest sister of the heir to the throne, and who had, from the time of

her divorce, resided in the States of her father, was the natural protector of Henry, and, as such, she was elected. The powerful family of the Laras, however, disputed it, and the Queen had to cede the tutorship to Count Alvaro Nunes de Lara, the most celebrated member of that family. Taking the supreme power, the Count only strove to crush his rivals and render it impossible for Berengaria to regain the position she had lost. In the name of the King, whom he kept under, he practised all kinds of violent acts, not even respecting the Queen of Leon herself, whom he deprived of the seigniories which Alfonso VIII. had bequeathed, and even made to quit the Castillian territory.

Berengaria had her partisans, and the system of government adopted by the Laras was not the most proper for inducing their friendship. The tutor endeavoured to form alliances outside the kingdom, seeking for his pupil a consort who should serve as a docile instrument, the better to dominate him. Mafalda, the sister of the King of Portugal, whose sweetness of disposition, ascetic life, and ignorance of the world rendered her fitting for his scheme, and being older than the King of Castille, it was only natural that she should exercise over him a decisive predominance. On the other hand, Alfonso II. was bestirring himself to realise this marriage, and Master Vincent, the Dean of Lisbon, became his agent in Castille to effect this end. This skilful minister very quickly brought the affair to a conclusion, and Mafalda was withdrawn from the obscurity of the cloister to ascend the highest throne of Spain. Elevated to the rank of Queen, she acquired, in the eyes of her brothers, rights, if not more legitimate, at least more solid, to possess what her father had bequeathed to her. In this way, it appears, were terminated the discords with Mafalda, whom we see peacefully holding, later on, the seigniority of the monasteries and disputed properties, without any vestiges appearing that the suit was continued or concluded.

The Count Alvaro Nunes, who personally came to Portugal to arrange the union of his pupil with D. Mafalda, conducted the Portuguese Infanta to Castille, where the marriage was celebrated. But Berengaria, who foresaw the consequences of such a union, laboured actively with Innocent III. to annul it, on the plea of close relationship. The Pope condescended, and the marriage was dissolved before the youthful King arrived at an age when he could be joined to his wife. The prompt manner with which the tutor accepted the resolution

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of the Pontiff shows that he feared the ecclesiastical censures which necessarily would be fulminated in case of resistance, and would invest, with over-much force, the party of Berengaria, or else he had other designs in view, and perchance there is some foundation for the report which was spread after the divorce, that he endeavoured to continue the alliance with Portugal by soliciting for himself the hand of D. Mafalda, who, after resisting some time in Castille the pretensions of D. Alvaro, at length returned to Portugal, where she took the veil in the Monastery of Arouca, dedicating the rest of her life to the exercise of monastic virtues.

An indifferent warrior, and inspiring little fear to outsiders, the son of Sancho I. seemed to be dominated by only one desire common and natural to princes—the increase of the resources of the Crown, and the influence of royal power. What had passed during these five years must have induced the reflection of the most important question of any people, the right of property. From this no doubt proceeded in part the favour which the Infantas met with from a certain number of noblemen who followed their fortunes, principally those who feared that some day the properties obtained from the Crown by their fathers and grandsires would be disputed, which had come to them in the nature of inheritance. In truth, the contention had in a short time changed aspect. Another circumstance relative to the acquisitions of inheritance or dominical rights rose up to suscitate contentions between the Crown and individuals. The charitable institutions (such as the hospitals and asylums), the military orders, and the nobles joined the villagers, and in return for a specified sum, or of an annual one, they extended tributary properties by their personal privileges, in this way diminishing public rents. A cross erected over a non-privileged land, a sign to indicate the fact of immunity, sufficed to protect them from fiscal exactors, because, according to the shape of the crosses, or by the frames or designs, was understood that over it ruled directly an institution of charity, one of the orders of knighthood, or some nobleman. The simple fact of a son of any knight having been nursed in a family released them from tributes or taxes being demanded of them. In this there existed great abuses, to which in the Assembly of 1211 a term was endeavoured to be placed, by forbidding the hospitals to defraud the public treasury by this means, and rendering of no effect for this end all other privileges—that is to say, of the orders and nobility.

Engaged in these affairs, Alfonso II. was, of all the Christian

princes of Spain, the least troublesome adversary of the Saracens. His bellicose character and military talents were certainly far from equalling those of Alfonso Henry, and even of Sancho I. The campaign in Alemdouro against the Leonese had certainly been far from brilliant, and within his own country he had been unable to submit two of the revolted castles, in spite that they had employed all the art of warfare. During that time along the frontiers of the Gharb nothing had been undertaken excepting some obscure raids by the knights of the Temple of Santiago and Calatrava, or by the councils of the neighbourhood, the details of which have not been handed to us. The former system of multiplying preceptories or institutions of the Military Orders along the margins of the Tagus or beyond continued to be carried out. Hence the signing of the territory called Cardoso was conceded to the Templars. A certain Fernando Sanches possessed that vast inheritance, who, intending to raise over the ruins of the ancient town a new one, with the name of Villa-franca, besought the aid of the Templars, whom he made overseers of the undertaking and the rights which should result. But whether owing to his death, or because the ambitious knights took advantage of their own influence to take possession of all, it is certain that three years later (1214) the Order of the Temple received from Alfonso II. the gift of all the land, under the condition that they should establish the town that had commenced to rise up, called Castello-Branco. To the Friars of Evora was given the place called Aviz, on the right margin of Ervedal, where they erected a castle in accordance with the conditions of the donation. The hostile relations with the Mussalmans appear, however, to be confined, at that epoch, to the fortified places in the districts of the south, and from this epoch date the first vestiges of the founding of Marvão, over the ancient ruins, and of being re-peopled.

The affairs in Europe began at that juncture to awaken the warlike spirit of the Portuguese, slumbering beneath the government of a prince whose vocation certainly was not the profession of arms.

In order the better to comprehend the military events which occurred in the year 1217, it is important to glance at the situation of the Mussalman provinces of Spain. The defeat of Annasir in the memorable battle of the Navas had proved a deadly blow. The Prince of the Almohades had retired to Africa to conceal his discomfiture and humiliation in the imperial palaces of Morocco, and, as though wishful of forgetting this great calamity in a turmoil of varied sensations, he with-

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drew to his alcasar, and yielded himself up to pleasures. Indifferent to the fate of the empire, he proclaimed his son Yusuf, better known as Abu Yacub Al-Mostanser Billah, successor to the throne, and gave up the reins of government to his wasirs, and never more left his palace until his death in 1214, from poison. The imperial power continued to be held by the ministers, because Al-Montanser had not yet arrived at the age of manhood, yet the empire was at peace, as the uncles of the youthful Ameer and the wazirs watched over the preservation of the throne. But as soon as Yusuf began to govern he clearly showed that he could never save the Almohades from their downward course. His favourites were men of the lowest class, and wishing to withdraw his uncles and the esteemed sheiks from his Court, he gave them appointments to various posts in Spain and remote provinces of Africa. Abu-Mohammed Abdullah and Mohammed Abdullah Al-Mansor, brothers of Annasir, were sent with the sheik Abu Zeyd to the Peninsula, where they at once began to war against the people and to enrich themselves.

Similarly to all periods of decadence, greed of gold, the principal origin of corruption, became all-powerful; appointments were conferred or withdrawn at the price of gold, and justice or injustice ruled the day as it might suit the highest bidder. This venality irritated the spirits of their victims, and the masses began to show their discontent, and on all sides rose up rebellion, announcing a civil war, and affording a favourable opportunity to Christian princes. The luckless death of Henry of Castille, which took place 1217; the civil discords which about this time reached their height; the accession to the throne of Ferdinand III., son of Berengaria, who succeeded his father by desire of his mother, to whom the Crown appertained; the jealousy of the King of Leon, who, it is said, even offered to the daughter of Alfonso VIII. to unite himself to her by a new marriage, for which he obtained the permission of the Pope; the war, finally, which, on account of the repulsion of Berengaria, or, rather, through the ambition of Alfonso IX., broke out between the two States, all conspired to render Portugal the first to take advantage of the anarchy which reigned among the Mussalmans. It was not due to the prowess and military skill of Alfonso II., but to the warlike spirit of his subjects and the unforeseen circumstances of the time, that one of the most glorious events of our history took place which renders its pages illustrious.

For many years the affairs of the East had daily manifested a more sombre aspect, while, at the same time, the enthusiasm for the redemp-

tion of the Holy Places was becoming cooled. The Crusade of 1199, departing from its object, so to say, only served to substitute a Frankish dynasty for the Greek one on the throne of Constantinople. This fact brought about the dismemberment of the Empire of the East, and Theodore Lascaris, one of the most illustrious princes of his time, had proclaimed himself Emperor in Nicæa, while other princes rose up in diverse provinces, thus curtailing a State which was the natural barrier against Islamism and Asia, placed as a vanguard to Christianity on the frontiers of Europe. The Christian kingdom of Palestine might almost be said to be annihilated, since little else remained to it but the territories of Acre and Tyre. Besides this, the rivalry existing between the various Frankish barons who had established themselves in those places, holding seigniories more or less independent, and between the Military Orders, who considered themselves so many political potentates, frequent wars were engendered, partly civil, but these were compensated by the perturbations of the same species which weakened the Mussalmans. Meanwhile that the East offered this deplorable spectacle, the West, absorbed in analogous discords, was devouring itself, and, while following mean ambitions, gradually abandoned the predominant idea of the previous century, which had impelled Europe to rise up and proceed against Asia—a grand, sublime idea, truly, but which, in its realisation and singular form, had become badly developed, and stained by crimes and cupidity. To this state was added another project, which, without running the risk of storms and unequal battles in Syria, and against warlike people who were united together to combat the sectaries of an altogether different race, bound by the firm bonds of a common creed and nation, they could gratify their cupidity and love of warfare, a no less efficacious spur than religious enthusiasm of the Crusaders, by finding in Southern France a spoil they could partake with less risk and labour. This was the heresy of the Albigenses, the plan of whose errors, truly worthy of condemnation, hatreds and the desires of robbery and fanaticism, charged with many absurd calumnies, which, for that very reason, the crowds believed in with unalterable faith. And, in truth, the new field presented to the hunters of riches and lives was insufficient to satisfy so many bad and ignoble passions as rose up in Europe; but the expeditions beyond sea were becoming less frequent and with a lesser number of soldiers, not only on account of the more easy crusade against the heretics, but likewise because the repeated lessons of adversity received in the East

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were cooling the belief in the fond illusions which had promoted and fanned for so many years those far-distant undertakings, and were deadening the hopes of obtaining any happy and decisive result.

But the strifes and labours of many kinds were not sufficient to induce the superior genius and immense activity of Innocent III. to postpone the thought of the Crusades. The elevation of Baldwin to the throne of Constantinople (1204), while facilitating to the Apostolic See a more direct influence in the East, had been promoted by Innocent III. with the sincere object of attaining its true ends. In 1213 the Pope renewed his efforts to arrange an expedition, efforts which he continued up to the conjuncture of the Fourth Lateran Council, which was convoked that same year to meet in 1215, and which was partly held in order to impart more vigour to the scheme. He attained his end, and Europe once more was rising up to combat Asia, when death came to interrupt the glorious course of grand designs projected by Innocent III. (July, 1216). He was succeeded by Honorius III., who, although inferior in intellectual gifts to the great man who had held the reins of Europe with an iron grasp, yet followed the system of his predecessor. Without forsaking the question of the Papal supremacy above all other princes of the world, Honorius equally promoted the expedition to Syria; but the serious perturbations which agitated France and England, the persecution of the Albigenses, the emulation of the republics of Italy, the state of affairs in the greater number of countries of the West, and finally, more than all, the decrease of enthusiasm for those undertakings, was due the fact that only Hungary and Germany responded to the call of Rome to a holy war. While Andrew, the King of Hungary, followed by the Duke of Austria and other princes, barons, and prelates of the German Empire undertook with their troops the journey by land, a numerous fleet took the Crusaders from the cities of the Lower Rhine and its neighbouring provinces, departing from Wlaardingen, and sailed to the coasts of Spain to continue its route to the Mediterranean.

The Rhenish fleet, which was composed of more than two hundred ships, most of which had been fitted up by the inhabitants of Cologne, was ably and skilfully commanded by various officers, among them Count de Withe and the constable of the warriors, William, Count of Holland, the former ally of the Infante Ferdinand of Portugal and his hapless companion in the luckless affair of Bouvines. This fleet, after

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a lengthened voyage, with the loss of only one ship, with people from Manheim, which met with disaster in the English Channel, reached the port of Pharo, in Galicia, from whence the Crusaders proceeded by land to visit the Temple of Santiago. After this they re-embarked, weighed anchor, and followed along the coast towards the south, when a furious and unexpected storm broke over them and separated the ships. The constable, with a part of the fleet, entered the mouth of the Douro, but two or three of the vessels were wrecked on the bar, while the Count de Withe, running with the storm, came to seek the same shelter. At length, when it grew calm, the Crusaders sailed to the Tagus, to await in that port some of the missing vessels, meanwhile resting from a voyage which usually lasted fifteen days, but which had taken them six weeks, having left Wlaardingen on the twenty-ninth of May, and reaching Lisbon on the tenth of July, 1217.

We described in the preceding Book the result of the invasion of Yacub, in Western Gharb, in the year 1191. Although the Saracens had reconquered all the territory beyond the Tagus, they had only fortified and garrisoned the Fort Alkassr Ibn Abu Danes, abandoning the dismantled castles to the north and north-west of Chetawir. The Christians then came and occupied anew that district, and repaired the ruined fortresses. It is probable that this cost them some encounters with parties of Mussalman Almogaures, but the memoirs of the time do not tell us. We only know that the bellicose Spatharios newly possessed Palmella in the year preceding the death of Sancho I., and where the chapter of the Order resided. Palmella was the most advanced post against Alcacer, and Alcacer was the most terrible bulwark against the progress of the Christian arms on that side. It was governed by an illustrious captain who had distinguished himself in glorious enterprises, and a veteran in the profession of war—Abu-Abdullah Ibn Wasir Ach Chelbi, the same, it appears, who in 1189 sustained the memorable siege of Silves, and who assisted Yacub to reconquer it, being afterwards chosen by Annasir to the perilous, yet important charge of Wali of the district of Al-Kassr, whose capital was the key of the southern territories of the Gharb, and for that reason was called Kassr Al-Fetah (Castle of the Door, or entrance). In it the Friars of Palmella and other warriors stationed between the Sado and the Tagus had a troublesome neighbour, who did not allow them any repose. The combats were continual, and the entries were so often repeated to take captives that it was currently held to be an im-

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posed duty on that castle to send every year a hundred Christian prisoners to the Emperor of Morocco. In this violent position was the frontier of the south-west when the fleet of the Crusaders anchored in the Tagus.

Sueiro, the Bishop of Lisbon, was not only a skilful agent, but a man of great energy, and perchance more fitted to vest the hard coat of mail of the warrior than assume the vestments of priesthood. With him, at the time, was the Bishop of Evora, the Abbot of Alcobaça, and Martin, the Commander of Palmella, besides many illustrious knights and various members of the Order of the Temple and the Hospital, owing, it is probable, to the news of the arrival of the fleet, and the general idea of employing them against the Saracens attracting them to Lisbon. Sueiro gave the Crusaders a magnificent reception and open hospitality. He described to them the situation of the neighbouring frontiers, and laid stress on the fact that the summer was too far advanced for them to undertake the long voyage which they still had before them, and that they could avoid a period of ignoble idleness for the warriors of the Cross, and at the same time work deeds of glory, by combating against the Infidels to the advantage of the liberty of the Peninsula. The prelates and knights of Portugal considered the siege of Alcacer a deed worthy of such noble soldiers, because that stronghold was considered the key and principal rampart of all Moorish Spain, and it seemed as though God had brought them wandering so long about those waters, only that they should winter in Lisbon, and contribute to avenge the faith; and lastly, and perchance the best argument was, that should Alcacer fall into their hands, the spoils they should obtain would not only victual them, but also defray the expenses of the expedition.

These considerations were weighed by the Crusaders, particularly by the Counts of Holland and Withe, who well understood the difficulty of the transit, and the usefulness of reaching the Holy Land during that year, as it was certain that the Emperor and other princes of Germany, with the Germanic and Italian troops, would not yet proceed to the East. They decided to remain, but many were reluctant, and discord broke out among the Crusaders. The strongest opposition came from the Frisians, who insisted upon going forward; and being unable to convince their companions to continue the voyage, the greater number left the Tagus, with over eighty vessels. Of the two hundred ships which left Wlaardingen, a few never left the Tagus, and others returned

home, while some had been lost or disabled on the coast during the storm. After the departure of eighty, the fleet, all told, in the Tagus, was reduced to one hundred ships. It was, therefore, only with the aid of these forces that the perilous attempt of Alcacer could be undertaken.

The two prelates then commenced to preach a Crusade against the Infidels. The whole of Portugal became agitated on hearing this call for a national war, and the nation, which appeared struck dumb for ever beneath the sepulchral slab of Sancho I. and his father, now rose up and replied. The Masters of the Orders, the Abbots of Alcobaça, and other influential persons endeavoured, in the kingdom and outside it, to gather together men-at-arms. These were not vain efforts; many enlisted under the red cross, and the King of Spain, taking advantage of this rising, and following the example of Portugal, prepared to break the truces with the Saracens. Meanwhile, the Counts of Holland and of Withe, quitting the bar of Lisbon, entered the mouth of the Sado, which flows into the ocean through a vast bay. The waters of the sea, breaking along the river to beyond Alcacer, form we dare not say a lengthened port, but a canal of some extension, along which ships of medium tonnage could sail, and in the thirteenth century was even more easily navigable. By land proceeded the Bishops of Lisbon and Evora, the Commander of Palmella, with their friars, and various noblemen, forming an illustrious, though small, company of picked men. When the foreigners reached the neighbourhood of Alcacer (30 July) hostilities broke out. The vineyards which surrounded the town were destroyed, and some of the Almogaures were repulsed who attempted a skirmish, and then the Crusaders, encamping near the walls, awaited the arrival of the Portuguese. On the 3rd of August all the forces were collected together, and the assault was at once prepared. The fleet was covered by the shots, and therefore at some distance, but the camps had been pitched so near that the Mussalmans were not able to leave the circle of their walls without incurring grave risk. This circle included two lines of fortifications, flanked by many towers difficult to assault, as they crowned a cliff mountain, where, even to this day, the ruins that still subsist cause astonishment, and an involuntary shudder when gazing at them from below. The besiegers proceeded to scale it; the fig and olive trees, which surrounded the noble town like a girdle of verdure, fell beneath the blows of the axes turned into weapons of war, and served to fill up the moats. The combat was a

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fierce one, but the Mussalmans set fire to the *fachinas*, and that useless attempt was only a vain proof of bravery on both sides, causing many deaths. Then the engines of war began to work while the Christian sappers opened mines, and the Mussalmans did the same to meet them. Weakened by the subterranean works and by the working of the engines, one of the towers at length fell, but no passage was opened, because the inner wall remained intact, and blood continued to be uselessly spilt.

As soon as the report of the coming of the Crusaders and its projected undertaking reached Abu-Abdullah, he sent messengers to the other Walis of Andalus to prepare to succour that stronghold, as on its loss or preservation depended the future fate of the weakened and already limited provinces of Mussalman Spain. The defence of the empire and its own security incited the Saracen chiefs to give ear to the pleading of the brave Wali; and if we credit an Arab historian, Al-Mostanser himself, to whom was communicated the notice of the dangerous situation of Alcacer, issued imperative orders to the Walis and Sheiks of the Peninsula to fly in aid of Abu-Abdullah. In effect, not only the district governor of Badajoz marched with the troops of the Gharb and of Seville, and Cid Abu Ali, with those of the province he ruled over, but also the Walis of Jaen and Xerez, with the cavalry of Cordova and the sheiks of Sidonia, Ecija, and Carmona. This numerous army advanced unexpectedly to the environs of Alcacer, stopping at about the distance of a league from the besiegers. The Mussalman troops were calculated at fifteen thousand cavalry and forty thousand infantry, and the fear which took possession of the Crusaders on receiving the news greatly increased the danger. However, on that day aid began to arrive; some thirty-two ships, either Portuguese or some of the Crusaders dispersed by the storm, entered into the Sado. Vigilance was redoubled; the fleet was refitted, and moats and embankments were constructed around the camp. Yet fear still worked its evils, and many proposed to retire, under the plea that the original aim of that expedition was the liberation of the Sepulchre of the Redeemer, and that only in Palestine could the vows they had made be fulfilled. Fortunately, in the midst of much perturbation of spirit, aid followed quickly the danger, and hope succeeded to fear. The whole cavalry corps of the Christians did not exceed three hundred men, but during that night there arrived at the camp not only excellent corps, strong and well armed, but likewise Pedro Alvitiz, the

Master of the Temple, with his friars, the Hospitallers, and many noblemen of Portugal and Leon. There were, in all, five hundred knights, besides the soldiers who usually accompanied each nobleman to battle. In this way the Crusaders drew fresh courage to continue the siege, and the Portuguese prepared to combat the Saracens.

Nearly six weeks had elapsed since Alcacer was laid under siege. The arrival of the troops from Andaluz took place on the 10th of September, and the Christian auxiliaries had come, as we said, on that same night. On the eleventh, at daybreak, the three hundred horsemen, who from the first had assisted at the siege, sallied out with the explorers, approached the Mussalman camp, and reconnoitred every spot. For an immense distance the ground was covered with a multitude of Infidels. The latter took notice of the cavalry, which watched them, and, sounding the shout of battle, ran to pursue them. These brave men awaited them steadfastly, and a fierce skirmish was the consequence. The result could no longer be doubtful—they were a hundred to one. The Portuguese knights were compelled to retreat. Flinging their shields to their backs, to shelter themselves from the shots of the Saracens, they came at full speed upon the encampment, followed by the enemy's army. Meanwhile the five hundred knights, arrived on the previous night, leaped to their saddles, and on beholding the Saracens approaching, prepared to open the battle. The greater number were necessarily Templars, because this Order was, perchance, the most numerous of all, and also because under the command of the Master of the three kingdoms of Spain, Pedro Alvitiz, were found gathered together, with the friars of Portugal, many of Leon and Castille. The severe discipline of the Order, the solemnities practised on entering into battles, necessarily produced enthusiasm in their souls, naturally brave, and into those around them. The squadrons of the Templars, on forming for the battle, kept deep silence, which was only broken by the flutter of the *balsâc*, or bi-coloured standard (black and white), which guided them unfurled to the wind, and of the long white mantles of the knights. At the command of the Master, a trumpeter gave the signal for the combat, and the friars, raising their eyes to heaven, intoned the hymn of David, "Not to us, O Lord, not to us, but to Thy name give glory." Then lowering their lances and spurring their steeds, they cast themselves on the enemy like a tempest enveloped in whirlwinds of dust—the first to strike and the last to retire, when they were so bidden. Contemning single combats, they preferred to

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attack closed columns, and with them there was no retreat, either to defeat the enemy or die. In truth, death, to the Templar, was more beautiful than life purchased at the price of cowardice. It sufficed that he did not rise to the type of human valour, according as the veteran warriors of the Order conceived it, to be punished as feeble. The red cross, the distinctive badge of the corporation, with the white mantle upon which it was worked, was ignominiously plucked from him, and he remained separated from his brethren like an alien. He was compelled to eat his food on the bare ground, nor was he allowed to resent any injury, nor even punish a dog if it attacked him. It was only after the lapse of a year that, if the chapter judged his fault had been expiated, the culprit was allowed to buckle on the military belt, to proceed, perchance, to the war, and smother in his own blood the memory of one year of affronts and trials.

What the intellectual state was of men thus trained to an exaggerated discipline may be easily imagined. The other Orders imitated more or less the Templars; they were dominated by the same ideas, the same ardent enthusiasm, so much more ardent in proportion as those who ruled over them endeavoured to cover up all tender feelings of the heart beneath severe and sad formulas. In the camp of Alcacer had gathered together the three rival Orders—the Temple, the Hospital, and Santiago (St. James); they had judged each other; and no greater opportunity had offered itself to them to conquer with glory, or to die in a noble cause. It appears they were already beyond the river; the fever of the forthcoming combats had excited their spirits up to the pitch of delirium, and on raising their eyes to heaven to invoke God on departing there appeared to them in the immensity of space, to some a brilliant cross, which eclipsed the stars in the early morn, to others a standard, upon which was a similar cross. They could no longer doubt the victory; it was God who announced it.

The situation of the battle-field, the early morning hour, the disordered march of the Saracen army, the belief of heavenly aid by Christian knights, all favoured them. Opposite Alcacer, crossing the Sado towards the west, extends a vast field, a funeral field, where, like to many such places, posterity will have to erect an altar of expiation for the Portuguese blood spilt by Portuguese hands, when the silence of death be laid over us, and God and history shall have weighed and condemned our deplorable civil aversions. It was on those plains, probably, where the Saracens and the Christians met. The Crusaders of the

North had prevented an exit of the besieged, and a multitude of Infidels had only to oppose the military friars, the Leonese knights who had come to join their fate, whether for glory or otherwise, to that expedition, and the soldiers of Portugal. But an unforeseen circumstance favoured the latter: the sun was rising, and the Christians occupied the northern side of the field and the mountains, which at a short distance from the left margin of the river extended to the north-west. The reflection of the shields and coats of mail flashed in the eyes of the Infidels, and imparted to the small army of the Portuguese an effect which increased their size. Whether it was the effect from the same reflection of polished steel and golden shields, which multiplied the eastern light, or due to religious excitement, which formed an hallucination, but the combatants, on meeting the Mussalmans, beheld in the sky a crowd of knights in the habit of Templars, who were likewise striking the enemies. The combat was a terrible one; the Commander of Palmella, Martin, a small-made man, but brave as a lion, bending down his head, his right hand holding the standard of the Order, and in his left arm the shield, dashed into the midst of the Saracen squadrons. Peter Alvitez, the Master of the Temple, did the same, both followed by their respective friars, taking example from their superiors. The horses rear on meeting, the swords clash against each other, and shields against shields, while the helmets and *cuirasses* fall to the ground broken and crushed. The Mussalmans hesitated; amid the clouds of dust, friends and enemies become mixed together, and complete anarchy takes possession of the Saracen lines, already disordered during their rapid and lengthened march when pursuing the explorers. In the midst of the confusion the Saracen cavalry actually fought against one another, while the Christian knights, for the very reason that they were few, were safe to fall into the same error. In a short time the Andalusian troops became broken up, terror seized them, and they commenced to fly, some of the fugitives falling into the Sado. Many fell under the horses, and were trampled, and even under the feet of the infantry, many perishing without having fought. For ten miles they were pursued by the Christians, the slaughter lasting three days, leaving the Walis of Cordova and Jaen, dead on the battle-field. It was calculated that the dead numbered fourteen to fifteen thousand, besides a large number of prisoners, who, either to flatter their masters or to excuse themselves for such a shameful rout, on hearing of the aid afforded to the Christians by the aerial knights, asserted that they

likewise had beheld them and experienced their fury, which could not do otherwise than strengthen the lively faith of the soldiery in the Divine protection. Meanwhile, a fleet of thirty galleys, which the Saracens had sent to the mouth of the Sado, had encountered a fearful tempest, and after battling with the elements, became destroyed and wrecked. On proceeding to meet them, the Christian fleet only found the wide solitude of the ocean; the galleys of the enemy had either become wrecked or cast on the coast. And even in a more enlightened age so much success would render legitimate the belief in a celestial favour, much more in an epoch when credulity always endeavoured to mingle in these cruel dramas of slaughter and devastations Divine protection.

The victorious army returned to the camp, where the Crusaders awaited them. That sanguinary battle, which produced on the inhabitants of Andalus an almost similar impression as the great defeat of the Navas of Tolosa, could not move the persistence of Abu-Abdullah. Losing all hopes of aid, the brave Saracen prepared to continue the energetic resistance which for six weeks had opposed the besiegers. Still inebriated with their triumph, these rushed to assault, but they encountered in the garrison all the bravery which was wanting to the Walis altogether. Those who advanced to the walls were cast down, crushed by the logs and stones flung from the towers, or were burnt by the fire-engines, while a cloud of arrows obscured the air. Blood flowed in torrents, but the combat only ceased with the retreat of the Christians. On seeing the uselessness of their endeavours to take the stronghold by scaling it, they had recourse to their former system of springing mines. It would be idle to describe minutely the violent expedients resorted to on this occasion, which were similar to those resorted to in the taking of all fortresses, and would only be a repetition of the description in the taking of Silves and Lisbon. There were combats against the sappers, mines and counter-mines; there were bulwarks and quadrangles mined; wooden towers were constructed, from whence death fell unexpectedly upon the besieged, and battering-rams were used against the walls; in a word, every known means of defence and attack was employed, until at length, convinced that they could not sustain that mountain of ruins, Abu-Abdullah was compelled to submit. But on this occasion discord did not spread among the besiegers, as in the case of Lisbon and Silves; here there was no lack of provisions, and the complete defeat of Walis of Andaluz withdrew from

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them all fears of prolonging the siege while resistance lasted. The garrison, however, of Alcacer remained imprisoned with its head, and the inhabitants fell into the chains of slavery. Two thousand captives, the rich spoils of the sacking and possession of the key of the Gharb, were for Portugal the fruits of that glorious undertaking.

The various successes and events of this campaign, from the entry of the Crusaders to the taking of Alcacer, had consumed two months and a half (30 July to 18 October). The Prelates of Lisbon and Evora, the Master of the Temple, the Prior of the Hospital, and the Commander of Palmella, addressed a letter at once to the Pontiff, relating the causes which had moved the Crusaders to delay in Portugal, and the fortunate results of the delay. They concluded by beseeching to be allowed to keep the fleet in Lisbon for another year, during which they hoped to completely destroy the Saracens in the Peninsula, and to deign concede to the Crusaders, as well as to the Portuguese troops who should join them, the same indulgences that they would obtain were they personally to go to the Holy Land; that the twentieth part of the rents of the clergy throughout Spain be applied towards continuing the war, in the form established in a similar manner; that, finally, all those individuals forming the fleet who, by the long delay or through poverty or sickness, should be unable to continue the undertaking, to be sent back to their country with plenary remission of their sins. This letter was accompanied by another from the Count of Holland, in which, likewise, was expressed the advantages derived, and those to accrue from the further continuance of the war. He asked instructions as to whether he should accede to the wishes of the Portuguese prelates or continue the voyage. His own opinion was that in the first hypothesis the hopes raised upon the decisive effect of the war would be realised. The Count placed his confidence in Abu-Abdullah, a man, he said, illustrious among Saracens as among the Christians, and from whose influence he hoped to derive immense advantages. The motive for this hope was founded upon the fact that Abu-Abdullah, after being made prisoner, had asked and accepted baptism. They were deceived, however, in their calculations that the marvellous apparitions which had given the victory to the Christians] had produced any effect in the obdurate heart of the Saracen, or that his profane eyes had discerned from the high towers of the Alcacer the legions of aerial knights and the brilliant cross stamped on the dark sky. The conversion of the Wali was only a piece of sacri-

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legious artfulness, in order to obtain his escape and regain his liberty, a design he realised later on, and ended his life in a less glorious manner, meeting his death during the civil wars.

At the commencement of November the Rhenish fleet returned to Lisbon to await instructions from Honorius III., who refused to accede to the wishes of the prelates, of the heads of the Military Orders, and of the Count of Holland himself, whom the insolent jest of Abu-Abdullah ought to have cured of his over-confident faith in sudden conversions. According to their usual custom, the foreigners and the Portuguese disputed about the division of spoils, and the Bishop of Lisbon was the loudest in complaining. The discord, however, did not reach to a rupture, and the empty castle, almost reduced to ruins, was delivered over to its former masters, the *Spatharios*, who had lost it after it was conquered by Alfonso I. It was probably at this conjuncture that the Christian domination was extended to some other minor towns of Alemtejo, as a contemporary writer mentions. On entering into the depth of winter, the warriors of the North, prohibited from immediately continuing their voyage, remained in Lisbon, resting from the past labours and fatigue until the return of spring, when they left the hospitable shores of Portugal (31 March, 1218).

Following the narrative of one of the most notable events of that epoch, the reader accustomed to see the Portuguese princes ever leading their subjects in the hour of greatest dangers as in those of glory, will naturally desire to ask, where was Alfonso II.? He was visiting his kingdom, confirming the numberless concessions of his predecessors, and perchance annulling others; he was endeavouring to realise the thought which had directed well-nigh all the acts of his government, the direct increase of influence in the royal power. This absence of Alfonso II. from the battle-field of Alcacer, where in part the future fate of the State was exposed to the uncertainties of an unequal war, was, in truth, strange, and our historians endeavoured to excuse this prince through an illness which kept him in Coimbra. We know not from whence they draw their assertions. What we can deduce is to the contrary; and in spite of the obesity which tradition attributes to Alfonso II. (we also know not upon what foundation), he quickly withdrew from the theatre of war, departing from Lisbon, where he was residing up to May, then went to Alcobaça, from thence to Coimbra, and from Coimbra to Guimarães. In the latter town he occupied himself in issuing letters of confirmation in the month of

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August, meanwhile that his brave subjects, joined to the Crusaders of the Rhine, were combating and dying beneath the ramparts of Alcacer. Engaged in these peaceful occupations, the King of Portugal, it appears, afterwards passed along the districts of Tras-os-Montes and Beira-Alta, descending again to Trancoso, where he resided in October, and back to Coimbra in November, and proceeding to Santarem at the end of 1217. It was said that the head of the State withdrew in proportion as the clash of arms increased, and that he approached in proportion also as this clash diminished. Alfonso II. manifested himself as even more desirous of increasing his power relatively to peace than to swell the glory and fear of his name in relation to the Saracens or other princes of Christian Spain.

The Orders of knighthood and the defenders of the Portuguese frontiers, those braves who on the battle-fields of Alcacer had obtained from the Infidels such a signal victory, might take advantage of the dispirited state of the towns of the Gharb to extend the dominion of the Cross in the districts of modern Alemtejo, along whose northern lines, up to then almost deserted, had for years been slowly extending the pacific conquests of population and cultivation. The consequences, however, of the events in Alcacer had as yet not reached their termination. The brilliant picture described to the Pope by the prelates, and by William of Holland, regarding the results which should follow from the stay of the Rhenish fleet in Portugal, was reduced to the Crusaders spending six months of idle life in the midst of comforts and all the pleasures which Lisbon could offer. The political circumstances of the kingdoms of Leon and Castille, assisted by the character of the Portuguese prince, so little prone to warfare, annulled the effects of that great fact. Berengaria of Castille ceded her crown, which she had inherited through the death of her brother, to her son Alfonso IX. during that year; but the civil war with the Laras still continued, and although the Leonese King saw the right heir to the throne of Castille elevated to it, he, with unnatural ambition, continued, on the frontiers of the two countries, the war which he had essayed ere the hapless death of the youthful King Henry had taken place, under the plea that the Crown of Castille retained some strongholds which belonged to his. It was these deplorable discords which retarded the final overthrow of the Mussalman power in the Peninsula. But if ambition and mutual hatreds often prevented the Christians from deriving all the advantages of the victory, the

anarchy which reigned in the dominions of the Almohades also hindered the Saracens from repairing the common results of these frequent and serious reverses. The dynasty of Abdu-l-Mumen had degenerated, and the empire founded by him was commencing to dissolve. Al-Mostanser, the Ameer of Morocco, was a weak prince, and moreover given to voluptuousness, who never quitted his palaces, always engaged in pastimes and pleasures, and his government was entrusted to men of humble condition, among whom were his favourites, and the Walis and Sheiks of the empire refused to obey such ministers. In truth, the civil war, the certain fruit of weak and corrupt governments, did not burst out during a reign when all things were allowable; but the elements for future storms were lowering, which would break over them, and afford the Christians facilities for conquest, and, in spite of their errors, assure complete dominion over Spain.

After the campaign of Alcacer, as well as before it, the King of Portugal continued to prosecute his designs of widening the limits of royal power and increasing the public rents. To obtain this he employed a system which was both dangerous and incomplete. This was, as respected the power of the Crown, in manifesting to the possessors of lands and other State properties that all this was changeable and dependent on the will of the King, in this way setting himself, in a hostile manner more or less manifest, against the greater part of the nobility and even the clergy. As regards the increase of public finance, the system consisted in ordering the district governors to continue repopulating and cultivating the lands by letting them to one or more individuals, thus establishing a grange, a homestead, a village, rarely a town, the council which under the peculiar circumstances of that epoch alone could afford to the masses any feeling of security, joined to the love for its country as far as their semi-barbarian intelligence could understand it, uniting them by family bonds, which afforded solid strength to the throne against the clergy and against the nobles, and afforded to the throne an increase in the public treasury by establishing industries besides the practice of agriculture. Sancho I. had been covetous, and collected together large treasures, perchance illicitly, but nevertheless he was a King popular above others and municipal, and he raised up from ruins a large number of ancient towns, founded many new ones, and did not hesitate, in spite of grave reverses, to cover with colonies the most depopulated places of his kingdom. Besides this, he respected the large donations and legacies which Alfonso Henry

had bestowed on his companions in glory, to the monasteries and cathedrals. By employing a diverse policy, Alfonso II. sowed with a high wind, and gathered the tempest. The wealth distributed by Sancho among the children brought on unfraternal hatreds. The civil war consumed the best of this wealth, and the greatest devastations of the kingdom proceeded, as we have seen, and shall see further on, from the dissensions between members of the royal family. The departure of the Infantes Pedro and Ferdinand from the kingdom, the civil war enkindled within by Theresa, Sancha, and Branca, the vain complaints of Mafalda, and the attempts of the bastard, Martin Sanches, against his brother, which we shall briefly relate, would be sufficient indications to ascribe the blame of so many disasters to the avarice of an individual rather than to the proceedings of many, did not a certain number of characteristic facts of the reign of Alfonso II. define the bent of his mind. Although, in the strife with Theresa and Sancha, Alfonso II., curtailing his earlier pretensions, had the right on his side, he himself acknowledged indirectly that the principle was unjust, since he ordered that in case of his death any sums fiscally due in Portugal should be restored to Mafalda, who was now elevated to the throne of Castille (which gave her more power to sustain her rights), as soon as she should demand them.

In the midst of a system which existing documents oblige us to judge as mean and insufficient, Alfonso II., however, knew how to ward off skilfully a more formidable danger, the discords with the clergy, if we except a violent but passing contention with the Bishop of Coimbra, D. Pedro. We have seen the great concessions which he made to the Church at the commencement of his reign. The law by which he endeavoured to place a partial barrier to the increase of ecclesiastical wealth, by forbidding to monasteries and churches the acquisition of landed property by purchase, was violated with impunity or evaded. In this way he merited from the clergy many praises which were showered upon him for being a good Christian during the first years of his reign, while many curses and injuries were heaped upon his tomb by reason of his latter deeds.

On the eleventh of January, 1218, Honorius III. confirmed the possession of the Crown, and on the following April he made a splendid concession to the bishops of his kingdom. The tithes were already established in Europe, and generalised throughout Christian Spain as an institution of Divine right, a right which was later on

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controverted. These tithes varied in the objects tributed and in the quota of the tribute, but the royal rents had never been subject to that religious contribution. As a proof of his piety, Alfonso II. submitted the rents he received from the dioceses of Braga, Coimbra, Oporto, Lisbon, Viseu, Lamego, Idanha, and the part of the Bishopric of Tuy which entered within the line of Portugal, to the solution of the tithes. The Bishop of Evora, who already enjoyed this concession, was confirmed in it, and the great generosity of the prince included the monastery of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra as far as it affected Leiria, of which for many years that corporation had been in possession of the ecclesiastical dominion. The letters passed on Good Friday of 1218 were due to the pleadings of various individuals, it appears, who had a great influence over the King, among them the Dean of Lisbon, Master Vincent.

Among the many illegitimate children of Sancho I., Martin Sanches distinguished himself by the gifts most esteemed in that epoch, strength and bravery, in which few knights of Portugal could compete with him. The party he followed in the civil wars is unknown, but it is naturally supposed that he inclined towards that of the Infantas, since his name is not found among the court of Alfonso II. Nor is it known for what motive he abandoned the country, and the precise date when he left, but which seems to be about the year 1216 or 1217, when the cause of Theresa and Sancha was completely lost. Passing on to Leon, Alfonso IX. received him as one of his barons, and appointed him to govern two districts, that of Toronho, on the frontiers of Entre-Douro and Minho, and Limia, on that of Tras-os-Montes. Dissatisfied with his brother, it was natural that Martin Sanches should maintain friendly relations with the Metropolitan of Braga, who was likewise discontented. Perchance it was due to his influence that the magnificent donation of the *couto* of Ervededo, in Limia, by Alfonso IX. This bounty must, any way, have excited vivid suspicions in the breast of Alfonso II. on beholding these things done by a prince almost always adverse to Portugal, and in whom his brothers ever found open and efficacious protection, and a prelate who was his subject, and, moreover, had sustained a sharp contention with him.

If this conjuncture of facts threatened the tranquillity and security of the districts on the north, other facts induce us to believe that the Portuguese King was seeking means to avoid a war, and at the same time summon to himself the influential

barons of Alemdouro. The former major-domo of Sancho I., Mendes Sousa, had followed, as we said, the fortune of Theresa and Sancha. When the cause of the Infantas became lost he retired from public life, as well as his brothers, who followed his example, with the exception of Rodrigo Mendes, who, having leant towards the party of the prince, figures constantly among the noblemen (*ricos homens*) of Alfonso II. It is believed that to his efforts is due the reconciliation of the haughty family of the Sousas with the chief of the State.

Alfonso departed for Entre-Douro and Minho, and in the spring of 1219 was residing in Guimarães, where the four sons of Count D. Mendes newly appear among the nobles of the royal court. Followed by them, Alfonso proceeded to Santiago, under the plea of devotion, but which naturally had some political object.

To this state had affairs reached when the contention between the Church and the Throne culminated in an open war. In the process of confirmation, Alfonso II., who easily annulled whatever favours he judged unworthy, now revoked many donations made to the Church and to its members, while at the same time, and with diverse pretexts, he exacted the tribute of *colheta* from the Military Orders and the monasteries, asylums, and other charitable institutions, against the expressed conditions of the privileges which he himself promulgated. The spirit of the people became irritated at these acts, and the Archbishop convoked an assembly of prelates and other ecclesiastical personages, and in their presence scorned the proceedings of the prince who thus spurned justice and religion. Probably the harsh language of the Metropolitan would have had its desired effect, had the violence of his character permitted him to keep within the bounds of prudence; but proceeding to judge the habits of the King, he accused him of illicit amours, and of preferring adultery to conjugal affection.

The effect produced on the spirit of Alfonso by the opprobrious reprehensions of the prelate may be easily conceived. The King repelled them with indignation, and a deadly war was declared against the man who thus dared to speak, and the vexations hitherto practised were redoubled. The Archbishop was not intimidated. The major-domo, the chancellor, all those who enjoyed the confidence of the King, and even himself, were placed under the ban of anathema, and the kingdom under interdict. The consequences of these acts were such as might be expected. Alfonso ordered the patrimonial properties of Estevan Soares to be destroyed; and in order to repel any resistance, the

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municipal troops of Coimbra accompanied the public officers charged with this mission. But it did not end here. The burghers of Guimarães, commanded by two knights and the magistrates, proceeded to Braga, and took possession of the granaries and all other properties which the Metropolitan possessed there; while the latter, fulminating excommunication against the confiscators, only drew from it the destruction of the achiepiscopal granges, whose vineyards were cut down, and the orchards and forests rooted up or reduced to ashes.

The persecuted prelate had by this time appealed to Rome, but his adversary contemning the excommunications and interdict, he was forced to fly, to avoid a greater damage, and proceeded to Rome, followed by some parish priests, who left their parishioners to accompany him. When these events were known to Honorius III. he resolved to take such providences in regard to them as should be demanded in the interests of the clergy and by the pertinacity of the King of Portugal. For some days the question of the Archbishop absorbed, so to say, nearly the whole attention of the Roman chancellorship. The first act of Honorius was to deprive Alfonso II. of the advocacy of the Portuguese churches, and order all the suffragans of Braga and other prelates of the province to join together to establish a revenue for their exiled Metropolitan, to enable him to live respectably, and not be compelled, through misery, to yield the victory to the prince. The Bishop of Osma or of Palencia, and the Dean of this latter diocese, were charged with the execution of this Pontifical resolution. Meanwhile, the Pope, when writing to the King, abstained from the ordinary expressions of official benevolence, wishing for him the spirit of sounder counsel. He placed before him the faults he was guilty of, and demanded whether he judged such proceedings worthy of a Christian prince or of a tyrant. He sought to move him by examples from the history of the Bible; he terrified him with the commination of the prophets; and after admonishing him with pious reasons to repair so many grievances, he concluded by declaring that, on the contrary supposition, he would order the Bishops of Palencia, Astorga, and Tuy publicly and solemnly to publish the excommunication against him, and place the kingdom under the ban of interdiction. He concluded the letter with the more grave threat that in case these providences be useless he, the King, would be under the apprehension of the Apostolic See, by absolving his subjects from the bonds of fidelity, and excommunicating those who might resist, he should deliver up Portugal to the nobles who might

desire to possess it, legitimising this act for ever. And in effect Honorius III. wrote to the three prelates under the same terms which he announced to the King; moreover, he charged them to insist with Alfonso II. to expel from the Court the Major-domo Pedro Annes, and the Chancellor Gonçalo Mendes, the faithful adherent of the political doctrines of his predecessor. From these doctrines the evil had arisen, and the Church was the sufferer. The gall of hatred pervaded the expressions of the Pontiff regarding the Court favourites; it is said they were dictated by Stephen Soares himself, because every injurious epithet was showered upon them. To the Bishops of Astorga, Orense, and Tuy was particularly entrusted to reduce Alfonso II. not to advocate in the civil tribunals the cases relating to the resistance of the clergy to paying tribute, which was the most serious part of the affair; and in the same manner as this matter was entrusted to the three prelates, so were the Bishops of Astorga and Tuy especially charged to treat with the King concerning the personal services of the clergy, and the competence of judgment in ordinary causes, whether civil or criminal. The two bulls concerning this affair were not meant to be publicly manifested, as they are couched in comparatively moderate terms, which was the only proper tone for calming down the irritation of the King of Portugal. But all these means employed by the Pontiff to secure the victory to the Archbishops were entirely useless, and the King of Portugal remained unmoved, and affairs continued in the same state.

These events had been protracted from the end of 1218 to the beginning of 1221. If Alfonso II. was deficient in the military energy of his father, he possessed in a greater degree valour, or, rather, political daring. The lives of public men of our time, an epoch so similar to the Middle Ages in social convulsions, have many times proved that these two species of moral energy may be found separated. The storm which was lowering was now darker than during the preceding reign. Honorius was no longer satisfied with anathemas; he threatened to brandish the firebrand of war over the kingdom, to break asunder the bonds of national unity, and offer this divided and lacerated body as a prize to the ambitious ones. The King well knew that if he put his threat into effect it would not be in vain, for there were examples to prove it. Other difficulties increased this state of affairs, that perchance the clergy might suscitate occultly, but which had for its immediate cause his want of fraternal love. Notwithstanding all these dangers and threats, Alfonso did not flinch before his adversary. We shall see

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what were the new difficulties which occurred to complicate the position of the Portuguese prince.

Martin Sanches, the bastard son of Sancho I., whose valour and daring proved that the blood of his father flowed in his veins, was invested by Alfonso IX. with the supreme military authority on the frontiers of Galicia, following the northern lines of Portugal. In view of the discords existing between him and his brother, nothing was easier than to start a motive for a rupture between the two States. And this took place, though the pretext is not known; but ancient memoirs allude more or less particularly to the war which was declared between the two countries, and others also, but whose authenticity is doubtful, and attribute the blame to the Portuguese King. It is said that the men-at-arms or public officials of Alfonso II. passed the frontiers to the land of Limia, but we know not what possessions they took. Martin Sanches was absent; but on his return, and knowing of the violation of the territory entrusted to him, he twice demanded of his brother to repair the robberies perpetrated. The soldiers of the districts of Toronho and Limia and the Valley of Varonceli united themselves under the banners of their chief, and with him invaded the province of Entre-Douro and Minho, marching upon Ponte-de-Lima. The news of the preparations which were made in Galicia soon spread, and Alfonso II., with the forces of the province, was ready to resist the invasion. The two armies sighted one another; and if we credit tradition, the son of Sancho I. felt remorse to combat soldiers who moved beneath the sacred banners of the country, and therefore he sent messages to his brother, beseeching him to retire to the distance of a league, where he should not behold the royal flag waving. Alfonso II. completely satisfied his desires. Retreating with his warriors as far as the margins of the Ave, he stopped in Saint Thyrso, where, forsaking his noblemen (*ricos homens*), he took refuge in the Castle of Gaia, on the south of the Douro. For once he was generous to his brother, by retreating twelve leagues in place of one, which he had asked in order to avoid fighting against the royal standard. What has been revealed by the documents up to this time of the character of Alfonso II., which was not warlike, inclines us to suspect the tradition of the patriotic spirit of Martin Sanches to be nothing more than a fiction, to conceal or colour the shameful retreat of the prince in presence of him who knew better how to preserve the traditions of valour of their common predecessors. But it is said that the Portuguese officers, on leaving

St. Thyrso, again advanced towards the north, while Martin Sanches entered into Barcellos. Mem Gonçalves de Sousa, a son of Gonçalo Mendes, and João Peres da Maia, Gil Vasques de Soverosa, and other barons of Alemdouro who were leading the troops of Portugal, halted at a distance of a league. The haughty master of the frontier having refused to send Martin Sanches some victualling which he had ordered, he marched against them. A combat took place near the Monastery of Varzea, where some deeds of valour took place, and João Peres da Maia with his lance actually cast down seven knights of Galicia; but at length the Portuguese had to give in to the impetuous arm of the dauntless bastard. They retired to Braga, pursued by the conquerors, and Gil Vasques was one of those who covered the rear-guard. He was assailed by Martin Sanches, who struck the sword from his hand. The prisoner was his step-father, having married D. Maria Ayres de Fornelos after the death of Sancho I. Martin Sanches contented himself with disarming him, and generously allowed him to go free.

In vain did the vanquished attempt to improve their position. They were successively defeated near Braga and Guimarães, and compelled to enclose themselves within the walls of this town, and from thence witness the Leonese soldiers devastating and robbing with impunity the suburbs, while Alfonso IX., without whose knowledge or consent his frontier chiefs of Toronho and Limia would not have attempted the war, was entering Tras-os-Montes and taking Chaves. But whether the Leonese judged that the affront was avenged, or Alfonso II. offered reparation for the injuries, but peace was again established between the two States, leaving, however, the King of Leon master of Chaves, which was only restored in the reign of Sancho II.; and this retention of Chaves was done under the pretext of security for the lands of the Infanta Queen D. Theresa, who, jointly with D. Sancha, had renewed litigation with their brother, in presence of Honorius III., and to resolve which the Pope nominated the Bishops of Burgos and Lugo and the Dean of Compostella its judges. Martin Sanches then returned to Galicia rich with spoils, and on the subsequent year he was put at the head of the Leonese army against the Saracens, to win more honoured laurels in the battle of Tejada, where he obtained a celebrated victory.

These events coincided (1220—1222) with the contentions between the Archbishop of Braga and the King, and doubtless aggravated the temper of the prince against the clergy, who favoured the Metropolitan.

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The rigorous discipline of the monastic life had become relaxed throughout Europe since the tenth century, and even before that date. From the need of placing barriers to that moral decadence rose up reformations in the shape of new regular Orders, which, by establishing the former primitive rules of a monastic life, renewed for some years the holiness of religious institutions, until these again became relaxed, and new reforms were rendered necessary. Thus successively appeared the Cluniacs, the Camaldoli, the Carthusians, the Cistercians, the Premonstrants, and many other Orders, too numerous to mention, but which, however, at the commencement of the thirteenth century had become more or less relaxed. The monastic life was in those days of great service, and in certain relations even a necessity, yet it was verging towards dissolution. It became needful to restore it, to win it back to its primitive purity, to place in the centre of society efficacious and actual examples of the abnegation of the ancient anchorets; but how effect the speedy conversion of so many perverted lives? At this critical moment there were not wanting in the Church competent individuals to work this, and save one of the principal elements of her strength. While with clear intelligence Innocence III. was occupying the pontifical throne, and labouring to maintain the integrity and power of the priestly hierarchy, two other individuals were coming forth from the surrounding obscurity to unfurl anew the standard, and induce their brethren to embrace the rigorous poverty which had been expelled from the monastic congregations, by instituting the mendicant communities. The names of these two individuals are well known—Francis of Assisium and Dominic of Gusman—the first a humble but well-to-do burgher of Italy, who, after his conversion to Mysticism, trod the path of mortification with equal ardour as he had formerly done when following the wide road of pleasures; the second a noble, haughty Spaniard, already invested with ecclesiastical dignities, who now undertook the work of reform without losing the characteristics of his race. Austere and unbending, whose grandsires had always combated against the Saracens, wielding the sword in one hand, and brandishing a firebrand in the other, it might be said that he knew no other way of combating those who did not believe with him.

Such were the founders of the two Orders of Friars Minors, or Franciscans, and the Order of Preachers, or Dominicans. The Franciscans were confirmed by Innocent III., in 1210, and the Dominicans by Honorius III., in 1216. Both Orders rapidly spread

through Europe, and Portugal was one of the first which established convents of both Orders in the kingdom, where the Franciscans and the Dominicans obtained great popularity. The ancient congregations were privileged bodies, rich and powerful, and therefore naturally allied to the nobility, while these new Orders, particularly the Minors, were poor, despised, and scorned by the higher clergy, humble and plain in their habitations, in their dress, in their food, and, as a consequence, became popular. The Franciscans and the Dominicans, in a country like Portugal at that epoch, essentially municipal, would have become the true tribunals of the masses, had not the Roman Curia foreseen their future influence, and endeavoured at once to take advantage of it as an instrument for its own power. With the exception of abnegation of riches and austerity of life, the institutions of the two Orders were imitations of the ancient ones, but in the hierarchical system of their internal government they were totally different. In monastic Orders there existed the system of affiliation: the oldest monastery in which was first established the institution remained the centre of the association; and others, which embraced this institution, or were filled by members of that species of seminary, were considered as affiliated to it. In it resided the head, and in it were convened the assemblies for deliberations called general chapters. The reformer of Assisi was, however, a man of the world, and Dominic of Gusman belonged to the chapter of Osma. Hence the associations created by them were not, therefore, spontaneous trunks of monachism, but, so to say, they were vigorous shoots engrafted in that worm-eaten tree. Their chiefs had no fixed residence; the chapters were held wherever they wished to assemble. The friars *(frates)*, a name by which the monks or members of both corporations soon became known, had nothing to bind them to any country. Rome could dispose of these indefatigable soldiers without any political embarrassment.

Sueiro Gomes, a Portuguese by birth, and one of the disciples of Dominic of Gusman, came about this time to establish the new congregation in Portugal. Placed by the circumstnaces of his life, and before the institution of the Order, in the burning fire of the war against the Albigenses, Dominic assisted or intervened in the events which left the South of France devastated. Sueiro Gomes probably witnessed these spectacles, at least he was one of the first Dominic chose as a companion and propagator of the new institution. Sent to Portugal to establish the Dominican Order, he found favour among the

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powerful, and no less among the burghers and the masses, in the same way as the Minors, because the poor and austere friars offered a striking contrast to the rich, corrupt, and proud members of ancient monasticism.

Peter, the Bishop of Coimbra, after assisting at the Fourth Lateran Council (1215), returned to Portugal. We know not why, but, for some reason, serious disagreements arose between him and the King, which made Alfonso II. declare a rude war to him. This prelate was of a timid spirit, and became so terrified that he retired to his episcopal palace. To keep him there a prisoner it was unnecessary for the King to place any guards; it was enough one day for him to say, pointing to the residence of the Bishop, "Here is the falcon, and there the heron: if the heron moves the falcon will clutch it." From that moment no one dared to enter the Bishop's palace, excepting the clergy. When D. Pedro at length ventured out his beard had grown long, and on his shoulder he bore the red cross of a Crusader. His mind was beginning to give way, and he even performed acts of decided madness. On this account, or for some other reason, the King desisted from persecuting him, and he submitted to everything. At least, this appears to be the fact, judging from his proceedings during the contentions between Alfonso II. and the Archbishop of Braga, when he took no notice of the interdict over his diocese. Thus he lived peacefully, but in his mental hallucination the austere fanaticism of Sueiro Gomes and his followers produced, as was natural, on his spirit a deep shock, as well as the letters of protection which Honorius III. conceded to the Dominicans for all the prelates of Europe. This authorised them to hold missions throughout the diocese, granting indulgences to those who should be drawn by their preaching.

It may well be said that no prince so little bellicose as Alfonso II ever combated so much as he did; but these combats were very far from the glorious wrestlings of his grandfather to extend the limits of the kingdom at the expense of Islamism, and the no less glorious labours of his father in increasing the strength of society in general by the increase of population, and by imparting energy and liberty to the masses by the rapid multiplication of municipalities. The vigour of life which his predecessors had endeavoured to instil into the circle of the social body he sought to concentrate in the head and heart of the republic. Probably this prince or his counsellors saw in this policy an increase of order and progress for the nation, but experience teaches

us that so many efforts to increase in every way the resources of the Crown and regal power are not dictated by the noblest motives. Notwithstanding all that Alfonso II. did from the commencement of his reign to consolidate in his hands the supreme political strength, his position was little advantageous to him. The general confirmations had necessarily produced on the privileged bodies discontent, but the inquiries were now directed towards appraising directly the fortunes of barons, knights, and the clergy, fortunes which properly were derived solely from territorial properties. In a country dismembered in part, and in part recently conquered, in the midst of a profound ignorance, without sufficient laws to furnish all the ordinary conditions of civil society, and still less to regulate the new rights and duties, the titles to the possession of landed property, and the limits to the exemptions from such property, became oftentimes doubtful. In that epoch, when universal equality of law did not exist, perhaps not even as an idea, in which the infinite scale of privileges substituted the general rules of modern institutions, and in which it was difficult, not only to preserve family documents in the midst of the devastations of continual wars, but also to reduce to writing all the transactions concerning property, the doubts and contentions upon the legitimate origin of the dominion, on one hand, and on the other, the intrusions, the abuses, the violences and rapine, were necessarily repeated. The rude barons of Count Henry or of his son, whose families, in most cases, were more ancient on the territory than the new dynasty, did no less confide in their swords, and in the lances of their men, than in the right derived from the concessions of the princes. Certainly it did not overmuch disquiet them to inquire whether the favours done to them by the head of the State were assigned in a parchment unintelligible to them, nor hesitate long in extending the bounds of their homestead on the outskirts, or in making use of the first pretext which might occur to them to compel the villagers, undefended and not organised into municipalities, to pay them tributes by which they could support the splendour of their palaces and profusion of banquets. These fortified palaces, or constructed within the castles, were often nests of eagles which sallied out seeking prey over the fields, and devoured from the agriculturist a great portion of the fruit of his labours; yet they were, however, in the sudden incursions of the Saracens and the Leonese, a secure asylum for the stray population, and a safe place for their tools and provisions. Besides

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this, the landlord took an interest in defending his colonists when threatened by the rapine of other knights, and distributed justice in their private questions among themselves, erected buildings for Divine worship, and endowed them, established refuges, and dividing the land in order to increase the number of tenants, shared with them the benefits arising, and afforded them interest in contracts of land. The slow usurpations of the nobility, their immediate action of spoliation upon labouring men, had certainly evil consequences, but, undoubtedly, it likewise bore good fruits for the humble and oppressed, and profitable, on the whole, to the nation.

Side by side with this question of political economy rose up another political one—the immunity of the clergy. In divers manners, yet both were linked together, because in both were concerned the increase or diminution of the efficacy of royal power. The efforts of Sancho I. to organise the third State in the only manner then possible, viz., by municipal corporations, had been truly marvellous, in the midst of the perturbations and difficulties which, as we have seen, harassed the greater part of his life. Sancho I. was a King essentially municipal, and his Minister, or Chancellor, Julian, a man of lofty and sagacious mind. Alfonso II., on the contrary, was a King, if we may so express it, essentially monarchical, and the Chancellor Gonçalo Mendes a disciple of penetration inferior to his master. In the previous reign the throne was erected and supported on popular bases by the strong arms of men of labour, and strengthened by the primitive gospel of modern liberty called feudal. In the combats which were inevitable against it and the aristocracy, the Crown laid before it the closed squadron of the councils, and fortified its own power by seeking an ally who, through gratitude and interest, would be loyal. But now, however, the monarch and his chancellor had judged right to abandon that path. Was it, perchance, because they considered that Sancho I. had left a sufficient army, or because they dreaded the effect of this rapid increase of councils, or, finally, because they were convinced that the monarchy was sufficiently robust to combat by itself whenever they should judge the time opportune? Who will venture to decide and attempt to cast the sounding-line in these deep waters? The fact is sufficient, and this fact is that Portugal counts among her archives a very small number of municipal letters of Alfonso II., while numerous ones from his father and grandfather. There were not wanting wildernesses to populate, nor were there too many castellated towns for defending the terri-

tory, nor did the monarch depend much upon his prowess and fortune in pitched battles. On the other hand, one-half of what he spent in barren family contentions would suffice, perchance, to double the number of strongholds in the kingdom, particularly on the frontiers, and people them with energetic and independent men. It would be wrong to excuse this visible reluctance of Alfonso II. to follow the thought of his grandfather, realised vigorously by his father, and later on embraced with warmth by his successors.

If, however, any plausible explanation be found to this proceeding, it is certain that the development of the third State did not take place during the epoch of his government in proportion to the services that the councils had afforded him and Sancho I. in the contentions against the clergy, as a principal instrument, and affecting the interests of the nobility by new fiscal providences. In a word, while his acts indisposed the two higher orders of the State against him, because he attempted to circumscribe their power and influence, Alfonso II. was forgetting that the power of the sceptre consisted not so much in royal authority, as in the animadversion of the masses against the privileged classes, and that to multiply these popular corporations was nothing else but to develop in these classes new means of triumph.

We see, therefore, that, notwithstanding the apparent force and energy of the King, the internal situation of the country did not afford him a field sufficiently safe to continue the combat with the daring Stephen Soares, although a part of the clergy, for private motives, unknown in our days, had forsaken the interests of its own corporation. The Archbishop, returning to Spain, prepared himself either for war or peace. The excommunications, the interdicts, and the threats of Honorius III. had been useless to bend the iron heart of Alfonso II., but at the same time (June, 1222) that from Italy was expedited a bull to the wandering prelate, in which the Pontiff authorised him to raise the terrible censures which weighed upon the King, upon his abettors, and over the kingdom, on the supposition of attaining a concord in which he should obtain a condign reparation. Honorius wrote to the Portuguese prince a letter with the intention of moving him, and no less to terrify him, with the Divine wrath, and with the evils which the inexorable vengeance of the Apostolic See would bring down on his head. But, as we gather from the context of the letter, all efforts were unable to curb the vengeful spirit of the King of Portugal, who on beholding the censures fulminated by the Archbishop of Braga con-

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firmed by the Pope's delegates, the Bishops of Palencia, Astorga, and Tuy, only appealed to Rome and continued to persecute the clergy.

In view of this proceeding, Honorius declared his firm resolve not only of once again publishing the anathema against the King, the favourites, and the kingdom, but to put into effect the former threat of offering Portugal to the princes who might wish to take possession of her, releasing the subjects of Alfonso II. from the bonds of loyalty, and even excommunicating those who should continue faithful to him. Armed in this manner, did Stephen Soares present himself, offering an armistice or a renewal of war. This conjunction was ably taken advantage of, and to the wrestling of interests were added other circumstances, which manifested the necessity of softening the wrath of the prelate, furnished now with all the arms of the Church against his adversary. Besides the unpleasantness existing between the Courts of Portugal and Castille, of which very few vestiges remain, and its causes unknown, the health of Alfonso II., whom Providence had afflicted with a terrible malady, too common in those days, and which up to a certain point explains his want of military energy, was visibly declining, and all symptoms announced a fatal ending. The death of the head of the State, on account of the age of the Infante Sancho, the heir of the Crown, would bring on the nation the worst of political situations; that is to say, the government of a prince in his minority. Foreseeing the evils which would result from this conjunction of difficulties, added to the war with the Roman Curia, the favourites of the King persuaded him to yield to the Archbishop; and it is said that the principal one who influenced him in this resolution was the renowned D. Sueiro, the Bishop of Lisbon.

Of all the suite of the King, the most odious to Stephen Soares was Master Vincent, the shrewd and turbulent Dean of Lisbon, and the half-witted Bishop of Coimbra, who, in his adhesion to the party of the King, not only contemned the censure of the Metropolitan, but perchance, what was no less grave for him, avoided contributing towards the maintenance of the exile. And, in truth, this acquiescence of high ecclesiastics in the proceedings of the prince naturally tended to produce grave doubts in the minds of the people generally about the justice of the cause whose champion was the Prelate of Braga. It was, however, Master Vincent, one of the three chosen to arrange an amicable agreement. This preference was due to the proofs which he had given of his political skill in Rome and in Castille, and the result

of that perilous and thorny task further proved that this preference was not ill-placed.

Almost simultaneously as the Pope charged the Abbots of Cellanova and Osseira to proceed to Alfonso II. to intimate to him to withdraw the Bishop of Coimbra, the Chantre of Oporto, and the Dean of Lisbon, and to these to quit the Court, Stephen Soares was entering, accompanied by the Archbishop of Compostella and the Bishop of Tuy, and benevolently confirmed the gifts which, through the desired reconciliation, the King was effecting to that very man against whom the Archbishop had shown a dislike which no one thought easy to extinguish. Such was the skill and activity manifested by the Dean.

The contentions, however, with the Metropolitan had lasted so long and violently that it was not easy to give full satisfaction to their mutual grievances. The discussion upon these points became protracted until the following year, while the state of health of Alfonso II. was such that he had been forbidden to sign the royal decrees, and this also delayed the conclusion of the affair. Dark clouds were rising over the political horizon. The interests of the higher classes were compromised; the inevitable malevolence against the favourites, some through envy, others as victims of an administrative system which, avoiding abuses, could not help often wounding legitimate rights; the discontent of the clergy, divided among themselves, as well as the nobility, because we have seen how various members of both classes associated themselves with the strife of the Crown—all, in a word, was presaging that the accession to the throne of the Infante Sancho would be accompanied by grave domestic perturbations, so much more serious if to other causes were added the unsatisfied pretensions of the haughty Prelate of Braga. What had been dreaded now took place—Alfonso II. expired on the 25th of March, 1223, at the flourishing age of thirty-seven. Although the order of succession was already established, he newly declared, in the testament effected in November, 1221, Sancho to ascend the throne, and after him his other sons and daughters, in the event of there being no direct succession. In this testament he also foresaw the minority, which no doubt the state of his health and physical decay warned him was imminent, and provided that in the event of the heir or heiress of the throne not having attained to the proper age to undertake the government of the kingdom, he should be placed under the tutorship of powerful vassals or noblemen *(ricos homens)*, and the kingdom be administered by them,

who must deliver up to him the castles they held in possession, as soon as he should attain legal majority. Notwithstanding that when this will was effected the censures and threats of Rome weighed over him and his kingdom, Alfonso II. evidently shows that he either expected to live long enough to reconcile himself to the Church, or that the indignation of the Pope would expire on the border of the tomb; yet the ill-will against the prelates of the kingdom is still evident, because while distributing a large sum among the monasteries and Military Orders, he scarcely remembers to benefit the two foreign Sees of Compostella and Tuy, to the exclusion of those of the kingdom, excepting that of Guarda (Egitanense), lately restored, and the clergy who could ill have intervened in the former contentions. If this circumstance, however, proves how deep-rooted were the dislikes of Alfonso II., two others in the same documents show how in harmony were the acts of his life, and assist us to draw the character of that prince. The pious legacies imposed on the recipients the obligation of annual commemorations for his soul, but not once only, as was the usual custom, but repeated three times every year; and as though this did not suffice, in order not to lose the exchange of gold for prayers, he forewarns this by giving in life a part of these legacies, and orders these supplications to commence at once infavour of the living, and be continued afterwards in benefit of the dead. No less characteristic are his testamentary dispositions concerning the illegitimate children surviving him, dispositions which contrast in a singular manner with the articles analogous in the testament of Sancho I. Completely forgetting the former or future victims of his passions, he bequeaths to each child barely the small sum of five hundred *morabitinos*. In this part of the will appears the king whose first act of government was the attempt to usurp completely the parental inheritance from his sisters, and compelled his brothers, for this or other motives, to seek fortune out of the country. In the pious legacies we behold the individual who fears that heaven will be sold at a disproportionate price for the work of winning it for him, and who is still dominated by the same principles of excessive economy which guided confirmations and general inquiries. Up to the end of life Alfonso retained the grasping character and desires for power which are revealed to us by the principal acts of his reign. A few months before his death he gave testimony of how much these passions were rooted in his character. The total of the diplomas referred to discovers not only the former propensities of the prince for

absolute dominion, but also anxiety for the preservation of landed property, no doubt improper in a spirit who already foresaw the approach of death; moreover that when recompensing his domestics he accepted from them rich gifts for the concessions and favours which he himself confesses were due to them for their long and valued services.

We have been severe towards Alfonso II.; we will not, however, be unjust. The vague dispositions of his testament in regard to the regency during the minority of Sancho must necessarily bear evil consequences. By entrusting generally to vassals the Crown and the administration of the State he opened a wide field to ambition and quarrels, in view that it was impossible to divide supreme authority among so many. But was it in the power of the King to prevent it? His consort D. Urraca had died (November, 1220), leaving three sons and one daughter—Sancho, Alfonso, Ferdinand, and Eleonor—of whom the eldest was still a child; his brothers were absent from the kingdom, and his sisters, besides being discontented, were not called by the political traditions of the Christian kingdoms of Spain to take upon themselves the heavy charge of tutors to the heir of the throne. The same could be said of his illegitimate brothers, and even of the latter there remained in Portugal only Rodrigo Sanches. There was no one, therefore, in the country who possessed the right by preference to direct the affairs of the State, and to entrust the protection of the King and kingdom to the loyalty of the nobles *(ricos homens)* was a necessity, although this position, difficult and sad, might have resulted from the selfish and exclusive character of Alfonso II., and had arisen from his former policy. In truth, the Court officials and the ministers accustomed to government affairs, possessing the means of governing, and personally influential on account that at all times the ministers of princes and their confidants exercise a great party, were those who most likely would obtain, or rather maintain the power; but even supposing that others of the nobility or prelates should not dispute it, which would be only too probable, would these have sufficient power or prestige to make themselves obeyed? And would not those, on the other hand, who judged themselves defrauded by the administrative providences of Alfonso II., take advantage of the attempt to repair the evil done to them? These were the problems which the death of the King suscitated, and of which in part the reign of Sancho II. was the deplorable solution.

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It would be unnecessary to collect together in substance the events narrated in the present Book, or give our final opinion of the character of the grandson of Alfonso I., and on the historic importance of his government, in order that the reader should appraise both points. The policy of this prince is so significative that it would not be easy to construe it in two diverse ways—a legislator, because, almost without exception, his laws all tend towards strengthening royal power. The first of all was the solemn declaration that in him was inherent the supreme judicial magistrature, and that judges were no more than his representatives. We have seen how the other manifestations of his spirit, his own spontaneous acts, always reproduced the great idea which guided him. Timid in a foreign war, he was daring and firm against home resistance tending to curtail his authority or wound fiscal interests. Speaking absolutely, the general confirmations, and the inquiries upon the state of public finance, represented the idea of organisation and order; but if we note the circumstances under which the nation still found itself, the motives which had produced them, and the laxity in following out the former system of imparting force and energy to the people by means of municipal institutions, it is right for us to believe that these and other analogous providences tended to demonstrate the impulses of personal interest rather than the wish to constitute and organise civil society. Alfonso was gifted with two great qualities, economy and governing power, even to excess; but these gifts were far from sufficient for the needs of the times, while previous events prove that the efforts of the prince to render the throne more solid and independent were of little effect.

A modern historian has noticed with astonishment the small number of traditions concerning this monarch which have been transmitted to us by the ancient memoirs. This is due to the deficiency of the brilliant qualities which distinguished his two predecessors. Alfonso I. was a King of battles; Sancho I. was likewise a warrior, although not in such a high degree, but he was the King of the people, a municipal King. The life of both continued to cast over history, even to the end of the fifteenth century, a gleam of poetry, because national sympathies, while they did not preserve to us the history of more remote ages, yet, at least, they preserved a symbol in the general tendency of traditions relating to each King of the first dynasty; but the image of Alfonso II., as a prince who only cared for himself, his power and his coffers, an excellent exactor of finance, a zealous maintainer of the power and

prerogatives of the Crown, was too positive and severe; he could not bend to the pliant caprices of legendary lore, nor fill the grandeur of its poetry. The existence of a nation during its periods of infancy and youth, similarly to that of man in its childhood and adolescence, needs an expansive life and movement; it requires air, and light, and space. The people of virgin lands are warlike and turbulent, and therefore the traditions of combats are those which more fully remain rooted in the public mind. To these are more easily associated all that is marvellous, and which nourish the credulity of the people and their national pride. Thus do chronicles spring up, half history and half fiction, which become purified and completed during the more mature age of nations. Hence a prince who was antagonistic to the manner of existence of his subjects, who, moreover, in those primitive and rude times entrusted to the barons and prelates the hard profession of warfare, who retreated terror-stricken on beholding the flashing of swords, who in the mutual reaction of the social classes—a dim reaction, it is true, but an undoubted one—only sought his own interests, and to render these interests, as far as in him lay, subservient to increasing the authority of the Crown; such a prince, we say, was a contradiction, an anachronism in the midst of the epoch, and the generation which was passing away, and the one which was rising, must, as a consequence, forget him. For this reason do the collectors of biographical notes concerning the lives of ancient kings, on examining the vague and incorrect traditional memoirs of the past, scarcely find any vestiges of the reign of Alfonso II., with the exception of the victory of Alcacer, a victory, in truth, truly glorious, but which really cannot be ascribed to him.

END OF FOURTH BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

1223—1247.

Minority of Sancho II.—Conventions with the clergy and the Infantas Theresa Sancha, and Branca—Bands of the nobility—Turbulent state of the kingdom—Attempt to renew the conquest of the Gharb—Political situation of Andalus—Progress of the Castillian and Leonese arms—The southern frontiers of Portugal—Expedition against Elvas—Internal peace commences to be established—Accession of Gregory IX. to the Pontifical throne—Deplorable state of the Portuguese Church—Legacy of John de Abbeville to the Peninsula—His efforts to consolidate public order—Marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor to the Prince Waldemar of Denmark—Departure of the Infante D. Alfonso to France—Sancho dedicates himself to repeopling the kingdom—Events in Castille and Leon, and revolts against the Saracens—Elvas and Jurumenho are permanently occupied—Death of Alfonso IX., and its consequences—Peace treaty between Sancho II. and Ferdinand, King of Castille—War between the Crown and the clergy recommences—The Monarchy and Theocracy—Opposition of the two principles—Contentions with the Bishop of Lisbon—Internal administration of the kingdom—Continuation of the conquests beyond the Guadiana—Moura and Serpa are reduced—Conduct of Sancho in relation to the clergy—Rome hesitates—Designs and movements of the prelates—Grievances of the Church of Oporto—Death of the Bishop Martin Rodrigues—He is succeeded by Peter Salvadores—The taking of Aljustrel—Military reputation of Sancho in regard to Gregory IX.—Silvestre Godinho, the successor of Estevam Soares—Change of courtiers in the Portuguese Court—Probable causes and consequences—Abuses of the privileged classes—Weakness of royal authority—Advantages of the clergy—The strife with the Crown continues—Brutal acts of the Infante Ferdinand de Serpa—Providences of Gregory IX.—The King hesitates and yields—Last campaigns of Sancho against the Saracens—Conquests on both sides of the Guadiana—Preparations for an important expedition by sea and land—Events in Rome—Administrative anarchy in Portugal—Union of Sancho with Mecia Lopes de Haro—Death of Gregory IX.—Election of Innocence IV., and departure from Italy—First attempts of the Portuguese prelates to overthrow the King—Members of the Royal family—Progress of the conspiracy—Sancho is deprived of his government by the Pope—Arrival of the Infante D. Alfonso, Count de Bologna, in Portugal—Civil war—Intervention of Castille—Sancho retires to Toledo—His death—Conclusion.

Cloudy and melancholy rose the dawn of the reign of Sancho II. The political system of the ministers and private counsellors of the deceased King was based o jealousy of power, and in the feverish

avarice which characterised the reign of Alfonso II. It would in our day be impossible to define how far the influence of the Chancellor Gonçalo Mendes, of the Major-domo Pedro Annes, and of Master Vincent, the Dean of Lisbon, and other courtiers had swayed the acts of the deceased King as regards the rights of the nobility; but how far their counsels contributed in the contentions with the clergy we can without temerity infer that they were unaware of the repeated efforts of the King to advance his interests at the cost of the nobility. If, however, this was the case, their opinions and counsels found good ground wherein to germinate, grow, and fructify; they found audacity and perseverance in the head of the State to reduce to effect the alien thought, and to consecrate by royal sanction the facts which might spring from this thought. But now things had changed. The new King was too youthful, and did not impress on the acts of his tutors and ministers the moral force of his own will. Historians scorn or controvert a simple fact, and which, nevertheless, is like the link or origin of the chain of circumstances which prepared the fall of our unhappy prince—the fact of his minority. They imagine him already a man when succeeding to Alfonso II., thus rendering themselves incompetent to properly appraise the character of Sancho, since they render him liable for what was only the necessary consequence of circumstances. The new King was, it is generally supposed, about thirteen years of age when he inherited the crown, although the precise date of his birth is unknown, but it certainly was not before the last months of the year 1209, and this is confirmed by various documents of that time; nevertheless, some historians say that he was three-and-twenty.

Hence the individuals who had exercised most influence and power during the government of Alfonso II., the noblemen who filled the most important government posts in the State, and the private counsellors of the late King, virtually continued invested with supreme authority, which only in name belonged to the prince in his minority; hence the free will of the latter must be held alien to the events of the first years of his public life. As we have seen, the administrative system of the preceding reign necessarily generated unpleasantness among the nobility. On the other hand, the contentions with the clergy were not yet definitely terminated, and the implacable Stephen Soares refused his consent to afford ecclesiastical burial to Alfonso II., since he had died before the sentence of excommunication had been raised.

The kingdom was under the ban of interdiction, and these canonical censures extended to the very tutors of the King, the justices of the kingdom—in a word, all agents in the persecution made to the clergy. The Infantas Theresa, Sancha, and Branca also complained of offences the nature of which is unknown, but were such that Alfonso IX. of Leon, their protector, judged it lawful to retain the Castle of Chaves, which he had taken possession of during the last war, under pretext of obtaining the reparation due to the Infantas. The situation was becoming serious for the barons and Court officials, now that the chief of the State was a child prince; hence it became a question of supreme importance to arrange these dangerous contentions, which they could neither sustain nor resolve without concessions more or less disadvantageous to royal authority, or rather to their own.

Sancho, being acknowledged King, was conducted to Lisbon, and one of the first acts of the ministers was to seek the favour of the Order of the Temple by conferring benefits. After this the Court was transported to Coimbra, to arrange the definite pacification of the clergy, and to fix for once and all the respective Crown rights of the Infantas D. Theresa, D. Sancha, and D. Branca. The facts which had impelled the Archbishop of Braga to sustain a deadly war against his prince were twofold —the first personally concerned the prelate, the other the clergy in general. The first act was to examine the damage done to monasteries and churches, in order to repair them, and the renowned Sueiro Gomes, the Prior of the Order of Preachers, the Archdeacon of Braga, and the Chantre of Lisbon, individuals probably chosen by Stephen Soares himself, were appointed to effect this examination, pledging, under oath to the barons of the Court and to the King himself, to abide by the decisions of the commission. It was declared, in the name of the prince, that six thousand Portuguese *morabitinos* should be paid to the Archbishop in satisfaction of the evils done by Alfonso II. to him and to his chapter, the Court pledging itself to reconstruct the buildings appertaining to the Metropolitan which had been destroyed. Thirty thousand *morabitinos*, and a reserve sum of twenty thousand more, which, meanwhile, would be kept in Sancta Cruz de Coimbra, were assigned as indemnifications which the three arbitrating commissioners might judge should be given to the churches and monasteries damaged. The ministers likewise bound themselves, in the name of the King, their pupil, to punish all noblemen, magistrates, and all other persons who might have defrauded the Archbishop and his see, specifying, among

others, as expiatory victims offered to the odium of Stephen Soares, Pedro Garcia and Rodrigo Nunes, who were adherents of the late King. While thus were pledged to the persecution the agents of the Crown, the tutors of Sancho submitted to the Archbishop, to the Bishop of Oporto, to the treasurer of Braga, and to all others of the same party, any offence done to the young monarch or to his father during the former discords. In compensation Stephen Soares promised that as soon as he should receive the six thousand assigned he would raise the general ban of interdiction over the kingdom, and allow Christian burial to the remains of Alfonso II., and would absolve from all censures and excommunications imposed by him or by the Pope upon any councils, places, and secular or ecclesiastical persons, against whom they had been fulminated, forgiving the offences received by the King or by his party. Those, however, who had violated the interdiction by giving Christian burial to the excommunicated were to be disenterred, and be then buried in a proper manner, in order that they should receive, as soon as asked for, authentic instruments of absolution, the Archbishop agreeing finally to resign into the hands of Sancho the apostolic letters and other documents relative to the censures impetrated from Rome.

A concord effected under these conditions affords us a sad idea of the former confidants of the late King, were it not for the difficult position in which they were placed, the perils of which they wished to minimise at any cost. Stephen did not make any covenant; he humbled his inveterate enemies. What did he in reality concede? He forgave the damages received, if they paid him for them: he would forget injuries if those who had grieved him were punished, particularly two of the offenders, and the punishment assigned by him. From this general condition, which was counselled by vengeance, neither nobles, nor magistrates, nor any other offenders whatsoever were excepted, while at the same time all adherents of the party of the prelate were secured from impunity, no matter what might be their attempts against the Crown.

At that juncture was also treated the settlement of the position of the Infantas Theresa, Sancha, and Branca. It was at length arranged that D. Theresa and D. Sancha should continue sharing together the seigniority of Alemquer, which would, however, at their death return to the Crown; Montemor and Esgueira to belong exclusively to D. Theresa, and afterwards to D. Branca, at whose death Montemor should return to the Crown, while Esgueira would remain in perpetuity to the

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Monastery of Lorvão. From the nature of prestimonies, by which the seigniority of the two castles bequeathed as inheritance by Sancho I. to his two daughters was thus changed, they were to receive annually four thousand *morabitinos*, which were computed to be the rents of the Castle of Torres Vedras, whether the rents should amount to more or less, excepting the revenues of the head governorship, which would be received by the vassal holding the castle in the name of the King, and who could be changed whenever they might desire. Various contingencies were provided against, such as the marriage or widowhood of D. Branca, in such a manner that in neither case the Infantas or the Crown should be defrauded. Should D. Branca wed out of Portugal, and in the event of the death of D. Theresa, Sancho would then appoint the governor or *pretor* of the castle which the said Infanta should succeed to by the death of her sister; but this election was limited to eight noblemen named by D. Branca. This was a species of security to assure its future possession to her. It was also promised, in the name of the prince, to maintain the charters lately given to the inhabitants of the two towns, to sustain the revolt, and to forget their having declared in favour of the Infantas, who bound themselves to send them in the army when the army should be commanded personally by the King, or in the event of an invasion of the enemy, when the neighbouring towns should be summoned. It was likewise declared that the two councils should accompany the others on the occasion of erecting fortifications or sap work, and that the King's coin be current in Montemor and Alemquer. Lastly, the donations made by the Infantas on both sides being approved of, they were inhibited by this contract from alienating anything further. The care and solemnity by which it was sought to impart to this contract proper firmness, in order to avoid in future any motive for renewing the former deplorable contentions, depicts vividly the customs and ideas of those times, and we should deprive the reader of an instructive narrative were we to omit its description. The youthful prince, who could scarcely value the importance of the act he was practising, was the first to pledge himself by oath to preserve loyally the concord, by solemn promises *(omaguim)*, that as soon as he attained his majority, or legal age, he would confirm it, and, moreover, compel his successor to accept it. After the King five *ricos homens* also pledged themselves by oath, among these being the two first officers of the Court, the Major-domo, and the First Ensign, that so long as they continued vassals to the Crown

they would observe, without mental reservation, the provisions of that concord, and compel the King and his successors to observe them. Whichever of these should die, or cease to be a vassal in Portugal, would be superseded by another noble, chosen by the Infantas, who would take upon himself the same charge. In the hypothesis of any breaking of sworn faith on the part of the King, should after the term of thirty days the fault not be repaired, after another term of thirty days the five barons would, in virtue of their homage, constitute themselves prisoners of the Infantas, or of any of the surviving three, under pain of being held as perjurors, traitors, and rebels, in the same way as he who might deliver up the castle or put the King to death, who was their master. These self-same oaths and pledges, under similar conditions, were entered into by five Leonese barons on the part of the Infantas; among them the bastard, Martin Sanches.

The King of Portugal, as well as the King of Leon, required sureties, the first of vassals of the Portuguese Crown, the other for the Infantas, to take the intimation in case of a rupture on either side, to the five respective sureties, and also to return to save them, it being only necessary to announce this rupture to the Court where these five barons belonged to, who were responsible, although they might not reside there. The councils of Montemor, of Alemquer, Coimbra, and Santarem were called to intervene in this solemn pact, the two first as sureties of Theresa, Sancha, and Branca, the two last as sureties for Sancho. It was finally declared that the nomination of the governors of the two castles which were the objects of the contention should rest with the Infantas, but they were to be chosen from among nobles of high lineage, and pledge themselves to the King to execute all the articles of the convention, the dwellers in Montemor and Alemquer pledging to proceed to a foreign war, or accept peace, with the rest of the kingdom. Thus terminated for good the discord which had been continued, more or less violently, for more than twelve years.

The reparation for material damages was already secured to the clergy, but that body laboured to forewarn future ones, to restore the immunities and the rights attributed, as well as the privileges formerly obtained from the princes. There are some existing Acts which are said to have been made on that occasion between the ministers or tutors of Sancho and the Archbishop Stephen Soares, as representative of the ecclesiastical body, relative to the limits of royal authority in regard to the Church. But whether these Acts have reached us in their

primitive integrity, or whether they be even genuine, we cannot definitely affirm, although thay have been received as such by all writers. Nothing, however, was more natural than that the ecclesiastical State should take advantage of the situation of the kingdom to obtain advantageous concessions; and even in the supposition that these Acts were not genuine, or even erroneous, it is not credible that the victorious Metropolitan would be satisfied with only pecuniary indemnification, abandoning the questions of jurisdiction and immunity, to which he had sacrificed, for more than three years, wealth, the country, and peace, in a violent strife with the Crown. The conditions which were said to be laid down in Coimbra, between the King and the prelate, were, that the King should continue to receive the procurations, or *colhetas*, in cathedrals whenever he visited them, but without the oppression employed by the collectors of finance; that no vassal give tenancy or sell to churches; that the causes over parish properties or of monasteries should be tried before the bishops or local ecclesiastical judges, the King only intervening in case of refusal of justice, and not from wishing to judge the litigation in question by the magistrates; the King to defend at once the clergy and the Church on being required to do so by the prelates; to remit any rents which might be due from the bishoprics belonging to him, making due inquiries in regard to those which might be doubtful ones; not to take possession of the rents from vacant sees; not to send to monasteries and parishes birds, dogs, men, or horses, to be there supported; not to interpose in the punishments imposed on ecclesiastics who were incorrigible, whether seculars or regulars, subjects of the bishop, excepting in civil questions; to remedy the results of the inquiries ordered by his father on Crown lands relatively to the churches; and, finally, the men in power not to effect damage or violence in the churches, either to individuals or properties belonging to them.

Such were, as it is affirmed, the conditions in favour of the clergy imposed by Stephen Soares. Historians have left us in almost total darkness concerning the events that occurred during the first three years of the reign of Sancho, or else they saw nothing but the ordinary movement of a kingdom at peace. Accustomed to lengthened quarrels with ecclesiastical bodies, particularly with Stephen Soares, the tutors of Sancho had yielded to necessity, obtaining a momentary pacification at the expense of large concessions; but these forced concessions not only irritated them, but brought on new collisions, which in a short time

broke out violently with the Metropolitan and Sueiro, Bishop of Lisbon. The motives for these discords naturally must be the usual ones, although the pretext for this particular one is unknown, but the course taken by the ministers was certainly imprudent. In order to avenge themselves, the prelates had not only the threats of Rome to fly to, but likewise they possessed the elements of disorder which were brooding in the kingdom, and the powerful lever of an ambitious and discontented nobility. In view of the turbulent and daring character of the two prelates, particularly of the Archbishop, it is lawful to believe that it was they who impelled, at least in part, the anarchy which was developed amid the barons of the north, and which for years disturbed the throne.

The Mendes de Sousa, who from the time when they made peace with Alfonso II. had preserved in the Court the brilliant position due to the importance of their family, had intervened in the acts tending to secure to the heir of the throne peace with the clergy and with the Infantas. That between these and Peter Annes de Novoa, the Major-domo, and other adherents of the late King there did not exist sincere friendship, is taught us from experience in political matters. These had for a long time belonged to diverse parties, hence past aversions could not for certain become converted into affection. Besides which, the head of the Sousas, Gonçalo Mendes, remembered that Peter Annes was invested with the highest office of the kingdom, which had been held by himself and his father before him. Should the Major-domo, a minister of State accustomed to business and united by identity of opinions and interests to the Chancellor and Dean of Lisbon, acquire the same influence on the tender spirit of the prince that both had had over that of his father, the bulk of the nobility, at whose head stood the Sousas, could not hope to obtain the reparation of the offences suffered, whether during the epoch of the confirmations or in consequence of the inquiries of 1220. Of the other noblemen who held tenancies in the various districts of the kingdom, the most notable among those who followed the Court were, besides the five sons of the Count D. Mendo, Gonçalo, Garcia, Rodrigo, Vasco, and Henry, and the Ensign-Major Martin Annes, the Lord of Bayonne, Poncio Alfonso, and of Lumiares, Abril Peres, the Lord of Soverosa, Gil Vasques, João Fernandes, we know not if of Lima or of Riba de Vizella, because both existed at this epoch, and both had a son of the same name, Fernando Annes, who likewise figures in the diplomas of that time, as well as D.

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João Peres, whose home or family was not distinguishable amid so many individuals of that name. Incited, perhaps, by the Archbishop of Braga, and moreover by his own ambition, these powerful barons, with their friends and relations, leagued themselves against Peter Annes. At least, from the end of 1223 and three following years the former Major-domo and the clever Dean of Lisbon disappeared from the political scene. The principal office of State fell successively on D. Henry Mendes and his eldest brother, D. Gonçalo, on D. João Fernandes de Vizella, or Lima, on D. Abril Peres, and returned again to D. João Fernandes. In the documents expedited at this period, at times appears only one Baron of Portugal as constituting the whole Curia, at others increasing the number of them, but almost always varying the individuals, and the Lord of Bayonne being the one who less often forsakes the side of the prince. The First Ensign Martin Annes, and the Chancellor Gonçalo Mendes, it appears, found it more prudent to follow the party of the nobles of Alemdouro.

Sancho, as we believe, was taken from the power of his tutors, and perchance more than one civil war was due to the strife of who should exercise power and influence over him. It might be said that the King was passing from hand to hand like a treasure violently disputed. And, in effect, to this cause may be attributed the conflicts and the assassinations which appear among the nobility at this epoch. Meanwhile the party of Peter Annes, to which the Dean of Lisbon had joined, did not altogether die out. There are reasons to suspect that the favourites of Alfonso II. considered themselves as the centre of the government, and many diplomas, or decrees, sent out in the name of Sancho II. were solely the work of that party. It would be useless to history were we to vainly attempt to follow the phases of these parties and their contentions. What is due to history is to indicate the general situation of the kingdom, and the results of this situation. As usually happens, the most skilful or the most powerful, taking advantage of contrary interest, the jealousy of other barons, the family feuds, and the covetousness of the prelates, successively obtained preponderance. In the midst, however, of the agitation between the two parties, an incident took place which unexpectedly offered to the turbulent and warlike instincts of the nobility a more noble and useful object than civil wars. This was the venture of an expedition against the Saracens of Alemtejo, in which our youthful monarch, who, on entering his seventeenth year, and obtaining his emancipation, gave the first proof

of prowess. This youth, who for so long had been the shuttlecock of the civil wars, and whose military propensities, as time manifested, were more worthy of his grandfather, Sancho I., than of his father, Alfonso II., must have smiled at the thought of finding himself at the head of his own soldiers and his rural knights, to assist at encounters where he would cease to be himself the prey of the conqueror. This maiden spirit aspired to enter the heated atmosphere of the battle-field; at least, facts quickly proved how little he feared the glorious perils of war. Before we enter into the narrative of the campaigns which distinguished the youth of Sancho, it is necessary to explain not only the political causes which led to the renewal of the conquests along the frontiers of the Gharb, but also the state of the Portuguese territories which bordered the Gharb.

At the commencement of the year following that of the death of Alfonso II. the Ameer Al-Mostanser died in Africa. He left no sons, and the Almohades acclaimed in his place Abdu-l-Wahed, the brother of Al-Manssor, he who won the battle of Alarcos. Murcia was governed in those days by Abu-Mohammed, son of Al-Manssor, and uncle to the late Ameer. Abu-Mohammed, judging that he had a greater right to the empire, rose up against Abdu-l-Wahed, and wrote to his brothers, who held various governing posts in Spain, and then Abu-l-Aala, the Wali of Seville, declared for him, while the Walis of Malaga and Granada secretly promised to favour him. Suborning the Shieks and Wasirs of Morocco, he was enabled to depose Abdu-l-Wahed, and was himself acclaimed Ameer. This was the first and sinister example the Almohades gave of the deposition of their prince, and was like the announcement of the prompt dissolution of the empire. Aladel, the name by which Abu-Mohammed is more generally known, could not, however, obtain the peaceful dominion throughout Andalus. Abu-Mohammed Ibn Abi Abdallah, called Al-Bayesi, because he governed in Baeza, made himself independent along with his district, taking the surname of Adhdhafir, and remaining master not only of Baeza, but likewise of Cordova and Jaen. Aladel sent his brother Abu-l-Aala against Al-Bayesi; but he, either by resisting him or, as some say, making him retire by stratagem, sought an alliance with Ferdinand III. of Castille, acknowledging the supremacy of the Christian King in Baeza, Andujar, and Martos. In truth, Adhdhafir sought a protector sufficiently formidable to protect him against Aladel, and no less dangerous for his own independence, and later on for the price of his

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favour the Christian prince commenced to coerce him. Ferdinand was ready to succour powerfully his subject or ally. In that year (1224) the King of Castille entered into the districts of Ubeda and Baeza, leading large forces, and took Quesada after much slaughter of its defenders, then abandoned it when reduced to a heap of ruins, and marching against Jaen, where, after various devastations and the ruin of some fortified points of the city, returned to his States on the approach of winter. It was then that Al-Bayesi colleagued with him, and gave him the supreme dominion of the three above-mentioned towns, the last of which, Martos, the Christian prince garrisoned its castle with knights of Calatrava. In the following year the army of Ferdinand III. again penetrated into Mussalman territory, and joining the troops of Adhdhafir, proceeded against Seville. Aladel, who came out to meet the enemy, was defeated, and fearing lest these misfortunes might make him lose the empire, crossed the sea to save at least the dominions of Africa. Since then the conquests of Ferdinand III. in Andaluz rapidly advanced, not only through his own prowess, but also on account of the advantages which the ambitions and quarrels of the Almohade Sheiks afforded him.

Profiting from this conjuncture, and perchance forcibly excited to emulation by the brilliant advantages obtained by his son Ferdinand of Castille, the King of Leon continued the war with the idea of extending to the south the borders of his own States. From the year 1218 or 1219, when he established peace with the son, Alfonso IX. had successively devastated the outskirts of Caceres, and obtained through his generals the victory of the battle of Tejada, and prosecuted his desolating invasions along the territories of modern Spanish Estremadura, which falls between the Tagus and the Guadiana to the east of upper Alemtejo. Returning from one of these expeditions in the year 1223, he prepared to turn his arms especially against the district of Badajoz, descending from Cima-Coa, which was effectually realised in the spring of 1226. This movement was in combination with the Portuguese forces, which were at the same time marching upon Elvas, commanded by the youthful Sancho, or rather by the former General (Chief Ensign) of the royal troops, Martin Annes, and by the Archbishop of Braga. The arrival in Portugal, at the end of 1223, of Martin Sanches, uncle of the King, and one of the principal personages of the Leonese Court, convinces us that it was due to the two expeditions proceeding simultaneously, as a contemporary historian also observes.

In order to comprehend the difficulties and the advantages of an attempt against Elvas, it is necessary to glance at the state of the Portuguese frontiers towards the south-east. During the reign of Sancho I. towns rose up along upper Alemtejo, due principally to the efforts of the Military Orders. Montemor-o-Novo, erected and peopled by that prince, rendered less perilous the situation of Evora, placed for many years as the solitary watch-tower in the line of Christian conquests. After the taking of Alcacer in 1217, the line of frontiers bending to the centre of Alemtejo towards the west united the three capital points of Evora, Montemor, and Alcacer. To the east, however, of Evora the Mussalman dominion extended more towards the north. The towns of Jurumenha, Elvas, and Badajoz, all strongholds and well defended, secured to the Saracens the seigniority of the neighbouring territories between the actual limits of Portugal and Spain. Towards the year 1218, Alfonso Telles, a powerful and illustrious knight of Leon and Castille, who married the illegitimate daughter of Sancho I., founded on the frontiers of the Moors the stronghold of Albuquerque, where he sustained continual wars before the incursions of Alfonso IX. had advanced as far as these places. For the space of seven years the defenders of that castle retained this important stronghold in spite of the efforts of their enemies, these efforts meriting from Pope Honorius III. a letter in the year 1225, addressed to the heads of the Hospitallers of Spain, in which he enjoins them never to refuse aid to the garrison of Albuquerque, and, moreover, to afford all succour besought, notwithstanding any truces made with the Infidels. On the side of Portugal during the first two decades of the thirteenth century no vestiges were found of any Christian colonies below Marvão, although it is believed that the Saracens had abandoned the territory to the east of the towns which the Military Orders were founding between the Tagus and the frontier of Alcacer, Montemor, and Evora. On the side of Leonese Estremadura towered Albuquerque, and on the north and west the preceptories and convents of the Templars, the knights of Calatrava, and the *Spatharios*. Hence they were easily compelled to abandon the fortified places and their alcarias (villages) which existed along the modern district of Portalegre. Nor is it improbable that towards the end of the reign of Alfonso II. the Christian dominion should have extended up to Arronches by the efforts of the knights of the various orders and the Portuguese border knights.

Such were the relative positions of the Christian and Mussalman

States to the west of Spain, and the progress of the Portuguese dominions along upper Alemtejo. The Gospel had vanquished the Koran; this flying conqueror sped on, spreading its doctrines over the Andaluz, and the Mussalmans, possessed by their blind hatreds and unbridled ambitions, were subdividing themselves daily more and more into parties, spilling their own blood in torrents while disputing over the limbs of the ghastly corpse of the Almohade empire. And as though the castles whose gates broke down beneath the blows of the Leonese and Castillian axes were not sufficiently numerous, and as though the waving aloft of the standard of the Cross, unfurled to the winds, had not already substituted in the watch-towers of their numberless mosques the sonorous voice of the Almuedin, the chiefs of the bands, the Ameers of a city and of a day, were, in order to maintain their melancholy power, summoning the terrible Nazarenes to aid them, delivering up to these their strongholds, and with the object of oppressing their adversaries, would allow themselves to be oppressed by their deadly enemies, and in order to be masters, made themselves slaves. Such was the fate of the people who sought to follow the path of civil bands, judged itself to be great while it devoured itself, and sang hymns of triumph in place of bitter wailings.

And lest Portugal might share a similar fate, it was expedient to render the authority of the prince effective, because he had been, up to that time, no more than a nominal chief of the State; and this could only be obtained by placing the youthful monarch at the head of a military movement against the Saracens, and opening a campaign in which the barons of the kingdom should all be united together, with their respective forces, into one great common power, to which would be added the national troops of the councils, whose prowess had been proved a few years previously, in the battle of the Navas. This was the only position Sancho could take on entering man's estate and receiving the confirmation of the crown by Honorius III. (1225), in order to begin to exercise his free will and assume some importance, be a king in reality, and not in name only, but emancipated from the tutorship in which he had been kept by the nobles. The general affairs of the Peninsula brought to a head the necessity of war with the Mussalmans, and produced in Portugal grave internal changes.

The undertakings and victories of Ferdinand III. had echoed far and wide, and attracted the especial attention of the Pontiff, who addressed a letter of congratulation for the glory of the Christian arms,

and encouraged him to continue constant to his project, and not to desist from combating the Infidels. In order further to induce the Castillians to assist the prince in this undertaking, Honorius nominated a Legate in Spain (1225), whose principal mission was to encourage the war. As his colleagues, were appointed the Metropolitans of Compostella and Braga, with the evident intention that these should likewise endeavour to promote an analogous movement in Leon and Portugal.

The provisions of Honorius were not in vain. Throughout Spain was heard the clanking of weapons. While Ferdinand III. was penetrating into the interior of Andalusia in the spring of 1226, to lay siege to the powerful Castle of Capiella, an undertaking for which Albayesi afforded him all kinds of ammunition and victualling, Alfonso IX., crossing the Tagus, was descending to the side of Badajoz. Meanwhile, in Portugal, the Archbishop of Braga had attained to move the people to enter into that species of general crusade. D. Abril Peres and D. João Fernandes, the former General of the royal troops, Martin Annes, Ferdinand Fernandes, who, it appears, was the last who ruled the prince, Gonçalo Mendes de Sousa, and many others of the principal nobility accompanied Sancho II. to the projected undertaking, which, in all probability, may be attributed to the efforts of Stephen Soares.

While the Leonese troops were attacking the environs of Badajoz, the Portuguese army, not content with spreading desolation along the neighbourhood of Elvas, was attacking the city itself. A celebrated traveller of the preceding century, describing Ielch, as it was called by the Arabs, tells us it was a fortified town, situated on the brow of a mountain, and surrounded by a plain covered with rural habitations and bazaars or market-places. Elvas in those days was famous for the beauty of its women. At the time it must have been in a state of decadence, but their fortifications were evidently in existence, since the Portuguese met with a vigorous resistance. It was here where the monarch gave the first proofs of the warlike spirit which later on distinguished him. The darkness of the ages has concealed to us the details of the conquest of Elvas. We know, however, that it yielded to the fury of the invaders. Sancho was binding the traditions, severed so long, of the race of Count Henry. In this youth the Portuguese warriors at length beheld the image of the hero of combats, and found in him a worthy grandson of Alfonso I. Attacking personally the walls, Sancho risked his life. In the silence and the solitude of the cloisters,

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for the space of six centuries, was the pale parchment preserved which tells us of Alfonso Mendes Sarracines, a loyal knight, who, at an extreme personal risk, leaped the moats to save his prince. Would that this scornful generation, and oftentimes barbarian in the midst of its culture, not destroy the fragile, weak memoir of the first campaign of a King so brave, yet so hapless!

After devastating the neighbourhood of Badajoz, Alfonso IX. returned to his States, and the Portuguese army, although it had derived greater advantage from that simultaneous expedition, likewise retired to the frontiers. But whether owing to the fortifications of Elvas having remained so completely ruined, and its defence or preservation too difficult or dangerous, or from some other motives unknown to us, the town was abandoned, and, as it appears, the dispersed Mussalman population returned to their desolated homes for some time, until the fear of the raids of the Christians and the impossibility of resisting compelled them, three years later, to quit for ever, not only Elvas, but also various other strongholds on the eastern district of upper Alemtejo.

The two years which followed the expedition of Elvas (1227-1228) do not afford us any records of new attempts against the Mussalmans on the side of Portugal; nevertheless, the internal events of this country were of grave moment. It may be now said that Sancho began to reign, and a revolution, which passed unknown by the historians, was verified in the political situation of the kingdom. On the occasion of the conquest of Elvas, Martin Annes had resumed the charge of chief of the army. Master Vincent, who was formerly so bitterly disliked by the Archbishop of Braga, now succeeded Gonçalo Mendes, who probably had died, to the important post of Chancellor. Evidently the two inveterate enemies had become momentarily reconciled, and joined D. João Fernandes, to whom D. Abril Peres ceded anew the title of Major-domo. On the other hand, Rodrigo Mendes, the most courteous and active of the brothers Sousa, was ending his days, and necessarily weakened his party. Hence these two years, during which Sancho became firmly established on his throne, were, in truth, an epoch of reaction against the reigning anarchy, a reaction which, as the documents proved to us later on, became a certain stability, but which did not last sufficiently long to prevent the long and fatal consequences of the violent and destructive phases through which the nation had passed during the last three or four years.

Public affairs commenced to be more orderly, and royal authority to assume a certain force, due to the example of energy and valour which the prince had afforded in the expedition to Alemtejo. The government was gaining stability, but the reign of Sancho was destined to encounter continual storms. Necessarily, after the state in which the kingdom had been for so long a period, and in view of the barbarism of all acts of power, every means employed to order the affairs of government would meet with resistance. The nobility, wearied out by material contentions, and deprived, through death or through joining with the King, of its most important individuals, naturally would yield with less difficulty. The Church, however, kept in reserve its more powerful arms to maintain her own rights, or those she held as such, yet there remained to her the protection of Rome and the canonical censures to defend her landed wealth and the comforts and advantages of the ecclesiastical States.

But if the advisers of Alfonso II., who were also those of Sancho, linked anew the line of political traditions of the Chancellor Julian, preserved by his successor, Gonçalo Mendes, and by them, Martin Rodrigues found also, in the declining years of his life, the strength of former years in not yielding without a combat, while an unforeseen accident imparted to the contentions between Church and State a more grave aspect. Honorius III. died on the 18th of March, 1227. This Pontiff, inferior in wisdom and capacity to his illustrious predecessor, was dowered with a character which might be called moderate in comparison with the ardent, imperious genius of Innocence III. After some hesitation concerning the choice of successor to Honorius, the votes united in favour of Cardinal Ugolino, nephew of Innocence III. Elected Pope, he assumed the name of Gregory IX. The choice was adapted to the difficulties of the time, the pretensions of Rome, and to the weight of affairs which then fell to pontiffs. Gregory was worthy to wear the tiara of his uncle, we shall not say to honour it, but to illustrate and enlarge it. Elevated by him to the cardinalate at the age of twenty-eight, Ugolino had passed eighty years, always employed in missions of high importance, to fulfil which he merited the full meed of praise from the Roman Curia for the skill, perseverance, wisdom, and eloquence which, according to circumstances, he had employed to bring to happy issues these different missions. Although he ascended the Pontifical throne at an advanced age, Gregory preserved all his mental faculties in their full energy, and to

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the severity of his customs was due his bodily robust health. As soon as he was invested with supreme power, the new Pope manifested in effect how far his doctrines and character coincided with those of the haughty Innocence III. The grievances of the clergy of Oporto, coming from a Court influenced by Stephen Soares, offered a fact which proved the species of anarchy produced and nourished during the three years of the minority of Sancho, an anarchy which was not limited to the nobility, but invaded the ecclesiastical body, and enkindled the fire-brand of discord between home and home, between prelate and prelate, cathedral and monastery, and Military Orders with one another. Singular cases of such varied discords are afforded to us by documents at various times, but the conjunction of them all constitutes an especial feature of this deplorable epoch. Besides the civil wars and the intrigues of barons and prelates, the proceedings of these latter with the monks do not improve, notwithstanding the efforts of Honorius III. The Military Orders also, taking advantage of the tumultuous situation of the kingdom, disputed one with another, not before magistrates, but sword in hand, the possession of properties whose dominion was doubtful. Thus the Templars wrested from the bulwarks the cross of the Hospitallers, which marked the inheritances they considered they were despoiled by them, and the Hospital retributed the Temple in the same manner. Combats were entered into between the friars and the men-at-arms of their respective communities, from which resulted wounds, death, and then revenges, which cut down more and more both these powerful corporations.

In the midst of the grave cares which occupied the spirit of Gregory IX., the Pontiff did not forget the deplorable state of the Portuguese Church. Besides the providences he took concerning the diocese of Oporto, he expedited other bulls tending to repress what he judged, from the proceedings of prelates and the officers of the Crown, to be contrary to the legitimate interests of the clergy. But these Apostolic letters did not appear to him sufficient. Besides this, the affairs of the Spanish Church, in the wide sense of the word, required in those States the presence of an active, intelligent, and experienced man, who would arrange things on the basis of the severe discipline which the Pontiff desired to maintain. John of Abbeville, the Cardinal of Saint Sabine and former Archbishop of Besançon, was a prelate held by the members of the Sacred College to be a pillar of strength to the Apostolic See, on account of his virtue and lofty

intellectual gifts. This individual was chosen by Pope Gregory IX. to be his Legate in the various kingdoms of Christian Spain, and especially in Portugal, to which he proceeded at once by sea. On arriving at Lisbon, the Cardinal, whose activity and good intentions facts proved, at once commenced his efforts to improve the position of the clergy, by reforming and at the same time providing the needs for Divine worship. Deficient of pastors, the people in crowds rushed to the Legate, beseeching him with tears to establish new parishes; and he then proceeded to the colleges and monasteries to introduce useful reforms. He was a man of severe doctrines concerning the immunity and discipline of the Church, and in general all that related to moral duties; and notwithstanding his prudent character, which facts and the testimony of his contemporaries induce us to attribute to him, he manifested himself inexorable against those who did not change their way of proceeding in these matters, and bringing down the weight of canonical censures upon those guilty of incestuous marriages, of robbing churches, and all other disorders which the unbridled state of society for so many years had necessarily produced. And while John of Abbeville essayed to repair the moral evils of the kingdom, in the Parliament, or solemn Curia, convoked in Coimbra towards the end of 1228, a reunion which, perchance, was due to his influence, induced the youthful and inexperienced prince to undertake seriously the repopulation of Portugal. At any rate, it was he who, in that assembly, wherein were gathered together the prelates, barons, and the greater portion of the nobility, more greatly contributed to move the restoration of Idanha, the old and ancient see of the Ægitanense bishopric—a restoration which indirectly led to promote the increase of population, not only in Beira-Baixa (Lower Beira), but also in Alto-Alemtejo, towards which that diocese extended in those days. It appears the Legate lived in harmony with the inveterate adversary to Rome, the Chancellor Master Vincent, who had been elevated to the dignity of Bishop of that See, and especially charged with directing the restoration of Idanha. The acquiescence of the Cardinal in this fact would be a proof, if not of tolerance, at least of policy, because the interests of that dangerous man were united in more than one way to those of the Church in common. By soliciting an increase of the power of the kingdom on that side of the frontier, the able and prudent Legate manifested that he knew this to be the road which would lead to the ultimate progress of the Christian arms, a progress

which depended on the simultaneous attempts of Portugal and Leon. On departing for this latter kingdom, in 1229, John de Abbeville must have been followed by the blessings of the Portuguese people, since it was during the period that he held the post of Legate that public disorders became calmed down, and a regular government was established, to which the spirit of the people evidently tended from the year 1226.

To the hopes of obtaining internal peace at this epoch were joined other political advantages. Waldemar II., King of Denmark, had, by his first wife, Margaret of Bohemia, a son called, like his father, Waldemar. He was the heir to the throne, and the monarch had already associated him with the supreme power. As we saw in the preceding Book, by reason of the death of Margaret, the King of Denmark took for his second wife Berengaria, sister to Alfonso II. Wishing further to strengthen the links which bound him to the dynasty of the last country of the west, he chose as the wife of the successor to the throne D. Leonor, the niece of his wife, and sister to Sancho II. The age of D. Leonor could not have exceeded seventeen when she departed for Denmark, and the union was celebrated in Ripen, at the commencement of 1229. The brilliant solemnity of that day became memorable in the annals of the country, because on this occasion the warrior Waldemar was reconciled to his former adversaries, and peace was established in the monarchy. But less robust than her aunt, the ambitious D. Berengaria, this Portuguese Infanta, a delicate flower of the South, soon wilted and withered beneath the icy and melancholy climate of Scandinavia, and in the spring of 1231 Leonor ceased to exist, followed by the death of her husband, the Prince Waldemar, barely six months after. The steps of the throne of Denmark thus were left free to the sons of Berengaria, called in popular songs "the Proud." In effect, the three brothers, Erick, Abel, and Christopher, all successively assume the crown of their father Waldemar.

It was, perchance, at this same conjuncture that one of the two younger brothers of Sancho left Portugal for the Court of France, where the widowed Queen Branca of Castille, mother of Louis IX. and aunt of the Portuguese princes, exercised supreme power and high influence. And while only Ferdinand remained with Sancho, and he the youngest—indeed, he was barely out of infancy—the royal power was definitely established at the commencement of 1229, in a great measure with the elements of the former reign, and all things indicate it to be

due to the Assembly of Coimbra, where the damages caused by the civil bands to the kingdom were rendered patent. During this year and the following one we behold Sancho attending in a special manner to repeopling the territories nearest the frontiers of Alemtejo, and preparing new expeditions against the Mussalmans. It might be said that the former ministers of Alfonso II., veterans in experience, abandoned in a great measure the policy of this prince to return to the system of Sancho I., no doubt more fitted to the needs of the times and more solid in their results. When in 1226 the Portuguese army proceeded against Elvas, the Castle of Marvão already was chosen as an important military stronghold, as head of a council the limits of which, from the Tagus towards the north, extended to the south on the side of Arronches, and towards which, by means of the large municipal privileges of Evora conceded to them, it was sought to attract dwellers. But now that the conquest was progressing, and it was hoped to preserve the dominion of Elvas, a colony was gathered together to establish itself there, favoured by similar privileges. Meanwhile, the Court proceeded to the district of Beira-Baixa, there to impart vigour to the restoration of Idanha the Old, directed by the Chancellor, as well as the foundation of new municipalities, such as Castello-Mendo (or Villa-Mendo) to the east-south-east of Guarda, and of Salvaterra to the extreme (to the south of the more ancient ones of Monsancto and Penamacor), which, touching the line of Leon on the defile of Elga, was limited on the west by the district of the ancient episcopal city which it was intended to restore. To this epoch is likewise attributed the concession of municipal institutions to the Castle of Sortelha, an important point of the frontier which countervailed the Leonese Castle of Alfayates, and whose population was now augmenting by new colonists, besides those placed by Sancho I. By labouring to introduce life and cultivation into the territories of Beira-Baixa, which were in a great part deserted, there was the advantage of establishing a more solid basis to future operations in Eastern Alemtejo, and at the same time of completing and favouring the efforts of the Templars, who since the preceding reign had laboured to raise castles and populate the vast seigniories which they had there acquired by favour of the Kings and by other means, and which resulted in the existence of Castello-Branco, New Idanha, Proença, Touro, and various other towns and castles.

While Sancho II. and his ministers thus laboured to follow the

enlightened policy of Sancho I., and prepared for war by strengthening the country with the benefits of peace, let us turn awhile to the events which were taking place at that epoch in Leon, and that so briefly were to exercise a notable influence on our country. Notwithstanding the conquests and victories of Ferdinand III. of Castille, it might be truly said that in no Court of Spain did the spirit of war rule to such a degree as in that of Leon. At a mature age, the King seemed to wish to redeem his past alliances with the Saracens against the Christian princes by combating Islamism by fire and sword, without term or rest, and, if that were possible, further excited by the counsels of the Cardinal of Sabine.

Two knights, distinguished by highest bravery, filled the most important offices of State; both were Portuguese—the Infante D. Pedro, his Major-domo, and the bastard Martin Sanches, border knight of Toronho and Limia, and Chief Ensign of the Leonese troops. The administration of the greater portion of the provinces passed through the hands of these two noblemen, who no doubt exercised a great influence over the affairs of peace and of war. In 1229, Alfonso IX., assisted by some troops sent by Ferdinand of Castille, marched with his army to besiege Caceres, which surrendered, while the Castillian King put to fire and sword the neighbourhood of Jaen. In the following year Alfonso submitted the Castle of Montanches, and proceeded to a more important faction, by attacking Merida, the ancient capital of the Gharb, as it had been of Lusitania, and which, even at that time, was one of the most important cities of Andalusia. In this undertaking the Infante D. Pedro distinguished himself, and to his efforts were due principally their good results. In effect, Merida fell into the power of the Christians, who, acquiring renewed courage by this conquest, resolved to conclude the campaign by reducing Badajoz, and definitely repulsing to the south of the Guadiana the dominion of the Saracens.

Grave events had meanwhile taken place among the Saracens. Revolutions succeeded each other in Morocco and in Spain with terrible rapidity. Abu-l-Aala, who had been appointed Governor of Andalus in the name of his brother Aladel, was ambitious to possess the empire, and acclaimed himself Ameer on this side of the strait, and found means to assassinate his brother and be substituted; but he had not as yet passed over to Africa, and the Almohades elected in his place a son of Annasir. The partisans of Abu-l-Aala opposed Yahya, the new

emperor. From this proceeded a civil war, which for a long time desolated Mauritania, with varied fortune on both sides. During these perturbations, Ibn Hud, a descendant of the ancient Ameers of Zaragoza, who lived an obscure life in Murcia, yet had skilfully formed a party, made himself independent in this province (1228), and in union with the inhabitants of Denia and Xativa and other cities of Eastern Andalus, quickly reduced Granada, Malaga, and Almeria. Other important towns, such as Cordova and Jaen, submitted soon after, and thus Ibn Hud, lord of nearly the whole of Mussalman Spain, did not hesitate to assume the title of Amir-al-Moslemin. Hence, when Alfonso IX. marched against Merida the towns of this district invoked the aid of Ibn Hud, who, in effect, came at the head of a numerous army to assist his new subjects; but, defeated by the Christians who came out to meet him beyond the Guadiana, he was constrained to fly, and Alfonso IX. returned to the north to besiege Badajoz, which, losing hopes of succour, soon submitted to the yoke of the conqueror.

We said that the aims of Sancho II. were to people Elvas with Christians, and that, in anticipation of this occupation, municipal letters were passed to the inhabitants of the new council which was there established. The troops from Portugal were marching towards the south, and they were further expecting knights and men-at-arms of the barons of the north before opening the important campaign. On the approach of the enemy, the terror-stricken Mussalmans abandoned Elvas and Jurumenha, where the Portuguese entered the same day on which Merida surrendered. The conquest following soon after of Badajoz assured the Leonese frontier of this city up to Merida, along the Guadiana, while that of Portugal advanced more towards the south without crossing the river, and now, following the line east to west, from Jurumenha to Evora, a line of frontiers which from the time of Sancho I. had been desired to establish.

After the last and brilliant campaign, Alfonso IX. returned to Leon with the intention of gathering together more troops and provisions, in order to renew the invasion, and take possession of the territories south of the Guadiana, where, in former times, he had held fortified places, which became lost later on during the various vicissitudes of war. In this expedition had occurred prodigies, apparitions, and marvels, invented by the credulity of the times, said to be in aid of the Christians to vanquish Ibn Hud. In thanksgiving for these valuable aids, the King of Leon was proceeding to Com-

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postella to visit the shrine of the Apostle Saint James, when he was assailed by illness in Villanova of Sarria, from which he died in September, 1230. His body was conducted to Compostella, and buried by the side of the remains of Ferdinand II.

The death of the Leonese King was a grave event for the country, for Castille, and, indirectly, for Portugal. He left two daughters, Sancha and Dulce, by the Infanta D. Theresa, to whom he had been first united; and the King of Castille was the issue of his second marriage with Berengaria, which, as well as his first marriage, had been declared null. During the discords with his son Alfonso IX. intended leaving his own States to one of the Infantas, to the exclusion of Ferdinand, and offered his elder daughter Sancha to the King of Aragon for his consort. This proposal convinces us that it was not because he wished to preserve independent the Leonese Crown as ill-will towards the Castillian King, or else his deep attachment to his daughter which prompted these designs. Yet although through the prudent policy of Berengaria he was reconciled to the King of Castille, he more than once broke the peace, which clearly proves that the feeling of resentment against Ferdinand III. was not altogether eradicated from his heart. To this was added the growing affection of the monarch for Sancha and Dulce, nourished, so to say, constantly by the friendship he preserved for the Portuguese Infanta, a friendship which was not belied until after the year 1228, when Theresa, her youth having passed away, took the Cistercian habit from the hands of the Cardinal of St. Sabine—some say in Lorvão, others in Villabuena. In the questions with Alfonso II., about his wife, he experienced how strongly Alfonso IX. resented any injury offered to the woman he so dearly loved; and the malcontents of Portugal, who defended her, found in him protection and regard. In this way did D. Pedro and Martin Sanches attain to occupy in the Court the most brilliant positions that could be offered to them. By degrees he caused the consent of the Infantas to be taken in concessions of favours, thus accustoming the people to consider them as his heiresses, until, excluding the son, he openly summoned them to the succession of the Crown in his last testamentary dispositions.

Notwithstanding that Theresa had retired from the world, she was a mother, and nothing more natural than that she should desire the crown for one of her daughters. The greater portion of the nobility sided for the party of the Infantas, not only through a motive of

nationality, but because, having a weak government, it would be more favourable to licence. The King of Castille was engaged in a far-distant expedition against the Mussalmans when the news of the death of his father reached him. He immediately returned, and met D. Berengaria, who had gone to meet him in order to persuade him to enter Leon without delay, where a tumult had arisen, principally among the nobility of Asturias and Galicia. The scenes of unbridléd licence which Portugal offered during the minority of Sancho, and even greater disorders repeated in Leon, and destructive fires were frequent, particularly in those two provinces. Ferdinand III., while still an Infante, or soon after he assumed the crown of Castille, was acknowledged successor to that of Leon by the solemn act of Alfonso IX. and his barons, an act which was confirmed by Honorius III.; but the partisans of the Infantas were great in numbers and power, hence it became necessary to lose no time to place some restraint and put down the revolution ere it should assume any great proportions. Berengaria and her son therefore hastened to cross the Leonese frontiers, accompanied by many nobles of Castille, and a large cavalry corps from the Councils, which were more dependable in contentions wherein the adversary's side consisted principally of the nobility. At first the mother and son were received with demonstrations of loyalty, but by degrees, as they proceeded further, the inhabitants appeared to hesitate in acknowledging the new sovereign, because the Infantas or the nobles in their name threatened to raise the standard of war. The clergy, however, declared themselves on the whole favourable to the Castillian prince, and this tended to turn the balance to his side, and the son of Alfonso IX. obtained the paternal kingdom almost without a combat. The castles of Mayorga and Mansilla, where it appears a serious resistance was being prepared, yielded as soon as the royal troops approached, and in the capital the attempts of an illustrious knight, called D. Diogo, who sided for the Infantas, were useless, owing to the efforts of the Bishop of Leon and the burghers. The adhesion of the capital would necessarily soon bring the rest of the kingdom to submission.

In the retirement of the monastery of Lorvão, D. Theresa was not a tranquil spectator of these grave events, which closely affected her daughters, to whom the brilliant prospects of the crown had so quickly vanished. The speedy entrance of Ferdinand III. in the States of his father, the skill with which Berengaria moved the hearts of the

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people in favour of her son, the bias of the clergy and of the Councils, generally manifested that it would be impossible to offer any lengthened resistance. Meanwhile the first consort of Alfonso IX. sent messengers to her rival, soliciting the right which Sancha and Dulce were entitled to by the last acts of the deceased king. But as the greater portion of the Castillian nobles who surrounded Berengaria were against giving any attention to such an embassage when all things were on the way to a happy solution, the prudent princess, whose natural foresight and long experience in governing taught her to dread the uncertain issue of a civil war, left her son to arrange public affairs, and took upon herself to confer personally with D. Theresa relatively to this question in order to end the contention, and the two queens who had been successively expelled from the royal Court by the inexorable discipline of the Church, proceeded to Valença do Minho, the spot chosen for the conference on the borders of the two kingdoms. In that conference was agreed at length that Sancha and Dulce should cede their rights to the inheritance of Alfonso IX., receiving in compensation an annual pension of thirty thousand morabitinos, and they to deliver up to their brother all the dominions they possessed and all places which favoured their party, an act which later on was carried out. Thus was the reunion of the two crowns amicably effected, notwithstanding the reluctance manifested generally by the Leonese barons and knights.

Had the Portuguese Court favoured the pretensions of the Infanta and her daughters, this favour, joined with the elements of resistance, which the discontent of the nobles of this country afforded them, would perchance have prevented a union which afforded the King of Castille an excessive preponderance over the Christian princes of the Peninsula. At first glance it appears strange that the ministers and private counsellors of Sancho II. should not have urged that prince actively to intervene in an affair in which Portugal could draw some advantages, yet to affirm that they committed a political error it would be necessary to comprehend, not by probable deduction, but intimately, the internal situation of the kingdom at that juncture; but the shades of the past scarcely allow us to see in an incomplete manner the phases of its internal life. The fever of tumults had become calmed down, although not extinguished, as the preceding events had proved, and the system of repression which necessarily followed to stay the increase of ecclesiastical power was already commencing to reproduce the former contentions

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It would be therefore imprudent to place itself in a hostile relation to Castille, by thus increasing its future embarrassment. Such are the considerations which more plausibly explain the inaction of Sancho at that epoch. But whether or no these were the motives, it is certain that far from manifesting himself adverse to Ferdinand III., the youthful King of Portugal was establishing an advantageous amnesty with him. Both met in Sabugal at the beginning of the year 1231, or, as some say, at the end of 1230, when the King of Castille, on entering the States of his father, proceeded to Leon. One of the articles agreed upon by the two princes was the restoration of the Castle of Chaves, retained by Alfonso IX. since the occasion, during the reign of Alfonso II., when, under the plea of security, it had been pledged for the properties and rents held by D. Theresa in Portugal. After this convention was celebrated in Valença, the King of Castille not only fulfilled the promise he had made to the King of Portugal, but undertook to defend and befriend personally, and in the name of his successors, the Infanta Queen in the event of Sancho causing any damage to the lands and castles from whence she derived her rents. These meetings in Sabugal clearly explain the indifference shown by Sancho II. to the cause of his nieces, and are a further proof of the political capacity of Berengaria, to whom, in a great measure, Ferdinand III. owed the prosperity and splendour of his reign.

It is expedient here to explain the relative position of the Crown and the clergy on closing the third decade of the thirteenth century, because in the history of the sixteen years which passed from 1230 to the deplorable termination of the reign of Sancho II., the dominating feature, to which were linked more or less all the events of that period, was the fearful combat of the Monarchy and the Church. Like two athletes covered with wounds and blows, who become blinded by repeated rounds, defying each other in wrath to a deadly combat without rest or time, thus did the two political principals engage in a tremendous war. Besides the moral force proper to each contender, the sacerdotal class still retained the greater or lesser material force in the alliance of a portion of the restless nobility divided among themselves, and who were impelled by the interests of families offended by the restoration of public order. On the other hand, the regal authority had been delivered from its most dangerous adversary, the indomitable Stephen Soares. The Metropolitan of Galicia died about the middle of 1228, without, perchance, foreseeing the series of events which sprang

from the impulse given by himself as Legate of the Pope, and the renewal of hostilities with the Saracens and also the pacific mission of the Sabinian cardinal who had come to Portugal a few months before.

But if the haughty Stephen Soares had died, not so had the pretensions of the ecclesiastical body descended with him to the sepulchre. There remained on the field two veteran wrestlers, Martin Rodrigues, the adversary of Sancho I., and Sueiro, the conqueror of Alcacer. To the Metropolitan himself, the Bishop of Oporto had shown that he yielded to none, he who knew not how to flinch before the terrible frown of Sancho I. But now the bellicose Sueiro presented himself to the combat. Sueiro possessed the common vice of those who, either from the situation in which Providence has placed them, or from the strength of their arm, spirit, or intelligence, think that, in the distribution of the material joys of the world, they ought to have a more bulky portion than their fellow-men. Sueiro had the daring, even in the lifetime of Alfonso II. (1222), to promulgate a statute in which he declared that one-third of all goods belonging to those who died should be given to the Church, under threat of denial of sacraments and Christian burial to such as should disobey. The effect of this exaggerated or wild pretension may be easily imagined. The people fled to the Pontiff, who delegated the examination of this affair to the Franciscan and Dominican priors and to the Spatharian knights. The people became more and more irritated, and the former services of the Bishop of Lisbon were forgotten. When the tutors of Sancho II. endeavoured to resist the concessions which they had been constrained to make to the clergy, the disturbance among the nobles broke out, promoted, in a great measure, as it appears, by that reaction. Sueiro was one of the first to resist. For this reason he had to quit the diocese and join the barons of Alemdouro. During these tumults, in which the Bishop of Lisbon most certainly ought not to reckon on the good-will of his diocesans, a nephew of his, who resided with him, was assassinated, and the assassins sought refuge in Alemquer, under the protection of the Infantas Theresa and Sancha, who, according to the expressions of Honorius III., exposed themselves to contamination by harbouring evildoers. Although absent in Alemdouro, Sueiro did not desist from summoning his enemies before the judges which the Pope had appointed for that purpose, nor to obtain the favour of Alfonso IX., in whose dominions was situated the See of Compostella,

Metropolitan to Lisbon. Nothing, however, was of any avail, and when, about the year 1228, the men who had offended him regained power, Sueiro continued withdrawn from the Court, where Master Vincent, his former dean and adversary, held one of the most important charges, and who was now his equal in the ecclesiastical hierarchy—that is to say, Bishop-elect of Guarda. It is supposed that he retired to Rome, where he resided until the beginning of 1231.

As we said, Sancho II. was preparing, about the end of 1230, to continue the war in Alemtejo, and was mustering together in Elvas the army destined to invade the left margin of the Guadiana, when the death of Alfonso IX. brought about a suspension of arms, in order to establish peace with Ferdinand III. And about the same time that Theresa was debating in Valença the interests of her daughters with Berengaria, or, perhaps, a few months later, the King of Portugal proceeded to Alemdouro, with the object of taking charge of Chaves, and by his influence contribute to the solution of the Leonese question in favour of the Castillian prince. At the termination of these questions between the two States of Portugal and Castille, Ferdinand and Sancho could now turn their attention to the war on the Saracen frontiers.

The acts of the youthful monarch and the order which followed had won popular affection, while he or his ministers laboured so that this mark of goodwill should assume a legitimate foundation. The Order of the Temple—to whose efforts, in great part, were due the repopulation of upper Alemtejo—united in this undertaking the Order of the Hospital, between which, it appears, all former quarrels had become extinguished. In the spring of 1232 the Knights Hospitallers received from the prince the concession of an extensive tract of land, which was to form the centre of a new town to be called Ucrate, or Crato, and which they, as a fact, commenced to erect. The foundation likewise had been laid of another stronghold, the Castle of Vide, while the Chancellor-Bishop meanwhile endeavoured in the autumn of that same year to attract dwellers to Alter, where ruins still existed of a deserted town: thus they continued the judicious system of increasing the internal forces of the kingdom at the same time that they planned to extend on the south the line of frontiers.

The conquests were advanced in effect that same year towards the south and the east of Evora. After taking all necessary means to realise the establishment of new colonies to the north of Alemtejo, the

King departed from Coimbra, and proceeding to that province, opened the campaign recalling the glorious days of the reign of Alfonso I. The Portuguese flag waved beyond the Guadiana. The Mussalman towns of Moura and Serpa opened their doors to the Christians, and the defence of those dangerous places were entrusted, it appears, to the Hospitallers. A youthful knight lately associated to the Order there, quickly became renowned by his daring and his success. This knight was Alfonso Peres Farinha, who had distinguished himself in former civil wars, and then entered the Order of the Hospital. This knight, who so often couched his lance and brandished the sword in combats which brought no glory, commenced here a long and honoured expiation in encounters with the Saracens, practising to become in course of time the chief of the Order in Portugal, and later on one of the most notable personages of that century.

The passage of the Guadiana and the conquest of Serpa and Moura were one more brilliant proof of the warlike instincts of Sancho, who, in restoring to the kingdom the military activity which for a time had been laid aside, was manifesting at the early age of twenty-two that he was a worthy representative of his noble great-grandfather Yet this was not all. Like him, to the gifts of a warrior were added a pious spirit—at least, in conformity to piety as it was understood in those days. The political proceedings of the prelates were sufficient to nourish animadversion in the King, and the events which had compelled to put into action the laws against the licentiousness of the clergy would have cooled the common belief in the sanctity of their character. Corruption was no less prevalent among the Monastic Orders, and the gross devotion of those times, which tended to associate religious ideas with individuals, turned naturally towards the new Mendicant Orders. It was to these, after the Military Orders, that the King of Portugal manifested greater affection, and to which he granted favours with a more liberal hand, imitating the example of his cousin Louis IX. of France, who incorporated himself to the Institute of Penance, a kind of secular friars minors, which the reformer of Assissi established in order to enlist many individuals. From thence probably proceeded the designation of Capello to Sancho, given to him by his enemies. And in effect, although he did not deny his protection to the various monasteries of the kingdom as his predecessors had done before him, and he even endowed them, but the predilection he manifested for the new Orders is clearly seen in the influence some of their

members obtained during his reign, and also the rapid increase of convents of both the Dominican and Franciscan Orders.

This prince, gentle in times of peace, was violent on the field of battle; and if the blade of his sword weighed heavily on the brows of his enemies, his arm weighed no less heavily over his own soldiers who hesitated in combats. Notwithstanding all the complaints of the prelates, all the threats of the Pontiffs, they were unable to induce him to desist from compelling the individuals composing the body of the clergy to take part in military expeditions. This proceeded from the fact that any slight pretext sufficed for individuals to consider themselves exempt as belonging to that class, and the privilege of the tonsure had been abused to its highest degree. Many of these were even criminals, who sought refuge under the shadow of the Sanctuary, thus eluding the severity of the tribunals, and by their acts increasing the scandals of the clergy. It became, therefore, indispensable to diminish these clerical exemptions, while seeking a remedy against the proceeding of the prelates, a proceeding which called forth from Gregory IX., in 1234, a severe Encyclical Letter addressed to the Portuguese bishops, to compel them to respect the ecclesiastical right.

The war with the Saracens continued meanwhile with prosperous results. An individual who was destined to become one of the most terrible scourges of Islamism, had already merited to be chosen by the Portuguese Spatharios as their chief. This was D. Paio Peres Correia, the illustrious knight of Alemdouro. The friars of Saint James (Santiago) still held their principal residence in Alcacer, but since the reduction of this important stronghold in 1218, invasions had not been extended on that side towards the south, and if, as is believed, many a fight took place between the monk-knights and the Saracens beyond the Sado, no great results accrued, since no memory of these remain. In the year 1234, however, Aljustrel was submitted. The conquest, which up to that time had advanced through Alto Alemtejo, along the Guadiana, and to the east of this river, now changed its scene of action, and the neighbourhood of Alcacer shows us that the Spatharios principally intervened, because soon after Sancho gave them Aljustrel (March, 1235), with all its surrounding territories, as well as the seigniory of the castle and town of Cezimbra (January, 1236), where prospered, it appears, the colony of Franks which Sancho I. had established thirty-six years previously. Such had been the services of Paio

Peres Correia and two of the friars about this epoch, that they received from the Crown, in behalf of the Order of Santiago, not only the patronage of the churches of Cezimbra, but also of Palmella and Alcacer, reserved in previous donations, and in 1237 were added those of Almada as a new title to favour the Spatharios.

These victories and conquests were most valuable aids to the Crown against the higher clergy. Rome hesitated between the two opposed interests—the clergy who sought to defend the pretensions of civil power, and Christianity triumphing by means of the arms of the brave King of Portugal. The agents of the Portuguese prince in Rome had obtained severe providences against the abuses in the ordination of the clergy, and now a bull was expedited in which Gregory IX. exhorted generally the subjects of Sancho to take up arms to assist him in his glorious undertakings, which he extolled highly. "It was God," said the Pope, "who made and still was making the Saracens disappear before the face of the warriors of the faith. It was to the blessing of Heaven that the increase of the adorers of the Cross was due, in the cities which the Mussalmans had left deserted." Hence it was the duty of one and all to concur, not only in defending the lands already acquired, but also to help their prince in prosecuting the noble cause he had so generously espoused. Those who should follow Sancho in the incursions against the Saracens, or form part of his army, the Pope granted to them, during four years, the same indulgences which the councils had decreed to such as vowed themselves in the far-distant expeditions beyond the seas. In this way did the animadversions of e prelates fall down before the glory of the conquests.

But the individuals who would repeat with better fortune the attacks against the Crown already occupied the two principal Sees of the kingdom, Braga and Coimbra—the first the metropolitan, the second the capital. By the death of the celebrated Stephen Soares, the chapter of Braga elected as the Archbishop Silvestre Godinho, who departed to Rome to receive the pallium, from whence he returned in 1231. Meanwhile the Bishop D. Pedro, who in the midst of his demency was more prudent than the other prelates, proceeded to Italy to lay down at the feet of the Pontiff the pastoral staff, thus avoiding strifes with the civil power, and also the consequences of the animadversions of the clergy on that account. The successor of Stephen Soares, as Metropolitan of Coimbra, was entrusted with the execution of the punishment which the Pope had resolved to visit upon

the members of the Coimbra clergy, who, with their bishop, had preferred tranquillity to the risks which the rest of their body had undertaken without hesitation. But whether the Archbishop carried out to the letter the determinations of the Curia, or if he modified them, is unknown. We only know that two years after the death of D. Pedro in 1233, a new bishop, Master Tiburcio, was elected to that diocese. This prelate was one of those who were to prepare, with the fall of the throne, the vengeance which for years the Church had vainly attempted to obtain.

The errors of those who govern ever influence, more or less, the revolutions which cast down princes and change dynasties, notwithstanding that these may have sprung from causes purely fortuitous, from the intrigues of the ambitious, from political innovations, or from the violence of human passions. Dowered with a noble character, popular as a king, a valiant and successful warrior, what was wanting to Sancho to prevent him from bequeathing a glorious name to history? He was deficient in the administrative energy of his father, he was wanting in the strength to repulse those who flattered him in his appetites and passions, and in surrounding himself with ministers sufficiently active and severe to restrain, as far as possible, violence the contempt of laws, covetousness, the laxity of customs, disorders common to those rude and ignorant times. Fiscal harshness and the jealousy of authority, which Alfonso II. carried to excess, were qualities which in his son, as in the rest, was far from inheriting. At least, this is the result of the facts which, if not the only ones, nor the principal cause of the fall of this prince, nevertheless contributed towards facilitating the victory of the clergy and palliated their work of iniquity.

The Portuguese prelates, and many other influential members of the Church, were at that epoch generally the most cultured men in the kingdom. Ordinarily speaking, the principal offices of the chapter and bishopric were filled by individuals who previously had attained to the degree of *Magister*, and proved that they had followed regular studies either in Italy, France, or Salamanca, where Alfonso IX. of Leon had established the study of letters with far more success than Alfonso VIII. of Castille in Palencia. The lengthened residence of the bishops in Rome, the experience they gained in business and State affairs, conducted by the most skilful diplomatists of Europe, were circumstances which, joined to their individual culture of mind and natural genius,

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enabled them to become distinguished at Court intrigues or by the moral force exercised by the clergy.

But all things were indicating that a storm was brewing over the country. The clamours of the prelates of Oporto and Braga, more or less exaggerated, increased, and affairs in the diocese of Lisbon looked grave. The Infante Ferdinand was about nineteen at the time of the campaigns of Sancho, and had received a military education. Yielding up to the Crown, in return for a certain sum, all he possessed—the inheritance of his father and of his sister, the Princess of Denmark, as all else—he established his residence in Serpa, a fit place for a young knight to exercise himself in the profession of arms, and the seigniority of which his brother had given him. He seldom, it appears, frequented the Court, but he nevertheless served Sancho with sincere good-will.

After the death of D. Sueiro, a certain D. Paio was elected Bishop of Lisbon, who survived his election but a short time. After D. Paio's death two individuals disputed the mitre—Sancho Gomes, who had the sympathies of the Court, and Master John, an individual greatly esteemed in Rome, who filled in the chapter the dignity formerly exercised by the Bishop of Guarda. As might be expected, the choice of the greater number of the chapter fell on the Dean, for the very reason that his contender was the favourite of the Court. But the votes of the clergy were not uniform: Sancho Gomes had a party, and was also elected, but not legally, yet it sufficed to warrant the decided protection awarded to him, and persecute the Dean, who, from his relations with the Roman Curia, had lost the favour of the King, and had already more than once experienced violence from the civil powers. The Infante of Serpa undertook the charge of compelling the Dean to yield up the field to his adversary. We can easily imagine the character of Ferdinand to be similar to that of other knights accustomed, like him, to a life of warfare—proud, irascible, and brutal; and his action in this affair proved it. Accompanied by his men, he entered Lisbon, and took all that Master John possessed, destroyed his house, and reduced to ashes all his household effects and vessels. Not content with thus visiting the Dean with this retribution, he sequestrated all the property belonging to the relatives of the newly elected, banishing and compelling them to become exiles, and conceal themselves, to avoid meeting the same fate as some of the clergy of Santander, whom the Infante ordered should be put to death. An impious circumstance occurred at the time in Lisbon, which showed his ferocious character.

While Ferdinand was witnessing the destruction of the residence of the Bishop elect, a few of his friends endeavoured to save some effects, and hastened to place them in a church. These were pursued, and when they bolted the doors he ordered the soldiers to break down the roof and descend to open the doors, but these soldiers refused to violate the temple. The Infante then called some of the Saracens who dwelt in Lisbon, and being less scrupulous, they promptly obeyed him. They descended, and made the altar a footstool, and tore down the cross, which rolled in pieces, and was crushed under the feet of the Mussulmans, and the sacred Forms and holy chrism and oils were trampled and dispersed on the pavement. The last hopes of the victims were then extinguished on beholding the fierce wrath which did not recoil in presence of this act of sacrilege, and therefore would not be contained within bounds by any respect for heaven or earth.

The accounts of the events which were taking place in Portugal daily reached Rome. Gregory IX. at length endeavoured to put some bounds to the evils. The Bishop of Salamanca and others were appointed to investigate the disorders which had taken place in Oporto, and these had employed canonical censures to intimidate the King. The Pontiff commenced by reinvalidating, in an encyclical letter, addressed to all the prelates of the kingdom in January, 1238, the sentence of interdict fulminated by the Apostolic commission, and ordering them not to attempt to annul them. Other energetic provisions followed from the Pope. The Dean, Archdeacon, and Treasurer of Orense were appointed to constrain Sancho by censures to respect the rights and immunities of the Church, and the bishop of that See to watch that no ecclesiastic held any communication on religious matters with the excommunicated prince. To obtain the desired end, the Pope suspended the especial exemptions which in cases of interdict the Dominicans and Friars Minors enjoyed, among whom, it appears, the King found spiritual shelter when repelled from the communication of the faithful by the bishops. At the same time it fell to the Primate of Toledo to succour, in their want, through the cathedrals and monasteries of Leon and Castille, not only the Bishop elect of Lisbon, but likewise any ecclesiastic or secular persecuted for his cause, and, like him, fugitive and needy. Two letters, addressed to the Portuguese prince, completed the series of providences by which Rome attempted to place barriers, at least temporarily, to the daring of the civil power—one, violent and threatening, turned in general upon the vexations of the

Church; the other in an especial manner concerned the Bishop elect of Lisbon, whose banishment Gregory IX. wished to end by employing more gentle means, although not free from serious menaces.

In view of that storm, Sancho and his veteran knights recoiled in terror. The facts which had so greatly excited the indignation of the Pope had not sprung from the doctrines and profound convictions of enlightened ministers, but from the wrath of an ignorant and warlike Court, which clashed against the resistance it met with in the organisation of society—the instigators of the deplorable policy which only leads princes on towards a fearful situation, in which they are to crush or be crushed, hapless when vanquished, and no less hapless when victors. Sancho and his advisers were offering a sad spectacle of redoubled weakness. The same blinded imprudence which instigated the atrocities of the Infante of Serpa now led his brother, the King, to represent a scene of unworthy subservience towards the Prelate of Braga. In truth, could the affairs of earth awaken the eternal sleep of the dead, the corpse of Stephen Soares would rise up from the tomb, to greet the victory achieved by his successor—a complete victory, were deep hatreds to be satisfied with less than complete annihilation. Sancho acknowledged the truth of all contained in the accusations of Silvestre, and promised, by letters patent, to keep without restriction the articles concerning the ecclesiastical liberty in general, stated in the bull which the Pope had addressed to him, a copy of which had been sent to the Archbishop of Braga. Nothing was reserved, not even that which under difficult circumstances his tutors had otherwise reserved. And as though this were not enough, and he wished to prove how completely the laws of amortisement promulgated by his father and by himself were abrogated, he made over large gifts to the Metropolitan of goods, seigniories, and patronages. In compensation, the prelate yielded up appointments which neither he nor his immediate predecessors had filled—those of chaplain and chancellors of the King—and he even gave up the right of coining money conceded by Alfonso I., when yet an Infante, to the renowned D. Paio, for the erection of the cathedral, and the use of which no vestiges remain.

It is said that Silvestre Godinho replied with scorn to the submission of his prince. Some months previous to this fact, which took place about the end of 1238, Sancho was already proving that in political contentions which required perseverance and skill, rather than impetuous valour and unreflecting audacity, he was a weak opponent, since

he easily passed from blind wrath to extreme despondency. It was in respect to the complaints of the Bishop of Oporto that Gregory IX. first attended to, as more pressing and first on the list, because in the documents relating to these discords Rodrigo Sanches, the uncle of the King, and his lieutenant in a large portion of the territory between Lima and Douro, was towards the Oporto Church, more or less brutally, what Ferdinand of Serpa had been to that of Lisbon—that is to say, its scourge. In view of the threats of the Pope, Sancho II. endeavoured to afford plenary satisfaction to Pedro Salvadores. One of the preliminary conditions towards a composition was that no courtier should be allowed to intervene, suspected of opposing the intentions of the King. Of those who in effect intervened, and not averse to the Bishop, were Martin Annes, the first subaltern, Gil Vasques, Lord of Soverosa, and his two sons, Martin Gil and Vasco Gil, as also his new chancellor, Durando Froyaz, and some other individuals, who, fearing the consequences of those contentions, had laboured to put them down. In the concessions then made to Pedro Salvadores, Sancho had shown himself equally weak, but he still attempted to save the royal jurisdiction in civil causes between the clergy and the seculars, stipulating a middle term, that is, that these causes should be judged jointly with the Bishop and civil judge. This point, however, of the concordat depended on the consent of the Pope, a consent which was sought for later on, yet never obtained.

But the people of Oporto, the ever-faithful ally of the Crown, continued to combat even after the prince had been declared vanquished. It was the same as they did when Sancho I. on his death-bed was left alone on the field, to combat against the implacable Martin Rodrigues. Pledged among themselves as formerly, the Compostellians against Diogo Gelmires, and joining with Rodrigo Sanches, who, it appears, was one of the bitterest enemies of Pedro Salvadores, and with Ferdinand Annes, Canon of the See of Braga, a man of power, who disputed the patronage of the Church of Monte-Cordova with the Bishop, they sustained for more than two years (May, 1238, to September, 1240) the field which Sancho had forsaken. It was a long and angry strife, in which on one side were employed force, and on the other force and excommunications. From this is seen the want of sincerity of the prelate, when he lamented the vexations which he said the civil power employed against the inhabitants of Oporto, where at the same time was carried on the shameful dispute between the Bishop and chapter, with the Dominicans, as

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to who should have the preference, a dispute in which both the King and Pontiff were obliged to intervene, to avoid scandal and save the friars.

It was said that the tempest arisen between the Altar and the Throne became entirely dispelled in 1240, while the Bishop of Coimbra, Tiburcio, and the aged Lord of Lumiares, Abril Peres, the elected arbitrators by the contenders, arranged the misunderstandings between the citizens of Oporto and their pastor, both being wearied out by mutual persecutions, and the Bishop of Lisbon, D. John, whose election had been confirmed by the Pope, although he still resided in Italy, yet authorised his successor, as Dean and near relative, to terminate the question with the Crown, which was eventually effected in the following year, in a similar manner to the concordat effected with Peter Salvadores.

After having practised many acts of impiety and brutality, the Infante of Serpa experienced bitter remorse. His conscience constantly reproached him with being an assassin and a sacrilegious man. Terror of his evil doings constantly assailed him, particularly during the night and hours of solitude. There was no peace for him, a reprobate and accursed, nor hopes of obtaining by proofs of repentance pardon for the past, and his crimes were such that only the Pope himself could absolve him. Ferdinand departed from Portugal, and proceeded to Rome, where he was to meet the persecuted Bishop and some of his victims. He cast himself at the feet of Gregory IX., who absolved him, yielding to the petitions of the very ones whom the Infante had offended. The penance enjoined on the delinquent was proportioned to the gravity of the crimes, and the reparation such as, humanly speaking, could be exacted. The Pope bade the Infante return to Portugal, and not only restitute to the Church all he had taken, but likewise redeem, as far as he could, conformably to the will of the prelates, the damages and affronts made generally to the Church; and that, far from persecuting the Bishop of Lisbon and his relatives and friends, he should protect and defend them, and abstaining from again placing violent hands on ecclesiastics, he should deliver up the price of the blood he had spilt to the relatives of the dead or to the Church to which they belonged. Yet this was not all that the repentant Infante had to perform. During Lent he was to go through a long process of expiation. With unshaven beard, and head covered with ashes, he was to assist, at the porch of the temple, all the offices and services of the forty days, and during these days he was forbidden to wear silk, scarlet, or embroideries in gold. On Good Friday the bishop

or priest should then come to him according to the ceremonial of the ritual, and taking his hand, admit him to the communion of the faithful, and on that day to clothe ten poor persons, after washing their feet. During the whole of Lent he was to feed five beggars at his own table; but on Fridays he was to eat his meals on the ground, from only one dish, and served solely by one servant.

After his admission into the Church on Good Friday, he was to proceed bare-footed to all the churches of the town, and then be permitted to shave and wash himself. Besides this, for seven years he was to perform a great number of fasts, and to abstain from flesh-meat on Saturdays, except in urgent cases, or on Christmas Day, should it fall on that day.

The penance enjoined especially for the deaths which took place in Santarem was more severe. After the first week of his arrival at that town, the Infante, simply clothed in a tunic and cloak, bare-footed, and cords around his neck, was to quit the Dominican Convent, and passing through the Monastery of the Hospitallers, proceed to the Church of Sancta Maria da Alcaçova, and in the porch be scourged by a priest, the Psalm *Miserere me, Deus*, being meanwhile intoned. Besides this, he was to redeem twenty captives, have no alliances with Saracens, nor live in their midst, or assist them against the Christians, but, on the contrary, combat them unceasingly for three years, particularly on the frontiers of Portugal. Before departing, Ferdinand swore, in presence of the Pontiff, to be the defender of the Church, obeying the Apostolic legates, and honouring them. In order to soften the bitterness of such a lengthened expiation, and afford him means for the war, Gregory IX. granted a general absolution from all censures to such as should follow the standard of the Infante, or afford any pecuniary assistance to his undertakings in which the prelates especially should be obliged to give. He likewise authorised him to restitute to the Mussalmans, instead of captives, any spoils of war And in order to obtain further resources to fulfil the obligations he was accepting, the youthful knight obtained from the Pontiff the permission to sell the seigniority of Serpa—a truly strange act, since it was his brother the King of Portugal who was the only one to give or refuse the permission, should he require it. These affairs cooled the friendship existing between the Infante and Sancho, but the clergy not only gained a great conversion, but acquired a new ally. Before departing from Rome, Ferdinand obtained from the Pope a bull

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expedited to the Bishop of Osma, charged to watch that his promises be carried out, with the object of regaining a portion of the property inherited by the death of Leonor of Denmark, on the plea of youth, and had been deceived when effecting the contract with his brother. These and similar pretensions reveal to us the motive sought for by the sale of Serpa which Sancho II., in view of former contracts having been severed, could deprive him of. This was an apple of discord cast between the two brothers, who had hitherto lived united, and these discords necessarily weakened the Crown.

Sancho appeared to feel instinctively that danger existed in the retirement of his palace, and not beneath the war tents of the battle-field, because it was there where he sought refuge—it was there where he felt kingly energy and all strength renewed, and which were wanting when he put away his arms. While these affairs with the Bishop were going on, the conquests on both sides of the Guadiana had rapidly advanced up to the shores of the ocean. Successively, the Castles of Mertola, Al-Fajar de Pena, and Ayamonte had fallen into the power of Sancho II., yet he witnessed, when reducing the last one, brave knights slain before him. These castles, particularly the first, were very ancient and renowned, and commanded vast tracts of land, which were given to them for a term. Thus, the district of Mertola, bounded on the north and north-east by the rivers Cobes and Terges, met on the east and south-east those of Serpa, Al-Fajar and Ayamonte, and this last one included the whole territory extending to the districts of the Mussalman towns of Saltes, Gibralcon, and Huelva; the Portuguese dominions thus extended by this conquest up to the margins of Odiel, where never before it had reached, and where never again it was included.

The seigniority of these towns was given to the Spatharios, under condition that they should defend them, and a convent was established of their Order in Mertola, as being nearest to the new line of frontiers. To the extreme east of modern Algarve, the two important towns of Tabira (Tavira) and Hisn-Kastala (Cacella) had also submitted to the Christian yoke in 1239, although it is probable that this fact dates as far back as the conquest of Mertola and of the territories extending up to the Odiel. The two castles were delivered to the same Order—Cacella in the same year, and Tavira in 1244. Hence the Military Orders were in possession of the greater portion of the territories united to the Crown of Portugal during the course of half a century, in the

provinces south of the Tagus. The seigniorities of the Temple, most extensive in Beira-Baixa, still included the northern edge of Alemtejo. The possessions of the Hospital and Calatrava were in Alemtejo sufficiently numerous and extensive, on the south of those of the Templars along the centre and to the north of the province. The Hospital established there the principal residence of their Order, the Crato; and the Order of Calatrava, a no less principal one, in Aviz. Placed, so to say, on the vanguard, the Spatharios overlooked the districts of the west and south, and almost always held possession of the castles and places which the victorious sword of the Portuguese prince wrenched from Islamism up to the mouth of the Guadiana.

The efforts made in 1228 to restore Old Idanha, if sufficient to instil new life into the ancient episcopal city, were nevertheless insufficient to preserve it. Surrounded by places belonging to the Temple, withdrawn from the territory comprehended in the donations made by Sancho I. to their Order, it would naturally place every possible obstacle to the increase of ancient Egitania; and, as a fact, the decrease of the restored city is attributed to the influence of its powerful neighbours. When the questions with the ecclesiastical State had to all appearance terminated, Sancho attempted to remedy the evil by giving providences for a more efficacious restoration, and one which he had in mind for twelve years. Passing on to Beira-Baixa in the year 1240, he recalled by letters patent those who had received plots of land in Idanha, and came to dwell in them, these said plots to be held as their own free properties, on a three years' residence, after which they could be transferred. Those who should not come to the call were to lose for ever the right of what they had possessed, while the obedient ones would have the protection of the King, who threatened to visit with exemplary chastisement whosoever offended or disturbed them in their possession. This system was followed in a similar manner when repopulating Salvaterra do Extremo, which was likewise deserted. We know that Sancho restored the seigniority of these places to the Temple, and it is probable that this was effected about that epoch, because we find, among the number of knights attached to him, a noble Templar, D. Martin Martins, a youth who had been brought up with the prince, and who, even in his youth, became so distinguished among those illustrious warriors that he merited, two years later, to be elevated to the dignity of Master of the Order in Castille, Leon, and Portugal.

A glance over a topographical chart of Modern Algarve and the

portion of Andalusia between the Odiel and the Guadiana will show the part of Saracen dominions to which, after reducing Ayamonte, Cacella, and Tavira, the King of Portugal directed his forces. What remained to the Mussalmans in the province of Chenchir was the largest and most populous portion. Besides Silves the capital, which had remained free since it was retaken from Sancho I., there were other towns on the west of Tavira which had continued separated from the rest of Andalus, since the time when the Christians lorded both margins of the Guadiana up to the sea. On the east communications were thus intercepted, and to the north, beyond the range of mountains which encircled that lovely band of land, extended the plains of Alemtejo, which were either deserted or sparsely dotted with watch-towers, forts, and Christian castles. Towards the south and west the province was surrounded by the ocean on both sides of the Cape of the Arabs, or of Saint Vincent. Hence all things seemed to counsel the King of Portugal to attempt an expedition on that side. Simultaneously attacked by the garrisons of Mertola, Al-Fajar, Ayamonte, Cacella, and Tavira, and by the royal troops across the Serras of Caldeirão and Monchique, and by a fleet which, departing from the Tagus, threatened them on the littoral side, prevented aid coming from Huelva, Seville, or other ports of Andalus—Silves, Faro Loulé, and the rest of the towns of Al-Fajar very quickly bent to the yoke which threatened them. Sancho, towards the end of 1240, was preparing for a new expedition, with the object of reducing the remnants of the Mussalman Gharb. In this way would be repaired the affront and damage received by Portugal in the loss of Silves half a century earlier, and which had not yet been avenged.

The efforts, however, which the country required to make were great, as it was not the submission of a castle or a village which was projected, but that of a province, although that province might be a limited one. The Pontiff was appealed to, in order that by religious promises he might enkindle the less ardent spirits. The King and his knights, with their land and naval forces, were ready for that action; but the excessive concessions made to the clergy, joined to the exactions of the nobles and the wasting of the public rents, had exhausted the resources of the Crown, and cooled the good-will of the people to make sacrifices for warfare. Similar undertakings always found the spirit of Gregory IX. propitious, and a bull, dated 18th of February, 1241, addressed generally to all the inhabitants of Portugal, urged them by

indulgences to associate themselves with the undertaking, either personally or by contributing to the expenses of the army and naval forces, which, it appears, had attained to a certain increase, and merited especial attention during that reign. So many efforts, however, were useless, because this expedition never took place; at least, we find no vestige that the Portuguese territory increased during the reign of Sancho by new dominions, besides those which, as we have seen, were confided to the keeping of the Spatharios.

We must now glance over what passed in Rome and the internal state of the kingdom, since these two diverse facts offer the proximate causes for the last events of the reign of Sancho, and, in part, of the failure of the projected scheme. Gregory IX., with the object of employing all the moral force of the Church in his violent contentions with Frederick II., Emperor of Germany, convoked a Council for the summer of 1241, to be held in Rome. In virtue of this call, which compelled the prelates of Europe to proceed to Italy, the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Oporto, and others departed from Portugal. The Council was never held, because the fleet of Frederick, who was opposed to this meeting, broke up, near Pisa, the Genoese fleet, which conveyed the prelates of France and Spain (May, 1241) to the Pontifical States. Many were taken captives, especially of the French, but the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Oporto fortunately escaped. The Portuguese clergy, deprived of their most notable chiefs, became weakened at the very juncture when they needed greatest vigour to maintain the advantageous position which the bishops had, through the last concordats, obtained from the Crown.

Yet it was not alone the want of sagacious ministers which caused Sancho to hold the reins of government in a weak manner, but a certain contempt for the ancient ranks into which the various degrees of the nobility were divided. Formerly the *Ricos-homens*, or Barons of the kingdom, entrusted with the government of the districts, were those who alone confirmed by their approval the favours of the reigning head, and the names of these barons, with the declaration of the territories they held, were mentioned with the names of the bishops, and solemnised and legalised royal decrees. This was the ancient usage transmitted by the monarchy of Asturias and Oviedo, from whence it sprung, and from which it depended. In the issue of the decrees, however, was expressed only the free and spontaneous will of the King although the final confirmation of the barons and prelates was added,

which implied that there were others in the kingdom who could restrain him. These styles of Chancellorship, preserved since Portugal existed, almost without exception as regards at least what appertained to the favours of land and patrimonial public property, became completely altered as soon as Sancho was surrounded by his turbulent Court of youthful knights. In the decrees after the year 1236, there appears a confusion of classes, and the pretensions of nobility in general to assume a more direct part, and more directly characterised in those acts which, up to that time, had been spontaneous and purely of the King. From thence was expressed in the concessions of lands and seigniorities the consent and the authority of those who arrogated the titles of lords and magnates. These vague denominations were evidently meant to express the complex idea of *ricos-homens*, of peers, of knights, distinct classes, and whose gradation was precise and defined, but which favour, intrigue, or superiority of military gifts in individuals of lesser rank were constantly confounding. Thus we may easily imagine the consequences of this species of aristocratic anarchy, for, while public authority became daily more uncertain, the emulations, intrigues, and quarrels among courtiers multiplied. Many of the veteran barons of the kingdom and other noblemen, who had been vanquished in the strifes for favour, retired to their homesteads, where they oppressed the people, and, by their close contact, found occasions for inciting conflicts with the clergy. Discontent and perturbations extended, and the action of the Crown became, in a great measure, annulled.

An accidental circumstance happened at this epoch to complicate the embarrassment of the kingdom. Among the Court ladies of D. Berengaria, mother of Ferdinand III., was D. Mecia (or Mencia) Lopes, daughter of the Lord of Biscay, Lopo Dias de Haro, and granddaughter, by her mother D. Urraca, of Alfonso IX. of Leon, and niece of the King of Castille. This lady was the widow, yet still youthful, of Alvaro Peres de Castro, who, having repudiated Aurembiax, Countess of Urgel, married her, and died in 1240 without issue. Sancho, who had attained his thirtieth year without having married, now married this lady, tradition attributing to the monarch an ardent love for this woman, over whose memory their lingers grave accusations. At a former epoch, when royal authority was rigorous and public order existed, this marriage of Sancho would have offered great advantages and afforded an heir to the throne; but now this affection only served to withdraw the King from the duties and cares of war and from

seeking a remedy for the internal disorganisation of the kingdom by enkindling new jealousies, in proportion as courtiers would more or less captivate the favour of the Queen, to whom tradition accuses of having contributed to public disorders, due to the fascination she exercised over the spirit of her husband, a fascination to obtain which she had employed black arts, if we credit the legends of ancient chronicles.

Such was the situation of the King and kingdom during the years 1241 and 1244. The Portuguese prelates, who had escaped when the Genoese fleet was broken up by Frederick, remained in Italy, where they resided during the long term of two years which elapsed from the death of Gregory IX. (August, 1241) to the accession of Innocence IV., with the interruption of the election of Celestine IV., who died a few days after, it is said, from poison. We infer all this from the absence of any vestige of their residence in Portugal, and it appears the Bishop of Lisbon no longer existed at the end of the year 1241, but the interminable combat between the clerical and civil power was due to the conjunction of circumstances which afforded to the bishops a means of gaining a decisive battle against the Crown. The idea of impelling the fall of a prince from his throne through the impulses of the Church was ancient, and was judged so feasible that in grave cases the Popes did not hesitate clearly to allude to it in their threats. In Portugal, as a kingdom in a certain way dependent on the Pontifical throne, the realisation of this fact was rendered more easy as soon as means, both moral and material, of defence should be wanting. Concerning this point the language employed by the Roman Curia, even in the reign of Alfonso II., was well understood. We know that the first revelation of the plot against Sancho was in the allegations made before Innocence IV. about the year 1244. What did all this imply? The inability of the King to govern, and consequently the need of depriving him of the supreme command. In order to obtain this end it was needful to annul moral and substitute material force to which he would have recourse to save his political existence, by a greater one which should crush him. The first might be attained up to a certain point by stamping on his brow the odious mark of inaptitude, and it could be completed by the accusation of cowardice.

The Prelates knew this, that military glory had ever been the shield of Sancho against their attack. The second condition could be satisfied by finding a chief capable of disputing the throne with him, and who should be illustrious by birth, valour, and of sufficient influence in the

kingdom to gather around him all wounded interests, all hatreds against the prince, all turbulent ambitions, and besides this offer a guarantee of peace and order, or at least hopes to the masses, which, doubtless oppressed by an unbridled nobility, were therefore indifferent to the fate of the King. To all these qualities must be added that of being a Portuguese to avoid the difficulties which, moreover, might spring from national pride and love of independence. Such an individual could only be found among the relatives of the monarch, because only in some of them could be united together all the indispensable requirements.

Of the uncles of Sancho, Ferdinand, Count of Flanders, died in 1233, and the eldest one, D. Pedro, a finished type of the restless knights of that epoch, still survived. Towards the end of the reign of Alfonso IX. of Leon, he contracted a marriage with Aurembaix, Countess of Urgel, who had been previously divorced from Alvaro Peres de Castro, and proceeded to Aragon, probably after the death of his cousin, in whose Court he had for so many years exercised the highest influence. Soon after his union with the Countess of Urgel, she died, leaving as heir the Portuguese Infante. At this juncture the King of Aragon, James I., submitted the islands of Mallorca and Minorca (1230) after a long resistance. It was expedient then to unite the crown to the county of Urgel, and to obtain the cession of D. Pedro, he gave him in feud the seigniority of the two islands with the title of kingdom, to which the Infante soon added that of Iviça, which he took possession of with the assistance of the Archbishop of Tarragona. A fief of a conqueror prince as James I. was, the Infante could well deliver himself up to his bellicose propensities, by serving Alfonso IX. But in the same way as in Leon, the war against the Mussalmans of Spain appeared to him too circumscribed a field for his immense activity, he offered Pope Gregory IX. in 1229 to combat the Emperor Frederick, under the banners of the Apostolic See. Thus in 1236 he proceeded to the East to aid the Empire of Constantinople against the Saracens of Syria. On his return to the Peninsula the Infante resided in his dominions, or at the Court of Aragon until the year 1244, during which time he ceded the seigniority of the Balearic Islands to the Crown in exchange, it appears, for various lands and castles newly conquered in the kingdom of Valencia. Hence, involved in the discords which at this juncture were raised between James I. and the heir to the throne in whose favour the Infante declared himself, he could give but little attention to

the affairs of his country; moreover, it more directly concerned the brothers of Sancho and his nephews as more nearly related to the King, to one of which, in the event of dying childless, the crown would naturally fall.

Hence it was towards the Infante D. Alfonso or to Ferdinand of Serpa that the clergy should turn to further their dark designs. In Ferdinand, remorse had produced such a vivid and lasting impression that he strictly fulfilled to the end the long and difficult expiation imposed. The deplorable inaction of Sancho joined to the disunion of the nobility had necessarily weakened the military ardour of former times. This and the vexation which he had given rise to in the spirit of his brother the King, prevented Ferdinand of Serpa from making war to the Saracens on the frontiers of Portugal. Hence the Infante passed on to Castille, where he married a daughter of Count Fernando Nunes de Lara, and became the vassal of Ferdinand III., fighting against the infidels under the victorious standards of Prince D. Alfonso, afterwards Alfonso X. The absolute want of records concerning the Infante of Serpa from the year 1243 renders it probable that he died when engaged in those religious wars, and therefore his name does not appear as intervening in the grave altercations which soon after agitated his native country.

There remained the Infante D. Alfonso, who had departed to France for the marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor with the Prince of Denmark (1229), although we have no proofs of his residence in that country until 1238, when he obtained the seigniority of Boulogne by his marriage with the Countess Mathilde, or Mahaut, who inherited that county from Ida and Reinaldo de Dammartin, one of the allies of Ferdinand of Flanders, and his companion in misfortune at the battle of Bouvines. Mathilde was the widow, since 1234, of Philip Hurepel (the Hairy), son of Philip Augustus, King of France, and Ignez de Merania. It is said this union was due to the influence of the Queen D. Branca, his aunt, whose Court he followed at the time. Alfonso had manifested himself, like his brothers, to be a worthy grandson of Sancho I. and of Alfonso Henry, and in the celebrated battle of Saintes, given by Louis IX. to Henry III. of England (July, 1242), the Count of Boulogne greatly distinguished himself, as he was the first with his men to break the English squadrons. But the amnesty established between France and England in 1243 afforded some repose. It was this prince who was chosen the instrument for the designs of the

clergy. In the event of Sancho dying without issue, he would be heir to the throne, and surrounded by persons who belonged to the illustrious families of his native country, he could not be indifferent to what took place there. He was valiant, and the manner he behaved when he substituted his brother to the supreme power, proved that he possessed the ambition which confronts any moral respects, and this affair was discussed between him and the heads of the clergy. Yet it would be impossible to find the first sign of the dark plot which smouldered at the end of the year 1244 and beginning of 1245. Either the Count of Boulogne, knowing what passed, offered himself to the prelates to head this project, or they, which is more natural, sought him as the only man capable of carrying out the scheme, not only on account of the influence of his name, but also that of the nobles who had accompanied him from Portugal. Alfonso might create a party of malcontents, a party which would be irresistible should the clergy attain to unite the threats of the Church to the arms of earth and justify breaking loyalty to the prince with the sanction of the Pope. To the Count of Boulogne would be thus secured the inheritance of the crown, to the malcontents revenge of their rivals, and lastly to the clergy a terrible example for the civil power, which in future might serve as a security to the conditions which they might impose on the prince who opened the road to the throne.

There were various circumstances which favoured, more or less, the designs of the conspirators in and out of Portugal. The first was the actual position of the Pope, whose intervention appeared indispensable in that affair. A fugitive from Italy, and resolved upon combating unceasingly the Emperor of Germany, at the same time that he projected celebrating in Lyons a Council which his predecessor had been unable to hold in Rome, Innocence IV. endeavoured to obtain from all sides, and by all possible means, the money he required, not only to maintain the splendour of the Curia, enriching his relatives and partisans, but likewise to induce enemies and difficulties to his adversary. On the other hand, as the motives which directed the proceeding of the prelates of Portugal against Sancho were analogous to those which influenced the Pope against Frederick, it was evident that in deposing the Portuguese prince would be afforded a strong proof of the superiority of the ecclesiastical power over that of the civil, while the conveniences of policy and the generosity of the con-

spirators would necessarily move the heart of the Pontiff and the Cardinals to consider and take pity on the evils of a country which, as tributary to the Apostolic See, was more immediately dependent upon it.

Such were the circumstances which externally favoured the undertaking, while the internal ones were no less favourable. Among the nobles who had followed the Infante to France were Pedro Ourigues da Nobrega and Stephen Annes, son of a peer of Alemdouro. Besides these, there were in his suite some members of the Pereiras, who belonged to the resolute adversary of the Crown, Martin Rodrigues, or, at least, of some others united to him by blood relationship. Pedro Ourigues descended, on his mother's side, from the line of the Cunhas, and his cousins Egas Lourenço, Martin Lourenço, and John Lourenço figured among the most turbulent and covetous nobles of that epoch. Likewise one of the members of the illustrious lineage of the Portocarreiros, Raymund Viegas, was married to a sister of Pedro Ourigues. Added to this, the protection of the family of Soverosa, whose chief, after the death of Gil Vasques, was Martin Gil, had awakened the envy and odium of various noblemen, at the head of whom stood Abril Peres, the Lord of Lumiares, who excited to vengeance, sword in hand, other nobles, among which, in all probability, was the uncle of the King, Rodrigo Sanches, besides many other nobles who were adverse to Sancho, either through emulations or strifes which quickly arose between house and house, or through ambitious calculations. Such appeared to be those of the lineage of Valadares and Mello. One of the most ardent of the conspirators was Rodrigo, or Ruy Gomes de Briteiros, a simple peer, married to a daughter of John Peres de Maia. No less were the brothers Portocarreiros, one of them, D. John Egas or Viegas, was elected Archbishop of Braga as soon as the death of Silvestre Godinho became known in Portugal, an election which was supposed due to the conspiracy.

Hence there existed sufficient elements for attempting a revolution in Portugal, but before doing so it was necessary to impart to so hazardous an undertaking a certain character of legality and prevent the precautions that might be taken, when it became known at the Court of Coimbra that the Count of Boulogne was arranging to depart for his natal country. D. John Egas, since he was to receive the pallium from the hands of the Pontiff, had a plausible pretext for proceeding to

Lyons, and Gomes Viegas de Portocarreiro, one of the chief conspirators, could, without attracting notice, accompany the new Metropolitan, who was his brother. In this way did the heads of the intended revolt work together in France and Portugal. An unforeseen event occurred meanwhile to enable the Count of Boulogne to quit France and proceed to Lisbon, as the common route of those who went on to Palestine, among the inhabitants of which, as became known later on, the conspirators had numerous partisans. At the commencement of the year 1245 sad news from the East resounded throughout Europe. The *choresminos* (chowaresminos), expelled from Central Asia by the Mongols, had descended to the West, and, incited by the Sultan of Egypt, Saleh Ayub, had invaded Syria. It was an irresistible torrent, whose passage was marked by devastation, and Jerusalem soon fell into their power, while a decisive battle which they gained (October, 1244) against the Christians and against the Sultans of Damascus and Emesa, who were allied with the Christians, reduced the vanquished to the last straits. The details of this pitiful event were not known until the end of May, 1245, through a letter from the prelates of Ultramar, but the reports which flew before the arrival of this letter were most alarming, and attracted universal attention, notwithstanding the height of the strife between the Pope and the Emperor and the agitation it produced. It was this circumstance which so skilfully was taken advantage of. A letter exists addressed by Innocence to the Count of Boulogne, dated 30th of January, 1245, in which he counsels and implores him to depart to the Holy Land, whose deplorable situation he vaguely implores to aid. This singular bull, addressed to no one else but the Count, seems to us to bear a signification diverse from what it inculcates, and which historians with over-much sincerity attribute. When so many powerful princes and illustrious knights existed, it is strange that Innocence should address himself solely to a man who, though valiant, was master of little more than a feudal State, in an affair of such magnitude. Besides which, the providences for aiding the Christians of Palestine were only taken in the Council celebrated some months later, when the masters of the Military Orders and the Bishops of the East had solemnly invoked the aid of their co-religionists of Europe. In our opinion this decree was solicited by the Count of Boulogne himself, who sought a pretext for making an appearance in Lisbon accompanied by military forces without his presence arousing suspicions, and for this object a voyage to Palestine was an excellent plea.

Another decree, expedited a few days after in virtue of the representations made by the Count, proves that what disquieted him was not the affairs of Syria, but those of Portugal, and affords a degree of probability, if not of certainty, to our suspicions.

The marriage of Sancho offered a serious difficulty to the ambitious designs of his brother. In the event of deposing the King, should there exist a legitimate son, all hopes of assuming the crown would disappear as far as he was concerned, or at least there would be some one to dispute it. As yet circumstances favoured the Infante, for there were no children born to Sancho, and his Queen was related to him, although remotely. In truth, dispensations were becoming more general, and greater facilities of obtaining them after marriage was celebrated; besides which, in Spain, marriages among relatives were very usual, as the Portuguese prelates stated to the Pontiff in their complaints on the matter, nevertheless when through political or other motives any one was interested in promoting divorce, the Court of Rome was ready to maintain the rigour of its discipline. And in effect this took place: Innocence expedited a bull in February to the Archbishop of Compostella and the Bishop of Astorga, in reply to the manifestations laid before him by the Count of Boulogne concerning the scandal which the marriage of his brother had given, and the danger to his soul by this union, ordered them to examine if in truth Sancho was related to his wife, and in that case to divorce them and compel them to separate, without granting any appeal, while abstaining from having recourse to excommunication—a natural limitation which showed the conscience of Innocence and the remorse felt for debasing the moral force of the canons in a political intrigue.

At the time when Alfonso of Boulogne was making these direct demonstrations against the King of Portugal, D. John Egas either arrived in Lyons, or was already at the Court of Innocence IV. Then was reconsidered, it appears, the plea for the departure of the Count from his States. Louis IX., during a dangerous illness, made a vow to go to the Crusade should his life be spared, and after his convalescence, far from contemning, as he was advised, a promise made during the delirium of fever, resolved to fulfil his vow, and commenced to arrange affairs for the undertaking. Hence it was necessary to follow another course. Pretending to obey the bull concerning the aid for the Holy Land, Alfonso, as feudatory of the Crown, had to accompany his suzerain, should he proceed to Palestine, which would, moreover, alter

the designs which he covertly planned. At least, it is in this way that we can explain the new bull impetrated by the Count in April of the same year. Were the singular expressions of the bull sincere, and did they not convey the hidden thought which dictated them, we should believe that a sudden, ardent zeal for the cause of God had become enkindled in the spirit of the Infante. After praising him for the noble design which he manifested of making war against Islamism in Spain, towards which he had resolved to proceed, Innocence, desirous that all should assist the Count of Boulogne in the undertaking, particularly *the inhabitants of the Peninsula*, granted him and the *Portuguese* soldiers who might join him for this holy end the indulgences decreed by the Church in favour of those who should combat the Saracens of the East. To add any reflections in view of such a decree would be unnecessary for the enlightened reader of history. We shall continue, therefore, to profit by the monuments which the hand of Providence has saved to denounce to posterity a great deed of darkness, corruption, and hypocrisy.

The scenes of the drama whose plot was arranged in Lyons, and the terrible solution which ended under the sepulchral slab in Toledo, followed each other rapidly. Taking up the Cross to proceed to the defence of Christianity victorious in the Peninsula, and forgetting its almost annihilated state in Syria, Alfonso prepared to depart, while his party smoothed the path for conquering not the Mussalmans, but the conqueror of them. All the complaints aforementioned made by the prelates against Sancho had been carefully recorded in a lengthened bull addressed to the King, and communicated to the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra, and the Prior of the Dominicans of the latter city. In this bull, expedited nineteen days after the one passed in favour of the crusade of the Count of Boulogne in Spain, it was enjoined to the Portuguese prince to correct all the abuses and public evils, and which, should they be so grave and deep-rooted as was stated, would demand a long time and extreme activity to remedy or destroy.

Innocence further remarked that, should he be remiss in fulfilling the obligations imposed, the tolerance of the Apostolic See would be ended, and proper providences taken. To the delegates were simply enjoined to admonish Sancho and observe his proceedings in this respect, and in the coming Council, where they had to appear, give an account of his procedure, as also the manner in which they had fulfilled their mission. On this occasion the Pope did not forbid expressly the

delegates under canonical compulsion, but hindered them indirectly, reserving to himself the solution of the affair, a solution which, we are fain to believe, was arranged beforehand.

Events in Portugal followed with equal rapidity. It were impossible to suppose that the news of what was plotting would not transpire, or, on the other hand, that the conspirators should forget to organise and swell the party of the Count of Boulogne with all the malcontents. The imprudence of the latter, or the distrust of the royal party, brought on, in 1245, a battle which was fought near Oporto by the principal nobility of the kingdom. On one side stood the leader, Martin Gil de Soverosa, to whom the voice of the people honoured him with the surname of the *Good*, in spite of vague reports, due partly to the bad administration of Sancho. On the other were the two former barons of the kingdom, Abril Peres and Rodrigo Sanches, who perished in the battle, thus leaving the victory to their adversary. The individuals who intervened in the encounter, the position of affairs when it was fought, and the fact that the leader of one of the parties was a man who held the confidence of Sancho—all things convince us that the sanguinary combat called of Oporto or Gaia was perchance the first military manifestation of the project looming in the distance.

The choice of the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra, to whom were entrusted the mission of reprehending Sancho, and exacting at one blow reforms to be instituted which a prince more skilled and energetic than Sancho would only be able to effect after a length of time, the manner in which the two prelates discharged this mission, and their ultimate procedure, and, in a word, the most ancient traditions, all manifest to us that they, accomplices of the Archbishop of Braga by identity of interests, well knew what were the ends of the farce in which they played a part. The letters addressed by Innocence IV. to the King of Portugal and to the three delegates, dated 20th of March, could only have reached Portugal about the end of April; while, on the other hand, the first session of the Council was appointed to be held on the 24th of June; hence the prelates had to leave for Lyons at latest the end of May. Therefore it is evident that the grave and varied questions which the Apostolic letters induced to be proposed, ventilated, and resolved in thirty or forty days, a period insufficient to verify facts and excogitate a remedy, much less apply and comprehend its results, even should Sancho desire to obey all the behests of the Pope without examination or discussion, would be equivalent to accepting the doctrine

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of absolute subjection of the temporal power to the spiritual, a doctrine which, moreover, Innocence IV. defined and sustained more clearly and in a more precise manner than any of his predecessors.

If we believe the testimony of the Roman Curia, the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra and the Prior of the Dominicans did not spare any efforts to induce the King to afford satisfaction for the past and repress excesses in future, and they reported immediately in writing to the Pope the fulfilment of that charge which, later on, was confirmed orally by the two prelates when they proceeded to Lyons to assist at the Council. Such, possibly, was the case, but stern documents tell us likewise that, at least, the Bishop of Oporto employed the short space of time granted for this complicated affair with admirable skill, and it is unlikely that his colleagues should manifest themselves inferior to him in dexterity and activity. The character of informers which the Pope gave them, the solemnity of the assembly wherein such information would be presented, and the terrible announcements which loomed amid the threats of Innocence, joined to the fact of reserving to himself the final resolution of that affair by not authorising the Commissioners to have recourse to means of compulsion, were circumstances which, far from diminishing the force of the case, rendered it more to be dreaded by the King. The victory achieved by Martin Gil, so fatal for his adversaries—or rather for the adversaries of Sancho—must carry with it consequences, and it is natural that the conqueror should proceed, reducing the castles of the vanquished in the districts of Alemdouro, where principally ruled the two chieftains Rodrigo Sanches and Abril Peres, who perished near Gaia. In the midst of these events, Sancho, who, it appears, resided in Thomar at the beginning of the year, separated from the Court, accompanied by the friend of his youth, the master of the Temple, proceeded to Oporto, where, at the end of April, we find him surrounded by the Bishops Pedro Salvadores, Tiburcio, and Ayres, and other prelates and nobles, among whom were many known enemies of Sancho, such as Ruy Gomes de Briteiros and one of the Cunhas. No doubt, at this conjuncture was discussed the reparations exacted by the Pope for the evils of the Church and kingdom, which are attributed partly to violence, and partly to the weakness of royal authority. But whether Pedro Salvadores was the most shrewd of the three delegates, it is certain that the Bishop of Oporto especially took advantage of the dependence of Sancho to extort important donations. It was in this way that he endeavoured to remedy the wasting of public rents, con-

cerning which Innocence IV. had received such bitter complaints; it was in this way that he would be enabled, a little later on, to declare in Lyons that the King of Portugal, far from correcting his dissipation, was daily becoming more negligent and unmindful. And even supposing that these royal favours were voluntary, and calculated to captivate his good-will, what virtuous man, or even fairly honest, would dare to accept them on this occasion?

Yet this was not all: the enemies of the King loudly circulated reports that the King was demented; and this accusation, added to his natural prodigality, rendered the legitimacy of his last donations problematical, and these, or some of them later on, were considered null. Of these later donations, none derived more important ones than the Spatharios, to whom Sancho gave nearly the whole fruit of his great conquests; and certainly if any of the favours of the King were to be considered done during his lucid intervals, it would be those in respect to individuals or corporations that were favourable to the Count of Boulogne and the conspirators. In this way may be easily explained the arrival in Oporto at that juncture of the Master of Santiago, Paio Peres Correia, although engaged in the war of Murcia, likewise his lieutenant in Portugal, Gonçalo Peres, Commander of Mertola, where at the time existed the Convent of the Order in this country. The dexterity of Pedro Salvadores was truly admirable: to the concessions of the King he added those of the Spatharios, who ceded to him the seigniority of Odemira, and in order to save the immense donations of Sancho II., it appears, they promised to abandon the cause of the King at an opportune moment. However grave this accusation may be, the ultimate procedure of Gonçalo Peres confirms the strong indications against the chiefs of that Order which the documents offer.

The day for the celebration of the Council approached, and the Bishops of Oporto and Coimbra departed for Lyons to join the Archbishop of Braga, accompanied by Ruy Gomes, and perchance by some others of the conspiracy. They took letters from various barons and nobles, from a large number of ecclesiastics, and even from some councils, describing the state of the kingdom in a manner calculated to prove and further the informations of the delegates. We do not purpose to detail what passed in that assembly, it suffices to know that it met on the twenty-fourth of June and terminated before the end of July, during which three sessions were held. The most notable act was passed at the last session, when Innocence issued the solemn sentence of deposition

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against Frederick (17 July). The responsibility the Pope took upon himself in deposing a prince who, among the kings of Europe, he himself compared to a dragon among small serpents, and who certainly would give a terrible answer to the Roman Curia, was certainly immense. Moreover, the haughty Innocence, who submitted all other decrees to the approbation of the Council, scarcely allowed them to read the bull, which on his own authority condemned his adversary to lose his empire. And though the subject of the deposition of Sancho II. was likewise debated in the Council, it did not merit any consideration for the man who had spent the best days of his life combating the enemies of the faith, and upon whom the Roman Curia had showered so many praises for his victories. A bull was issued a week after the closing of the Council, addressed to the barons, councils, and knights, and the people generally of Portugal, manifesting anew the various crimes of omission and commission practised by the King, and declaring that all admonitions proving useless, and also the efforts employed by the Pontifical commissioners to move him to amend, the Pope and the Cardinals had seriously weighed the deplorable situation of the kingdom, and besides other circumstances, alleged the kingdom being tributary to the Apostolic See, they had seen the necessity of entrusting the restoration of the kingdom to some active and prudent person. The Pope set forth that the personage most qualified for the post was the Count of Boulogne, who was brother to Sancho, and his successor in the event of the latter dying childless; moreover, he was a person virtuous, religious, and circumspect, possessed of deep love for the kingdom and its inhabitants, and lastly dowered with sufficient power and magnanimity to remedy the public evils, as it was firmly believed that this choice would be of universal advantage to the kingdom, and even to the King, as in this way the churches and monasteries, the asylums and clergy, both secular and regular, the widows and orphans, and, in a word, all would find in him a defender, while repairing what was ruined and lost. Hence he ordered that on the arrival of the Count to Portugal, he and his partisans should be received gladly throughout the cities, castles, towns, and fortresses of the kingdom, severing any contracts, tributes, treaties, and sworn pledges, and to resist all expressed orders of the King, at the same time treating him with courtesy, respecting his life and his legitimate son, should he have one; that in all things they were to obey the Count, aiding, favouring, and counselling such as resisted; and lastly, to deliver up scrupulously rents, tributes, and

seignioral rights of the kingdom, to enable him to maintain his position, supply the expenses and general outlay of the State, as time and circumstances might demand, and in the event of non-executing all aforesaid, he from this time ordered the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra that, after proper admonitions, to compel them with the threats of the Church without admitting any appellation, since they had no intention of wresting the crown from Sancho or his legitimate son, but of saving the King, the kingdom, and themselves from utter ruin by the solicitude and prudence of the Count of Boulogne.

In this way ended the ardent desires of Innocence that Alfonso should proceed to Syria to combat the Chowaresminos, and the pious fervour of the Infante against the Mussalmans of Spain. In a short time both these ideas had completely vanished, and if any one thing could, however, urge us to forget that the accusations against Sancho were far from being unfounded, is the repugnant spectacle of these tortuous designs. The bull in substance is an indisputable document of exaggerated interested complaints of the conspirators, and its conclusion offers a notable contrast with its long tale of crime, violence, and misfortunes, in which Portugal is involved. Barons, knights, councils, whole towns are threatened by the entire weight of canonical censures if they do not hasten to break the pledge of loyalty to a King who tyrannises over them or allows tyranny, and the Count who comes to liberate the kingdom requires to shield himself with the comminations of the Pontiff to overcome resistance. The efforts made in the bull to remove the idea of usurpation on the part of the Count of Boulogne clearly show the fear lest the circumstances should prove overmuch grave. The King deposed, yet Sancho II. was left with an empty title, and the hope of saving his own dynasty, should he have a successor, which, as we shall see further on, the conspirators had purposed to prevent. This ideal reserve was a political subtilty worthy of modern times.

On obtaining this important decree from the Pope, the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra proceeded to Paris, to arrange mutually with the Count the conditions under which he and the clergy were to be restricted in the event of the undertaking having a fortunate result. Pedro Salvadores, who, it appears, withdrew from intervening in the realisation of a fact which he had assisted to prepare, probably remained with the Curia to promote the concession of numerous bulls by which the Spatharios endeavoured to arm themselves

against any results from the coming storm. On arriving at Paris, Tiburcio fell ill, but this did not prevent the arrangement of the stipulations which Alfonso was to keep, as regent of the kingdom. It is easy to foresee that in the promises solemnly pledged by the Infante in return for which he was to gain a kingdom, the greater and best part would be in respect to the clergy. As regards the reform of civil administration the promises were sufficiently vague, either because the situation of Portugal was not so desperate as was affirmed by the bull of deposition, or the means placed for its remedy were insufficient. On this head the Count of Boulogne restricted himself to pledging that he would maintain the nation generally in a good state and follow the customs of the time of his grandsires, abolishing the abusive styles introduced during the government of his father and brother, and among these abuses he specified the imposition of fines on the inhabitants of any place in consequence of homicides there perpetrated, and which, moreover, would be avoided when the assassin became known. He would nominate just judges within the Crown lands by allowing the people to elect them or by any other means, but without allowing any choice to be made by suborning, oppression, or pleadings of those who held lands on tenancy or by prestimony, ordering an annual examination to be made in order to punish the magistrates who should fail in their duty; that he would visit homicide by the rigour of the law, especially those who, either themselves or through others, should arrest, wound, or slay priests or monks, and would visit on them an exemplary punishment in order to prevent the recurrence of similar attempts.

This last article was the leading one to those which referred especially to the clergy. The advantages assumed for the ecclesiastical order were more precisely stipulated. Alfonso promised to protect and support the churches, the monasteries, and other charitable institutions, the clergy and all other persons in religion, and their properties and rights, restoring as far as possible what they had lost, and compelling the defrauders to restitute what had been unjustly drawn, be whomsoever they might be, not excepting the collectors of public finance, ordering them to be indemnified for the damage and injuries received from patrons, heirs, or other individuals, the power to do this being vested in the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Coimbra, and other men of known probity and stainless character, who should examine attentively the state of the kingdom and the needs of the country.

The Count, on his part, promised likewise to level to the ground all farmsteads or houses erected in the time of his brother to the prejudice or disadvantage of churches, monasteries, or religious persons; to defend these especially against those who through their wickedness had lost the right of patronage, and shun the excommunicated, knowing who they were, and to the obstinate he would deprive of their services, imposing a greater punishment, subject to the will of the bishops, should they continue in their impenitence, and in accord with the prelates assign the penalty to those guilty of spoliation or in any way injure such who had fulminated censures against them, this penalty to be applied without distinction of persons; that he would not receive collections in current money, nor more than those exacted by his grandfather, and only once a year, and solely when passing through places where they were obliged to pay them, nor would he delay in these said places; and, lastly, he would observe and compel the observance of the articles of ecclesiastical liberty contained in the bulls of Gregory IX. in favour of the Archbishop and his colleagues, meanwhile remedying the past and preventing in future the evils enumerated in the bull of Innocence IV. addressed to him, the prelates, nobles, and councils of Portugal. Alfonso furthermore promised in general to govern well and fully, to be obedient to the Roman See, and loyally to consult the prelates on all matters of public interest. To this proposition D. John Egas and D. Tiburcio declared that, in regard to the concession or withdrawal of tenancies and governorships, or the distribution of public rents, the Count would not be bound by his oath to follow the votes of the Bishop, in this matter using his free will. This was a favour they conceded him.

The reader, no doubt, will feel perplexed, as we do, to judge which was greater, the demands of the two prelates or the objection of the ambitious Infante. This act of his was almost equivalent to an abdication of royal authority at the beck of the episcopacy, and although at the conclusion of these multiplied promises the Count of Boulogne vaguely saved his rights and those of the Crown, he had to add that in every case the preceding conditions would be executed without fail. In this act intervened Master Pedro, Chancellor of the University of Paris, in whose residence this meeting was held, the Dean Master Lucas, a chaplain of the Pope, the treasurer of the See of Braga, the chapter of Ciudad Rodrigo, the guardian of the Franciscans of Paris, three Dominican friars, a Portuguese Franciscan, the Peer Rodrigo Gomes de

Briteiros, Gomes Viegas, brother to the Archbishop, and lastly Peter Ourigues and Stephen Annes, Chamberlains of the Count of Boulogne. The oath was personally taken by the Infante at the hands of the Metropolitan and a chaplain of D. Tiburcio, because the latter was prevented from attending through illness. On the conclusion of the ceremony, the acts of that shameful convention were wrought, and authenticated by the seals of fourteen individuals present (6 September, 1245).

These treaties being effected, in virtue of which the clergy were supposed to obtain unlimited preponderance in Portugal, nothing else remained but to arrange the departure. Meanwhile, as resistance was expected, it was as well not to contemn any elements of triumph. The uncle of the two brothers who were to dispute the power, D. Pedro, whose reputation for valour was well known, might prove a valuable ally, should he wish to favour the undertaking by the aid of his arm. Hence, either before quitting Lyons, or soon after, the conspirators induced the Pope to address a letter to the warrior-prince, bidding him succour the Count in his project of restoring Portugal. We know not whether it was owing to this letter or through other means, but it is certain that D. Pedro hastened to the Infante as soon as he reached the kingdom, at the latter end of 1245 or beginning of 1246, entering Lisbon by sea.

This city, which on account of its situation was necessarily becoming wealthy, populous, and of some importance, at once declared for him. He was met by Gonçalo Peres, the Commandeur of Mertola, who thus repaid Sancho II. the great favours he had made to his Order, and whose chief in Portugal he was. Grateful for the welcome he received from the inhabitants of Lisbon, Alfonso confirmed to the Council the preservation of all their rights and ancient customs, promising to abolish any which might have been introduced to the detriment of the inhabitants of the city.

Meanwhile Gomes Viegas, Rodrigo Gomes, and the other knights engaged in the attempt were visiting the provinces, inciting the malcontents, and, it appears, none accompanied the Count of Boulogne but the two prelates of Braga and Coimbra, and the Commandeur of the Spatharios. The necessity of seeking means to overcome the resistance which Sancho would naturally oppose to his enemies, rendered it needful for the Infante to remain in Lisbon, who assumed the title of "Visitor or Curator of the Kingdom." In order to reduce a country covered

with castles, and where the greater number of towns were fortified, it was not sufficient to fulminate censures, it was needful to resort to sieges and combats or to corruption—means which were successively employed according to circumstances. Hence, to further the war, as well as for suborning the disloyal, even should Alfonso reckon on a numerous party, large sums were necessary, and among the expedients resorted to, with the object of raising money, was the alienation of the Crown properties in places that acknowledged the authority of the Infante. Therefore, although the carelessness and prodigality of Sancho, as the prelates affirmed, had completely wasted the public treasury, there yet remained some vestiges which his brother took advantage of in the patriotic project of delivering the nation of its evils by a truly novel one—by continuing to depredate it.

The war which waged between the King of Portugal and the Count of Boulogne is one of the events of our history of which we have the least details. The conquering party had necessarily to lay aside the process of the varied strife that was a formal protest against the exaggerations of the bishops concerning the evils of the country, and against the hypocritical language of the Infante whom the resistance offered by the kingdom at its very outset proved that he was only a usurper. It is believed that many documents which might illustrate the events of the year 1246 were purposely suppressed; but there was one fact which it was not possible to destroy—the lengthened term of the contention, which was sustained by the King for some months at an epoch when there did not exist permanent armies. In truth, it was only after this that we see Sancho having recourse to the Castillian arms. Tradition preserves the records of the loyalty of various Alcaides of castles and their exemplary heroism, for which, unfortunately, we have no proofs to offer the severity of criticism; but to us these traditions are the echo of the repugnance which this usurpation met with in generous souls. It were impossible that Sancho, although careless in peace and ruled by his favourites, should not have a numerous party, at least as a noble and valiant soldier against the Saracens. Besides this, notwithstanding the powerful invectives levelled at him by the clergy, they dared not tax him personally as an oppressor excepting towards the Church, and what this oppression was we fully know—it was especially his refusal to accept the shameful conditions of subservience imposed later on in Paris to the base ambition of the Count of Boulogne.

Hence a people whom it appears loved him, although the victim

of the covetousness and laxity of customs of the clergy and the nobles, might be generally indifferent to the fate of the gentle monarch, yet not detest him sufficiently to combat for a band composed of ecclesiastics and nobles no less, or rather more, unbridled, covetous, and corrupt than the minions of the King. Hence it is most natural that not only among the rural knights, but even among the peers who had fought by the side of Sancho along the margins of the Guadiana and on the ramparts of the numerous subjugated castles, many a sword should be unsheathed to support the throne which was tottering. It is an undoubted fact that many important towns held faithful to their pledged allegiance to the monarch in spite of the excommunications fulminated by the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra, and that it became necessary to subdue these by sheer force. Obidos suffered a close siege, and in Alemdouro Guimarães, the former Court of Count Henry, and the Castle of Faria, were brought to submission by force of arms. Yet violence was not employed in every case: money was made use of, and promises and seductions of every kind were resorted to, to impel the Alcaides of various strongholds to refuse obedience to the King.

The greatest and most decisive argument, that all means served the enemies of Sancho to oppress, and secure to his brother the possession of supreme power irrevocably and perpetually, was the abduction of D. Mecia from the royal palaces of Coimbra, an event which, if true, must have taken place during the civil war of 1246. It is said that Raymund Viegas de Portocarreiro, a brother of the Archbishop of Braga, probably accompanied by others, entered in disguise into Coimbra among some squires of the favourite, Martin Gil de Soverosa. The implicit confidence which the King had in the warriors of this noble and brave nobleman facilitated a free access into the palace to the conspirators, and one night they were able to snatch the Queen, and flew with her to the fortified seat of Ourem. Vainly did the King march to liberate his wife: the troops of the Count of Boulogne had already taken possession of the castle, and replied by shots and lance-thrusts to the intimations of the prince, who, bereft of forces to combat, was obliged to retire. But was the Queen really abducted? The freedom with which, at the end of the year, when Estremadura and a large portion of Portugal already obeyed the Count of Boulogne, she peacefully disposed of various properties, surrounded by relations and by her own countrymen, one of whom held the highest military appointment there, the omission of any reference to Sancho in the

decrees which tell us the fact, besides the difficulty of robbing a wife from her husband, induce the suspicion that if tradition is exact, this departure from Coimbra partook more of the character of a flight than of abduction. There is no doubt it was to the interest of Alfonso to employ every means to secure for himself the inheritance of the throne, and to effect this it was necessary to prevent Sancho having a successor. Had his first step in the conspiracy been to institute against the King a process of divorce, it would in any case be a long cause, and should, before its termination, Sancho have an heir born to him, the latter might in future invoke against the Count, or against his dynasty, rights which several examples in the various kingdoms of Spain assured him. With the undoubted ambition and shrewdness of Alfonso of Boulogne, the abduction, real or simulated, is far from being one of those absurd legends which history is bound to reject without discussion.

Nevertheless the revolution was progressing slowly. The territory which had spontaneously accepted the Count was only on the south of the kingdom, and, perchance, absolutely only the larger portion of Estremadura. The King and his favourite, Martin Gil, were making desperate war. On the north they dominated nearly the whole, and any partisans of the Count that fell into their hands were either put to death or despoiled and placed in irons. In a faction against the inhabitants of Leiria, which had declared for the Infante, and where, it appears, the royal troops fared the worse, some nobles of distinction were slain or taken captive. From this sprung odium on the part of the King and his favourite against the Leirienses, whom they persecuted to death, whenever they could. The vengeance, however, of Sancho and those who continued faithful were not limited to such as combated sword in hand. The clergy of Coimbra, particularly the chapter, had become suspected, and, perchance, there were proofs of accord between him and the turbulent Tiburcio. We know that hardly had the revolution commenced in the south of the kingdom than the two prelates of Braga and Coimbra ordered the bull of deposition to be read everywhere, to which the Court retorted by ordering the sequestration of the properties of Tiburcio and, probably, of the Archbishop. Martin Gil, with his men-at-arms and other knights, not only took possession of all belonging to the mitre of Coimbra, but they sacked the houses of the members of the chapter, expelling some out of the city and casting others into dungeons, where they obtained

their release later on at the price of large ransoms. Only one canon, Sueiro Ermigio, was respected in person and property, perchance because he was the only one who proved loyal to the King.

Sancho did not conceal his indignation against the clergy, and these acts of violence were no more than the result of the threats he published publicly. In the midst of these combats the knights had quartered in the cathedral, and turned into ridicule the episcopal dignities: one of these, by name Gomes Annes de Portocarreiro, who had obtained considerable spoils in the despoliation of the clergy, and who was, it appears, of a merry mood, took the title of Bishop of the Coimbrians. Meanwhile the progress of the arms of the Count de Boulogne was not very great. In truth, Lisbon, Santarem, Montemor Velho, and various other lands had offered their obedience. In Leiria the people and the clergy had likewise acknowledged his authority, but the castle only yielded to force, as also Obidos, as we have seen; and in this way the war became protracted without any decisive advantages on either side. From existing documents it appears that a species of frontier was established along the line of castles of Montemor, Obidos, Leiria, and, perchance, Ourem, where the brothers had concentrated their principal efforts—one for defence and the other aggressive—while the partisans of each, engaged in obscure combats throughout the kingdom, were unable to turn the balance definitely in favour of either contender, but which certainly largely increased public calamities, to which was sought a term by usurpation. At length, whether because he was betrayed or the fate of arms manifested itself adverse, the King of Portugal sought foreign aid against his brother. The spectacle of the civil war which devoured Portugal could not be viewed with indifference by the princes of Europe; and, in effect, the fate of Sancho II. was soon after singled out by the Emperor Frederick to Ferdinand III. of Castille as an example of the preponderance of the Papacy which nearly affected them. Probably, foreseeing the result of the contention with his brother, to whom many advantageous circumstances seemed to promise a triumph, Sancho decided at length to have recourse to the former alliance with Castille in order to obtain the aid he desired.

While the Portuguese were thus combating against each other without advantage or glory, Ferdinand III., the unflagging conqueror, was besieging and reducing Jaen (March or April, 1246), at which he was

assisted by his son and successor, the Infante D. Alfonso, who for a long time had been engaged in submitting the kingdom of Murcia. After residing in Jaen some months to arrange the affairs of his new conquest, Ferdinand resolved upon attempting an undertaking of greater value —the taking of Seville, a city which was then the capital of Andalus, and most opulent and vast of the province. After collecting together the troops and ammunition from the various provinces of the monarchy needful for besieging and combating so powerful a city, he marched with one thousand and three hundred knights to devastate the neighbourhood of Carmona, and from thence to Alcalá de Guadaira, which submitted without offering resistance. The news of the death of his illustrious mother, the Queen Berengaria (November, 1246), surprised him in Alcalá. The grief of Ferdinand was very great, not only on account of his love for her, but also because to her he entrusted the cares of government in order to more fully dedicate himself to warfare. Yet neither the cares of administrating the kingdom nor the sorrow which overpowered him were able to withdraw him from the intended project. During the spring of 1247 the Christian army pitched their camp around Seville, whose siege became renowned on account of the many feats of arms practised there, and which ended in the complete submission of the inhabitants of Seville at the end of the year 1248.

It appears it was after the conquest of Jaen that the King of Portugal besought aid from Castille. The affair was discussed not directly with Ferdinand III., but with his son, the Infante D. Alfonso, who already in his youthful days had attained the renown of being an able and valiant soldier, by reason of his success in the recent campaigns of Murcia. Whether due to his former friendship, or in order to interest him to favourably aid him in his perilous situation, the King of Portugal bestowed on the Infante generous grants of land, properties, and rents in his own dominions. The youthful conqueror of Murcia judged, perchance, that his ardent solicitations to the Pope might at least take away from the Count of Boulogne the immense advantage over his brother which relatively the Apostolic censures afforded him. He wrote to Lyons, where he was aware his recent campaigns against the Infidels were greatly lauded, and drew a sad picture to the Pope of the situation of Portugal, and his own astonishment at the proceeding of the Count—how he was despoiling the King of his States in a most barbarous manner, conquering the cities and

houses and fortresses, destroying them, violently invading the towns and practising evils to ruin the King and kingdom. Personally, he complained that he did not even respect the lands, castles, and properties Sancho had granted him, and on both accounts besought a remedy from the Pope. The reply of Innocence (June, 1246) briefly destroyed the illusions respecting the political state of Portugal. In the letter to the son of Ferdinand III., the Pope defines the grounds he had for taking the government from Sancho and giving it to his brother, adding that it was never his thought to offend in the smallest degree the rights and dignities of the sovereignty, should the King be able to govern by himself the kingdom in a proper manner. In these words, which appear to limit the effects of the bull of twenty fourth of July of the previous year, there is an evident allusion to the state of demency which the enemies of the King attributed to him. How could it ever be known, if he were deprived of the administration, whether Sancho was competent to be restored to the plenitude of his rights and authority? The truth was that Innocence was certain that the day for the radical cure of Sancho would never dawn. Meanwhile, in order to afford some satisfaction to the Prince, he addressed a bull to the invader, mentioning the complaints against him, and bidding him respect the properties and rights of the son of Ferdinand III., and not to trespass on the power given him in relation to the King, his brother. All these were no more than palliatives to satisfy the Castillian prince, but, nevertheless, the latter did not forsake the persecuted monarch. The fortune of war was, as we gather from the words of Alfonso of Castille, manifesting itself daily more propitious for the Count of Boulogne. Not only did the Infante D. Pedro come to lay on the balance of contention his terrible sword, but even the former Queen of Leon, D. Theresa, whose close relations with a great number of the nobility are well known, and who was the constant defender of the turbulent and ambitious prelates, quitted Lorvão, and joining the usurper, afforded him the aid of her name and influence. The Mendicant Orders likewise turned their backs on the star which was declining, and under whose beneficent light they had taken root and grown up. If any of the religious institutions sympathised with the monarch, it was the Order of the Temple, whose Master, D. Martin Mendes, retained a lasting friendship for him from infancy. In the course of that year, however, the illustrious Chief of the Templars either died or resigned his post, and was

succeeded by one who followed the party of the Infante. One by one Sancho beheld, reduced or destroyed, nearly all the strongholds, and his kingdom desolated, and compelled to cast himself into the arms of the Infante of Castille as his only refuge. And in effect, at the commencement of 1247 a body of Castillian troops, under the leadership of the Infante, among which was Diogo Lopes de Haro, brother-in-law to Sancho II., marched towards Portugal. During the first days of February, Bishop Tiburcio died, and a successor was elected by the Chapter, and confirmed by the Metropolitan, of a certain Domingos, who also substituted him in the political mission obtained from the Pontiff by Egas and Tiburcio. As soon as the entry of the invaders became known, the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop-elect of Coimbra ordered the guardians of the Friars Minors of Guarda and Covilhan to endeavour to prevent the progress of the troops, by showing the Prince D. Alfonso the monitory they conveyed, and admonish him not to prevent the execution of the Pontifical determination. In the event of being disobeyed, they were ordered to excommunicate him and their partisans, and this excommunication to be published in Guarda and all other lands they might reach. The existing documents not only show that this march took place along the frontiers of Cima-Coa, but that likewise the Infante contemned the admonitions of the prelates and the censures which in effect followed. Thus it appeared that the eventualities of war were becoming more equal between the contenders.

Coimbra, and, it appears, the greater portion of Beira, continued faithful to the legitimate monarch. Sancho remained in his capital, and was not disposed to pardon his enemies, notwithstanding the difficulties of the situation. Tiburcio had willed to be buried in Coimbra, and they attempted to take the body to the city; but the King positively refused to admit the remains of the traitor Bishop within the walls; and the Bishop-elect, Domingos, never dared to present himself in his See, nor did the rigours against the clergy of Coimbra become lessened.

The constancy of the party of Sancho had, indeed, been persevering. In spite of excommunications, corruptions, of defeats, and losses of castles, the King does not seem to despair of the prowess and loyalty of his knights and councils, while seeking outside the kingdom brave auxiliaries. And not only among the laity, but among the clergy he found partisans who desired to die for his cause; and the Bishop of Viseu, D. Gil, even after the coming of the Infante, acknowledged the

authority of the King, and sought to remedy, as far as in him lay, as head and chief of his diocese, the sad effects of the evils which afflicted the kingdom. Yet the indifference of the many, the impetuous valour of Alfonso, the threats of Innocence IV., and the favour of the greater part of the clergy and nobility induced, notwithstanding the aid of the Castillians, the balance to turn decisively on the side of the Count. It is said that, during the latter time, of all the important towns of the kingdom, scarcely the capital remained to the King. A tradition, which is, however, of uncertain foundation, is related to the effect that when Sancho II. departed for Castille, he left as Alcaide of Coimbra one Martin de Freitas. The Count of Boulogne placed a strict siege around the castle, but neither promises nor combats were able to reduce the besieged, who resisted for a length of time in the midst of the greatest privations, until the news came of the death of Sancho in Toledo. Then the loyal Alcaide, soliciting security from Alfonso of Boulogne, passed along the camp of the besiegers, and proceeded to the ancient capital of Spain, and asked that the tomb of the King be opened, that he might, with his own eyes, see if in truth he were dead. Assured of the sad event, he placed in the hands of the royal body the keys of the castle, the guarding of which had been entrusted to him. Then, withdrawing them anew, he returned to Portugal, and delivered them up to Alfonso, opening the gates to the soldiers. The prince, admiring his fidelity, wishing to retain him as governor, offered him the post, but far from accepting it, cursed any of his descendants who might receive the castle from any King which through him had been detained. The history of the siege of Coimbra, without being improbable, is, perchance, no more than one of the legends wherein the masses love to invest the facts that characterise a notable epoch. Martin de Freitas is the type of those who, at the fall of Sancho, respected the punctiliousness of the knighthood, and the religion of a sworn pledge.

The resistance which Sancho alone had offered probably aggravated the evil to such a point that a remedy was impossible. The Count of Boulogne had ample time to gather together all the resources at hand against his brother. He was lord of the kingdom, and perchance the forces of the Infante of Castille were not sufficiently numerous to engender the secure hope of a favourable ending to the undertaking, since his father, attending solely to the war with the Mussalmans, did not openly and directly intervene in the question.

Hence, while moving the army in favour of his friend and in defence of his own interests, the Infante renewed the attempts to induce the Roman Curia to alter its policy in regard to Portugal. The conspirators had, however, conducted the affair with such art that all his efforts were of no avail. The Castillian prince again laid before them the violence and injuries done to Sancho, to himself, and to the kingdom, and beseeching the Pope to remedy, with his aid, so many evils. He likewise bitterly complained, it appears, of the excommunications fulminated by the prelates of Braga and Coimbra, published by his delegates, the Friars Minors. To this, Innocence IV. partially responded by adding a rescript to the effect that none should extend to him the censures comminating those who might act contrary to the bull of deposition. As regards the essential object of the letter, the Pope solely announced by another rescript that he was about to send to Portugal an individual of probity and culture, his penitentiary, Friar Desiderio, who would, after a careful inquiry and examination, report to the Curia the state of affairs in order to take proper measures. On his part he besought the Infante to have confidence in the Apostolic delegate, to acquiesce in his counsels, and obey his admonitions.

This letter clearly shows that Innocence was not inclined to prevent Alfonso of Boulogne from accomplishing the usurpation. If he judged it necessary to obtain information concerning the proceeding of the Count, and take steps about the question debated in Portugal, his first act ought to be the suspension of hostilities, and prevent the party of Sancho from becoming completely crushed, after which it would certainly not be the penitentiary who could prevent the Count from using the victory. On the other hand, by exhorting the Infante to be guided by the inspirations of Friar Desiderio, he indirectly endeavoured to prevent a military intervention in favour of the expelled monarch. Lastly, by exempting him from the censures imposed by the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra, he quieted his conscience and gratified his self-love, at the same time that by allowing these censures to work on his knights and men-at-arms, he did not decrease or augment the moral force which the party of the Count drew from that dangerous weapon. Hence we must confess that if the policy of the Roman Curia at that juncture was not the most straightforward, it was at least far-seeing.

But whether the arrival of the penitentiary and the acquiescence of Alfonso of Castille to his admonitions and counsels—if the inequality

of forces, or any other motive, unknown at the present day, influenced the resolution of the affair, we know not; but it is certain that the aid of Castille brought no favourable result to Sancho. It behoves us, nevertheless, to believe that in the midst of so much underhand work the proceeding of the Castillian prince was straightforward; at least, this is indicated by the subsequent persistence of the Archbishop D. João Egas in holding him excommunicated in defiance of the rescript of the Pope, likewise the rest of the knights and warriors who had followed him to Portugal. Of the latter, we know that at least a part of them remained in the country, not only defending Coimbra, but also invading the territories to the south of the Mondego, when Sancho, despairing of gaining his cause, had crossed the frontiers as a fugitive. In January, 1248, there took place an encounter near Leiria between the Castillians, who assailed the neighbourhood, and the troops of the Count of Boulogne, an encounter in which they were defeated with a loss of over two hundred men. It was the last gleams of an expiring light, for the cause of the monarch was irretrievably lost.

If we admit the narratives of our chroniclers, which are often far from true ones, Sancho II. had left the kingdom, and returned again with the Castillian troops, who advanced to the environs of Leiria, where the Infante of Castille, knowing that he could not restore the throne to the deposed monarch, retired to the States of his father. On crossing Beira the army stopped in their march at the environs of Trancoso, where various nobles of the party of the Count had met together. These nobles were some of the most illustrious of the kingdom, among them members of the family of Sousões and Bayão. Leaving the castle fully armed, but followed by only one shield-bearer, D. Fernão Garcia de Sousa, son of Garcia Mendes, proceeded to the camp and challenged Martin Gil de Soverosa, accusing him of being the cause of the public evils, and at the same time offered the King to take up his cause in Trancoso and neighbouring places, in union with other knights, once he withdrew conqueror of the combat of Oporto. It is said Sancho refused the offer, and that Martin Gil, declining the challenge, attempted perfidiously to slay D. Fernão Garcia. But whether this tradition be true or false, we shall not dare to say, since there are discrepancies in the details. Nevertheless, in the same manner as the case of Martin de Freitas is a symbol of the stubborn resistance which the loyalty of many offered the Count of Boulogne, so also does the history of the knights of Trancoso offer us a proof of the

profound odium which existed among the nobility, and subsisted for many years; for while it afforded the clergy a grand victory against the Crown, it opened the road to the throne, and furthered the ambition of Alfonso III.

Losing all hopes of recovering power, Sancho preferred exile to an obscure life in his own land beneath the yoke of his brother. He elected Toledo for his residence, where he died in January, 1248, at nearly the same age as Alfonso II.

During the first years of his government he made a will, wherein, following the custom of the preceding kings, he ordered the succession to the throne; but this will was, however, of no avail. In the palace of the Archbishop of Toledo, where he awaited the fatal hour, he disposed of the few goods that remained to him, and it is worthy of note that at this solemn act there were none present save the Chancellor Durando Froyaz, twelve knights sufficiently distinguished to witness the testament, four friars, two Dominicans, one of which was confessor to the King, and two Franciscans of Toledo. Nothing else remained to the poor exile of his brilliant Court, and it is notable that Martin Gil de Soverosa was absent, who, perchance, had already forsaken him. Closing his eyes far from his native land, Sancho yet turned with longing looks towards it, asking for a few feet of earth in the land where he once was master, to sleep the long sleep of death by the side of the remains of his grandsires. Yet the article in his will which ordered his sepulture in Alcobaça was not fulfilled. In vain did the monks demand the body of the Portuguese prince, in vain did Innocence IV. order it to the Toledan prelate. Neither living nor dead Sancho II. was ever more to cross the frontiers of Portugal.

Misfortunes are expiations, and expiation sanctifies the unfortunate. It is not for us to sit in judgment over the sepulchral slab of a prince who died in a foreign land, betrayed, abandoned, covered with opprobrium and calumnies, to sum up as a final judgment any disadvantageous inferences deduced from the history of his reign concerning him. To punish, proof in hand, his hypocritical enemies is our duty; it is the compensation of four ages of contempt, against which one of the noblest intelligences which Portugal has produced * was the first to protest. We who, in the order of time, as in all else, are far from the illustrious restorer of the nation's history, do no more than collect the materials to complete the great work of justice which he commenced, because, more

* Friar Antonio Brandão.

blessed than he, we live in an epoch which respects entire truth of facts and liberty of thought. On concluding the Fifth Book we end with a reflection which, to the advantage of society in general, we deem proper to be meditated upon.

Alfonso II., a leper, sought a pretext for despoiling his sisters of their paternal inheritance, and uttered over the scarcely cold body of Sancho I. the insulting epithet of lunatic. His son and successor is despoiled of his crown by a brother, while his depredators, in order to annul his grants and gifts, declared him to be insane.

Perchance in the exiled King is verified the mysterious Biblical sentence that the punishment of a criminal father is visited oftentimes on his children? Probably human wisdom, which considers itself more profound than the wisdom of God, may smile at this idea, which is repugnant to itself, because it knows not how to explain it.

END OF BOOK THE FIFTH.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

1248—1279.

Alfonso III., King of Portugal—Conquest of Algarve—State of the Christian and Mussalman dominions in the Peninsula—Origin and cause of the contention respecting the seigniority of Algarve—War between Alfonso III. and the Infante Alfonso of Castille—Peace—Internal disorders in Portugal, and means of repressions—Death of Ferdinand III. and succession of Alfonso X. —Alfonso X. renews his pretensions in the Algarve—Mediation of Innocence IV., and conditions of the reconciliation—Illicit marriage of Alfonso III. with Beatrice of Guilhen—New dissensions arise between the princes—Internal questions of the kingdom—The Cortes of 1254—Alliance of the Kings of Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal against Alfonso X.—Alfonso III. despoils him of the usufruct of the Algarve —Effects of the economic situation of the kingdom—Attempts to alter the current coin—Precautions on the frontiers of the South—Alfonso X. recovers the usufruct of Algarve—Development of public wealth in Portugal—Fiscal system of Alfonso III.—Contentions are renewed concerning the Algarve, and definitely arranged—Cortes of 1261—Appeals are made to Pope Urban IV. to re-validate the marriage of the King—Aid is sent to Castille—Alfonso III. obtains the full and pacific dominion of the Algarve—Commencement of discords with the Bishops—Administrative abuses are repressed, and their effect in relation to the clergy—Bishops leave Portugal and proceed to Italy—Their grounds of complaint—Character of Alfonso III.—His favourites—Intrigues at the Roman Curia—Skill of the Portuguese Prince—The providences of Clement IX. are not effected—Death of the Pope, and election of Gregory X. —Contentions between the Crown and the clergy—Decision of the new Pope on the matter—Cortes of 1273—Gregory X. fulminates terrible censures against the monarch—Succession of Innocence V., Adrian V., and John XXI.—Procedure of the Nuncio Fr. Nicholas in Portugal—Civic tumults—Obstinacy of the King—His tardy repentance and death—Epilogue.

The death of Sancho II. placed the crown of Portugal on the head of the Count of Boulogne, completing and legitimising the authority which he had wielded since the commencement of 1246, and peacefully confirmed the power he had so ambitiously desired, and to obtain which he had resorted to concessions, humiliating promises, and followed tortuous designs. On the news arriving at Lisbon, he at once cast off

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the hypocritical appellations of "Curator," "Visitor," and "Defender of the Kingdom," and assumed the title of King of Portugal (which a former testament of his hapless brother had bequeathed to him), without, however, forsaking the title of Count of Boulogne, due to his marriage with Mathilde. He then departed from the city which, from the commencement of the strife, had manifested itself favourable to him, and proceeded to Alemdouro, visiting the northern districts, no doubt to avoid any resistance, or to prevent by prompt measures the consequences of civil strifes in the more remote districts, where the effects of the long discords and devastations had been felt with greater violence, since Alemdouro held the properties and homesteads of the most powerful families and was densely populated. For a length of time Alfonso III. established his Court in Guimarães and successively visited various districts, retiring to Coimbra, which at the time was still considered the capital of the monarchy, towards the end of July, 1248. But both here, and while visiting the northern districts, the new monarch appears to have followed a judicious policy. While confirming to Lisbon the charters and privileges granted by other kings, and which as regent he had increased by new favours, he likewise flattered the military council of Freixo, which had merited the full confidence of Sancho II., by equal confirmations, as also that of Mos, assuring the latter of his protection against various knights whose vengeance the council feared. These first acts of his reign are in truth insufficient to characterise any system of government, nevertheless they indicate up to a certain point that Alfonso III., at enmity with a part of the nobility, sought to strengthen himself with the goodwill of the councils, which were daily gaining importance, wealth, and political influence.

The state of the country at that epoch was necessarily critical, due to the deplorable consequences of a weak government and civil war. The weapons of the less loyal subjects of Sancho II., which the Count of Boulogne had made use of to dethrone his brother, were turning against him to wound. Further on will appear the consequences of the absurd promises made in Paris to the clergy, of the zeal which Alfonso had manifested for the glory of Christianity, and the simulated ardour for combating the infidels which imposed upon him the duty of an immediate attack of the Saracens, since he had contracted a debt of blood in the presence of Rome and the whole of Europe which it was necessary to satisfy. On the other hand, the deposition and flight of Sancho to Toledo had in such a manner complicated the question of the

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southern frontier that it was imperative to reduce, without delay, the portion of the ancient Mussalman province of Alfaghar, which the victorious arms of his predecessor had not attained to submit, because in view of the way Castille was progressing in its conquests, only a prompt invasion might perchance secure to Portugal the dominion of the territories adjoining the mouth of the Guadiana. This consideration, added to his solemn promises, constrained him to undertake, ere he was firmly established on the throne and with the weakened resources of an impoverished and devastated kingdom, a war of conquest, which under existing circumstances it was a grave error to attempt.

For the space of one year, during which Alfonso III. resided in the north, the capital, and in Estremadura, he gathered together soldiers, money, and materials of war for the undertaking. It appears that, besides the men-at-arms who were obliged to follow the King to war, the councils, who by their municipal charters were bound to serve, were summoned to take part in the expedition, and a sum exacted from those who excused themselves from serving. At least this was the case with the inhabitants of Oporto. The knights of the Military Orders, especially of Aviz, Calatrava, and Santiago, whose principal establishments were in Alemtejo and along the territories of the Algarve, which had submitted during the former reign, were also powerful auxiliaries in that faction, as not only were they bound by their institutions, but by interest also, because by extending the conquests, they assured more firmly what they already possessed, and obtained new seigniories. The castles of the Spatharios spread along the side of Ourique for some fifteen leagues were veritable seminaries of men habituated to continual encounters with Mussalmans, and the stronghold of Aljustrel, the most important of all, served as an arsenal of the Order, where they accumulated arms, horses, and military armaments. There were at the time many illustrious knights absent from the kingdom, probably a certain number being nobles of the party of the late King, while others had gone to combat beneath the standards of Ferdinand III., to return laden with glory from the siege and taking of Seville. Some of the latter knights, however, came at that juncture to join Alfonso III. Among these was the Commandeur and head of the Spatharios in Portugal, Gonçalo Peres Magro, who was the companion of Master Paio Peres Correia in the affair of Seville, and the Infante D. Pedro, the uncle of the new King, who, ever restless, after intervening in the contention of the nephews, proceeded to the memorable siege, and before returning to

Aragon took advantage of the new project offered him of fighting against the infidels.

In the spring of 1249, Alfonso III. rapidly advanced to the Algarve. Besides his uncle and the Chief Commandeur of Mertola leading the Friars of Saint James, he was accompanied by the Master of Aviz at the head of the knights of Calatrava. Among seculars, the most notable were the brothers Cunhas; Egas Lourenço, the former favourite of the Count of Boulogne; Stephen Annes, now raised to the office of chancellor; Mem Soares de Mello, and lastly the sons of Ruy Gomes of Briteiros and Pedro Ourigues, two of the most resolute champions of his party during the last civil contentions. Beyond these, it appears that the barons and prelates of the kingdom, who generally were at Court, did not join the undertaking, probably because either the unquiet state of the country rendered necessary the presence of the governors in their respective districts, or, what is no less probable, this invasion had been prepared secretly and swiftly in order to take the Saracens unprepared. Moreover, Santa Maria de Faro, one of the principal towns of the Moors, had been submitted to the Christians in March, 1249. Albufeira, Porches, and other places shared the same fate, and on the following year the project of subjugating the territories to the west of Ayamonte, Cacella, and Tavira, which Sancho II. had prepared during the last days of his government, had now become realised. After the conquest of Faro, Alfonso III. left the conclusion of the undertaking to the friars of the Orders, no doubt assisted by auxiliary troops, and retreated towards Alemtejo, retiring to Coimbra, from whence he only returned to the Algarve on the following spring to divide a portion of the new conquests among his favourites and those who had more greatly distinguished themselves in the campaign.

This is all that is positively known in our day respecting the last Portuguese conquests in the Mussalman province of Alfaghar, so greatly reduced from its former grandeur. In process of time the details of this war became so intermixed with gross inaccuracies that it would be only a vain attempt to afford in this history any trustworthy evidence, or impute a greater value to this event. What renders this event of some importance is the fact that it proved on the west of the Peninsula the termination of the strife of years which had waged between Christianity and Islamism. Portugal had at length reached its natural limits on the south, that is to say, the margin of the sea, and on the west she had attained her bounds long ago. It

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only remained now to establish and secure her limits to the north and east against Leon and Castille—that gigantic monarchy which encircled her, and disputed jealously any increase of territory. This jealousy, joined to the relations, more or less hostile, which the deposition of Sancho II. had induced between the two kingdoms, soon occasioned grave difficulties to Alfonso III. by reason of the present conquest. Before proceeding in our narrative, it will be expedient to trace in substance some of the historic details previously narrated. When the Christian reaction, which started from the Asturias, commenced to reduce the frontiers of Mussalman Spain, the Christian dominion was extended by working its way always from the northern border of the Peninsula towards the south. In the twelfth century the relative extent of the territories belonging to each of the races was nearly equal, but this extension later on quickly increased on the Christian side, and consequently the Saracens lost ground. Besides the Navarrese, four people of Visigothic origin, viz., the Aragonese, Castillians, Leonese, and Portuguese, constantly encroached on the Mussalman territories by working towards Andaluz. Towards the west combated Portugal with Leon, followed by Castille, and Castille by Aragon. The leaders of these four armies, rather than nations, at times employed their weapons one against the other in long and bitter discords, but at length, on becoming reconciled, they turned anew against their common enemy, and continued to break up the colossal Saracen power.

Of the four rival powers which beneath the standard of the Cross thus fought the battle of ages against the Infidels, the least powerful, undoubtedly, was Portugal, although from its birth she never manifested herself inferior to the others in energy, prowess, activity, and success, because even before the Aragonese expelled the Moors from Valencia, and the Castillians approached the walls of Seville, Sancho II. had brought his army to the mouth of the Guadiana, and permanently established his authority on both sides of the river.

But ever since the death of Alfonso IX. had placed the double crown of Leon and Castille on the brow of Ferdinand III., a prince equally grand in peace as in war, the disproportion between the importance and resources of the central monarchy, considerable in relation to Aragon, became even more disproportionate between the two united States and the small States of Portugal. The increase of the latter country by Sancho II. extended as far as it was possible on the south, but this extension was small in comparison to the rapid and important

conquests of the King of Leon and Castille. When Murcia was reduced by the efforts of the Infante D. Alfonso (afterwards Alfonso X.), and Seville had submitted to his illustrious father, the two united kingdoms embraced two-thirds of the Peninsula, while Aragon, Portugal, Navarre, and the Mussalman States constituted scarcely the third portion. Moreover, the Infante of Castille, to whom the death of Ferdinand III. brought so rich an inheritance, but who never forgot the injury received from the Count of Boulogne when he mediated in favour of Sancho II., skilfully found motives or pretexts, in the invasion of the Algarve, for renewing the contention, not now under a foreign name, but invoking his own rights. How far in his opinion, or on what title he based his pretensions, real or unfounded, it is impossible in our day to say. We shall, however, endeavour, as far as the dark shadows around will allow us, to unfold one of the most controverted points in the history of our relations with Castille, a point which the historians of the two rival nations have never discussed with proper impartiality and justice.

Ever since the reign of Alfonso I. of Portugal, and of Ferdinand II. of Leon, some rules had been laid down, be what they may, according to which the two border monarchies were to proceed when extending their rule within Saracen territories. No positive records remain respecting the demarcations which were then established; but probably it was, as we said before, the current of the Guadiana which determined the future boundary of the two States. As it was impossible to raise bulwarks on alien territories, the possession of which was as yet only a wish or a project, common sense bade them adopt a dividing line which no future events should be able to alter, such as the current of a powerful river.

But during the long succession of years from that epoch up to the reign of Alfonso III., the many accidental circumstances produced by the internal revolutions of Andaluz and the Christian States, and also from the desolations of war between the Gothic and African races, had obliterated the former conventions, of which scarcely any vestiges remain in our days. On one side Castille and Leon constituted one only country, on the other side the territorial divisions among the Saracens had become altered in a thousand ways. The Almohade Empire was falling to ruins, and various bands fiercely disputed one with another the dominion of the blood-stained remains of Arab Spain. Each leader, taking possession of one or other stronghold or important

place, assumed the character of an independent ruler. The Christian arms, or of their rivals, were not long before they destroyed these obscure dynasties, with their thrones of a day. Hence it would be impossible to follow all the transformations which the western districts of Andaluz passed during that period. As a rule, however, the territories or districts of the Gharb formed, during the Lamtunite dominion, a vast province annexed to Seville, and probably this was the case when Sancho II. extended the Portuguese territory up to the mouth of the Guadiana, striking out of the metropolis the districts of Okssonaba, or Faro, and Shelb. Seville, the centre of the expiring power of the Almohades, being now reduced (1248), Alfonso III. flew to take possession of that fragment which, acknowledging the legitimacy of the conquests made in the preceding reign, had a right, it appears, to join the Portuguese Crown. But it was this very right that the Infante of Castille resolved to dispute.

Sancho II. had delivered up to the knights of Santiago the greater and best portion of the lands acquired during his reign, and the dominions of the Order included the large area within the three points of Mertola, Tavira, and the mouth of the Odiel. We know truly that towards the end of the twelfth century, all beyond Ayamonte was a deserted waste extending for some leagues, and it is not probable that the Mussalman population, already in its decadence, should have increased in those parts. Beyond the Guadiana, on the contrary, a well-populated territory existed, where the policy was followed of allowing and protecting, up to a certain time, the Moors who preferred to reside with the Christians and had abandoned their homes.

By utilising the tributes paid by the conquered, and other rents of the new dominions, the Order of Santiago was a veritable power, and the freedom with which at that epoch they disposed of castles and lands they had received from the Crown proves that the accession of power of the King in the districts possessed by the Order was very limited.

Meanwhile the Spatharios knew, in the midst of the perturbations which visited Portugal during the last years of the reign of Sancho II., how to skilfully preserve what they had acquired. After inducing the Pope to confirm the donations of the deposed monarch, they endeavoured to obtain from Ferdinand III. a decree to the same effect. Shortly before the death of Sancho II., the King of Leon and Castille had confirmed those donations on the battlefield of Seville, at the time when Master Peres

Correia was with him. But whether the latter would not definitely take upon himself to acknowledge the right of the monarch to territories which he well knew had cost so much Portuguese blood, or because Ferdinand III., a prudent and just prince, judged this right problematic, it is certain that the confirmation of the donations of Sancho II. was made conditionally, and in the hypothesis that these places might belong to the Leonese conquest. Once assured of their possessions through the decrees obtained from the ecclesiastical and secular powers, the Spatharios did not forget to conciliate the goodwill of the Portuguese King. While history and the Castillian records always show us the Master of the Order, Paio Peres, closely allied with the son and successor of Ferdinand III. in peace and in war, we see his Lieutenant of Mertola, Gonçalo Peres, unite himself to the party of the Count of Boulogne, following him with the Friars of Portugal, after the siege of Seville, to the campaign of Algarve and reduction of Faro. In this way the Order prepared itself against any contingency which might occur.

Among the Saracen chiefs who for nearly two years defended the populous capital of the Almohade Empire in Andalus against the combined efforts of Ferdinand III. and his ally Mohammed Ibn Azar the Amir of Granada, the Wali of Niebla, Mohammed, who led the cavalry of Algarve, more greatly distinguished himself. When the city was given up, after an obstinate resistance, it is said that by the convention celebrated at that juncture, to the Moors of that town were left the dwellings on both sides of the river Tinto, which is confirmed by the Arab historians. The unity of the Lamtunite dynasty, destroyed by the rising of its rulers on all sides, expired with the loss of the capital, and the Wali Mohammed, better known among the Christians by the patronymic of Ibn or Ben Mahfot, King of Niebla, became the only native chief of the Mussalmans of the West, reduced to such circumscribed limits on this side of the boundary of Seville, which, ere another year had passed, was still further curtailed. The invasion of Alfonso III. wrenched the districts, which, intercepted by the seigniories of the Spatharios of Mertola, Ayamonte, Cacella, and Tavira, were scarcely joined to the metropolis by the weak links of maritime communications. Ibn Mahfot endeavoured to defend that important portion of his territory against the Portuguese: but, attacked and expelled from castle to castle, he was compelled to abandon it. But whether owing to the victorious Ferdinand III. having left

Mohammed and his dominions in perfect independence, or because in some way the ruler acknowledged in a certain measure the supremacy of the Castillian King, it is certain that Ibn Mahfot sought to regain what had been lost, at least to take from the conqueror the fruit of the victory. He negotiated with the Infante of Castille to yield up the right he had, or supposed to have, in the districts on the west of the Guadiana, and, as we believe, the Infante assured him the future maintenance of the seigniority of Niebla or of Algarve in a manner nearly feudatory. After this the youthful prince prepared to realise by force of arms the possession of the dominions which he nominally acquired.

As soon as Alfonso III. knew of the plot, he addressed strong appeals to the King of Leon and Castille against the procedure of the son. The resolution of Ferdinand III., whose severe, resolute character is celebrated in history, proves that the reasons alleged by the Portuguese were not to be despised. In view of them the monarch forbade the Infante to intervene in this affair; but the prohibition was useless. The conqueror of Murcia was sufficiently powerful to dare disobey his father in a private question, and which really did not belong to royal authority. In order not to abandon his designs, he had incited in the former misunderstandings with the Count of Boulogne, the jealousy it had caused in him, the heir and successor to the Castillian crown, the progress of the Portuguese arms, which no longer limited themselves to reducing the Algarve, but threatened to devour all the dependencies of Niebla. In effect, the Hospitallers, to whom Sancho II. had delivered up the castles of Moura and Serpa, were not idle, but extended their *algaras* or raids towards the east, and the conquest of Arôche and Aracena took place, it appears, at the same juncture that the remnants of the Gharb were submitted by the King of Portugal.

War, therefore, soon broke out between the Infante of Castille and Alfonso III., when, on concluding the campaign against the Mussalmans, he commenced to distribute among his favourites and the various Orders the lands he had newly acquired. The details of this rupture time has obliterated, but it is conjectured that, united by the firm bonds of friendship with Paio Peres Correia, the Infante could not attack his adversary in the recent conquests without crossing the seigniorities of the Spatharios, and even without constraining them to acknowledge his supremacy in the towns conquered by Sancho II. which were included also in the cession of Ibn Mahfot. But the Master of

Ucles was Portuguese, and the Commandeur of Mertola had declared himself for the Count of Boulogne as soon as he arrived at Lisbon. The Order of Santiago was equally favoured in both countries. It is believed, therefore, that the Master, whose influence over Alfonso X. before and after his accession was very great, employed all his efforts to prevent the strife of the two princes, or at least, that the Spatharios should not become involved in the contention, which they certainly would do, if the war be made along the margins of the Guadiana; and we therefore believe that the theatre of war was Cima-Coa, as it had often been in former discords between Leon and Portugal. The various phases of the strife, the time it lasted, and other details are unknown, but the final results induce us to believe that fortune, which had proved hitherto so favourable to the Count of Boulogne, had manifested herself adverse on this occasion.

Not only Paio Peres, but Ferdinand III. himself, to whom the conduct of the son was displeasing, must have endeavoured to reconcile the two adversaries. The disadvantages of the King of Portugal were sufficient motives for him to accept peace in exchange for grave concessions which clearly indicated how great these disadvantages were. It appears Alfonso III. acknowledged the validity of the donation made by Ibn Mahfot, heir to the Castillian crown, which sooner than he thought would encircle his brow: the Infante attained to unite to it the seigniority of the ancient province of Alfaghar, which from that epoch commenced to be called Algarve. An amnesty of forty years and various other conditions, laid down by the two princes, finished for the time being the disagreement, which, however, soon broke out anew.

Since that event (end of 1250) to the death of Ferdinand III. there appears to have existed pacific relations between Castille and Portugal, and Alfonso III. turned his attention to the internal state of the country, where social relations had become still more weakened by the events of the last years, during which anarchy had induced a frightful increase of violence and rapine. The quarrels between lineage and individuals incited the nobles to frequent vengeance, and it was not unusual to see a noble followed by his dependants and partisans suddenly attack the residence of another nobleman, robbing, illtreating, and even assassinating him. Through vengeance houses were levelled to the ground, and fields were depredated, cattle stolen, and then sanguinary affrays followed. The villagers, fearing to be despoiled, refused to sell provisions and fodder to the knights who

passed the villages, and these resorted to force whenever they could do so. The ferocity of the times and customs had introduced since remote times the right of habitual retaliation, and instead of resorting to the tribunals to demand redress or justice for damage or injury, the ferocious knight would vest his coat of mail and take as the judge of his cause his own sword.

Convoking a kind of Solemn Curia of *ricos-homens* and other nobles of the Court, Alfonso III. in council with them (January, 1251) resolved to place barriers to that destructive state of public order, and provisions were taken against frequent robberies and other evils, such as spoliation of fields. But while the King of Portugal was engaged in these domestic occupations, an important event occurred which was the presage of new storms. At the end of May, 1252, Ferdinand III. died in Seville, in the midst of vast designs for crossing Africa and carry war to the very centre of Islamism. Alfonso X., who succeeded him, was a youth of lofty intelligence, and already renowned since the conquest of Murcia and other military feats achieved by him. To all appearances, the King of Castille was resolved upon carrying on the undertaking projected by his father. He commenced by signing peace with the Mussalman princes adverse to the expiring Almohade Empire, which included in Spain the King of Granada, the former ally of Ferdinand III., and in Africa the Beni-Merines. The King of Murcia, to whom he left the empty title, after submitting that province, was his vassal, and likewise the King of Niebla.

But to further the daring attempt of crossing the sea, it would be necessary to establish a permanent treaty of peace with the Christian States of the Peninsula, such as Aragon, Navarre, and Portugal; yet, on the contrary, the commencement of his reign was signalised by a renewal of hostilities on the frontiers of Valencia and Murcia, and the confines of Castille and Aragon. The war was likewise continued on the western frontiers, because, while renewing discords with James I., the amnesty with Portugal, which was to subsist for forty years, ceased ere scarcely a year had passed, and hostilities again broke out between the two countries.

The subject of the contention was the dominion of the Algarve, but the motives for this we can only conjecture by Alfonso III. not fulfilling the conditions he made. Yet this time the resistance of Alfonso III was more efficacious than the first. In this he was indirectly assisted by the analogous discords of the Aragonese and Cas-

tillians concerning their respective frontiers. The forces of Alfonso X. on account of these discords were engaged with his more powerful enemy. James I. was not one to yield an inch of territory to his adversary, and in spite of the efforts of distinguished persons in the two kingdoms to reconcile them, combats and raids on both sides became more frequent and fierce. The death of Theobald I., King of Navarre, leaving an infant child and heir, the pretensions of Alfonso X. over the province of Navarre, and the defence of a minor king whom James I. took charge of, all united to complicate affairs for a length of time between the two States, and which only somewhat lessened in 1254. The preparations of the King of Leon and Castille for invading Africa became reduced, therefore, to attempts of aggrandizement at the expense of the other Christian kingdoms of the Peninsula.

No records remain to us concerning the details of the strife between Portugal and Castille, but its duration for many months indicates that the fortune of war at first was varied. Leaving to his *ricos-homens* and Alcaides the defence and war on the frontiers of Aragon, and challenging the Portuguese King, Alfonso X. proceeded to Badajoz, where he could lead this undertaking, which, for some reason, he had at heart. The news of what passed in Spain soon reached Innocent IV., and in January, 1253, the Pontiff, who favoured the idea of the imaginary invasion of Africa, expedited new bulls, tending to facilitate the project, and incited the Castillian prince to realise it. For this it was indispensable that the strife with Portugal should cease, and Innocent IV. exhorted the adversaries to lay aside their arms, and offered his mediation ; while assuring them that in doing so, he had no intention of prejudicing the legitimate interests of either contender, and if, as it appears, the Pontifical intervention was not accepted, nevertheless the pacific insinuations produced some effect. Wearied out by the strife, in which little or no advantage was gained, but which the Portuguese King feared a great reverse, the two princes concluded a concord, in which Alfonso X., although the state of the frontiers of Aragon and Valencia where sources of disquietude, was able to draw some advantages from the probable triumph of the Castillian arms By D. Maria Guillen de Gusman, Alfonso X. had an illegitimate daughter, who at the time was still a child ; he himself, although wedded to the daughter of James I., had no issue. Alfonso III. was likewise married, and nearly forty years of age. But notwithstandi ng all these obstacles, a marriage was arranged, as a basis of reconciliation.

between Beatriz, the youthful daughter of D. Maria Guillen, and the husband of Mathilde of Boulogne. The political conditions were, that the King of Portugal should temporarily cede to his future father-in-law the usufruct of Algarve and the territories to the east of the Guadiana, until his first son, should he have any by D. Beatriz, attained his seventh year, when the entire dominion of Algarve and the strongholds of Moura, Serpa, Aróche, and Aracena would be newly restored to the Portuguese Crown. By this means the discords were pacified, and Alfonso III. met at Chaves his future father-in-law, or his envoys, in May, 1253, and took D. Beatriz to wife. Alfonso X. was then able to turn his attention to other matters of government and the war.

But if reciprocal devastations ceased with the family bonds which united the chiefs of the two States, political contentions were not ended between them. Alfonso X., who was surnamed the "Wise," manifested in various acts of his reign that he did not hesitate to sacrifice any considerations for that of predominance. Dowered with great activity of spirit and prompt action, he was likewise irritable and self-willed, while the Count of Boulogne was no less ambitious, as the sad history of his brother's fall proves, and the peace-making of Chaves, by a family treaty, did not prevent new motives of contention rising over the seigniority of the disputed possession of the Algarve in a conflict of authority between the princes concerning the rights due, to one as head, and the other as receiver of the usufruct of Algarve. This province, which was an integral part of Roman Lusitania, formed even in the third century of the Christian era (except the difference of limits), one of the ecclesiastical dioceses of Spain, vestiges of which are found up to the time of the Arab invasion. The See of the Bishop was the ancient city of Okssonoba. When Alfonso III. again submitted the Algarve, he delayed to re-establish the Okssonobense See, but as soon as Alfonso X. took possession of those territories, he set about restoring it. Father Robert, a Dominican monk, who was a man of intellectual gifts, and possessed the confidence of the Castillian prince, was elected, and consecrated Bishop of the newly constituted diocese, a perpetual donation being made to him and his successors of the village of Lagos, with the tithes and entry customs fiscally drawn, to which were added various properties in Silves, Albufeira, Faro, and Tavira. The new prelate, who could not be ignorant of the conditions of the union of Algarve to the crown of Castille, proceeded to Portugal to obtain from Alfonso III.

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confirmation for acts the validity of which was more than doubtful. The Portuguese prince received him with consideration, but he was deeply irritated by the proceeding of the Castillian, and meeting together in the Cathedral of Lisbon the officers and magistrates of the Court, in presence of these and the Bishop D. Ayres and Fr. Robert, he solemnly protested, not only against the usurpation made to the Crown of the right of presentation which belonged to him as legitimate patron, but likewise against the perpetual donations, repugnant to the temporary nature of the usufruct which the King of Castille solely possessed in that province. The prelate of Silves had an intimation given not to take advantage of the donations made, Alfonso III. declaring that it was his firm intention to reduce to his complete dominion all properties and rights alienated as soon as a favourable opportunity offered.

This event, of little importance of itself, acquired a great historic value as manifesting clearly, how far from the former discords being extinct, they were only hushed up, and if, on one hand, the Castillian took no notice of the conditions concerning the Algarve, his relative only awaited a favourable occasion to regain what he had been despoiled of and what he had ceded.

The opportunity which the Portuguese monarch waited for appeared long forthcoming. While Alfonso X., ever restless, was renewing successive truces with Aragon, only to break them, he at the same time prepared to subjugate the remaining Mussalman towns of Andalusia, which he effected in 1254 or following year by taking Xeres, Arcos, Sidonia, and Nebrixa. Alfonso was compelled to postpone the reparation of his own rights and turn his attention to the internal state of the kingdom, which had not improved with the revolution which placed him on the throne, and, moreover, there seemed looming in the distance fresh storms similar to those which had wrenched the crown from Sancho II.

The principal cause of the discords, however, appears to be the question concerning the dues paid on the merchandise which was brought down the river Douro, and the place where they should unload, whether in Gaia, a borough of the Crown on the left margin of the river, or in the episcopal borough. But this affair did not come to an understanding, notwithstanding the moderation which the King bade them employ in the inquiry. Remembering that it was almost exclusively to the clergy that Alfonso owed his kingdom, the prelate, judging himself

offended, took the expedient of opposing private to public force. Mutinies rose up and disturbed the whole kingdom, already sufficiently scourged by the war with Castille, while the other prelates, it appears, did not take to heart the injury done to their colleague, because the result was that D. Julian yielded and subjected himself to the heavy fine of £6,500 in punishment of the disturbances he had promoted. The irritation of the King was such that he took military occupation of the city, demanding the keys of the castle and towers which defended the circuit. The Alcaide of the borough refused, but finding it impossible to resist, he deposited them on the high altar of the Cathedral, declaring to Alfonso III. that he might seek for them on that spot, but that he would never break his sworn word to the bishop.

Proceeding thus rigorously in relation to the prelate of Oporto, it is not to be wondered at that Alfonso III., in his malevolent manifestations in regard to those who had shown themselves disaffected, should not respect any of the clergy. Of all the Military Orders, the Templars appear to have been most inclined to the party of Sancho II., hence these, naturally, were most abhorrent to the conqueror. In effect, not only does this powerful and warlike Order cease to appear in the monuments of the first year of the reign of Alfonso III. or in the wars of that period, but we know as a positive fact that they were despoiled of their treasures. Hence the kingdom was at the time labouring under similar circumstances which had previously afforded the pretext for a revolution. Contentions with the clergy, wasting of public rents, unbridled state of the nobles, complaints of the oppressed towns—these are the facts which had brought about the deposition of the sovereign, and now all these still existed, added to the example of that deposition. But to counterbalance so many elements of ruin, there was what was wanting to the Crown in the preceding reign, a prince equal to the danger, daring, experienced, and active.

How far Alfonso III. realised the great promises made during the first years of his reign would not be easy to say; but, in truth, the wars with Castille rendered it difficult to carry out. However, at the commencement of 1254 he seriously endeavoured to fulfil them, at least in part, by avoiding the dangers which threatened him, and which had wrecked his predecessor. Convoking a solemn Curia in Leiria during the spring, he debated on the manner of remedying the public evils aggravated by civil and foreign war. Very few records of these

Cortes have been preserved by the ancient chroniclers, but these suffice to show us the importance of an assembly in more than one sense noteworthy, and which signalises an important epoch in the history of our political institutions.

From the time of the Visigoths, the *juntas*, councils, or national parliaments were exclusively composed of members of the higher clergy and principal nobility of the Peninsula. The people, weak, reduced to almost a state of servitude, did not intervene in these grave assemblies, where the most important affairs of religious and civil society were treated. This same exclusion continued during the first ages of the renewal of the Gothic Monarchy in the Asturias, and its expansion through Galicia, Leon, and Castille. It was in the latter end of the twelfth century, when Portugal had long obtained an independent existence, that to the villagers, the burghers, and that vast crowd which in modern times is called the Arm of the People, and beyond the Pyrenees the Third State, the Leonese kingdom opened the portals of its political assembly, the ancient image of a national representation. The councils, images, or rather traditions of the Roman municipalities had passed in Spain, as in the rest of Western Europe, through all the vicissitudes of war, invasions, barbarities, and although weakened and modified by the necessities and conditions of population during each epoch, sprung up anew to a political life, becoming social active elements, in proportion as the raids of the Saracens were daily decreasing in the central and northern provinces of the Christian territories. In Portugal, notwithstanding all the efforts of Alfonso I. and Sancho I. to populate the country by means of an institution which experience proved to be most useful, and in spite also of the favour it met with from Sancho II., the ancient Visigothic and Leonese custom prevailed even longer than in Leon and Castille of convoking for national assemblies the prelates regular and secular, the officers of the Crown, the supreme magistrature, and principal nobility. But from the Cortes of 1254 dates the call of municipal delegates to the Parliaments. The people, slowly constituted and strengthened, at length beheld their representatives taking a seat in the councils of the kings, and the voice of the labouring man was listened to as it solemnly laid its grievances and rights against the privileged classes, manifesting that Alfonso III. acknowledged the relative importance of the popular bodies.

The Assembly of Leiria opened at the end of February, and closed in April, when the King departed for Lisbon. But this short term was,

however, employed in attending to the grievances of some of the councils, in confirming the privileges and liberties of others, likewise making donations, or effecting reparations to various monasteries. Hence, while seeking to conciliate the popular classes, Alfonso III. flattered the clergy by these demonstrations of favour. The severe providences formerly taken against the See of Oporto in a moment of irritation, and which virtually were against the commerce of the episcopal borough, were now suppressed, and conditions established to regulate the entry of goods and merchandise from Alto Douro to the mouth of the river, whether in Oporto or in Gaia. The latter, subject immediately to the Crown, was a rival to the ecclesiastical town on the margin of the frontier. The traffic in salt was again permitted, which in those days was an object of much importance, the buying and selling having been prohibited by the King to any inhabitant of Oporto, in revenge for similar prohibitions being issued against the inhabitants of Gaia. Some properties belonging to the See of Oporto, confiscated in consequence of former discords, were now likewise restituted. At this epoch also was realised the project of populating Alemtejo, by carrying into effect the restoration of Beja, which was in ruins, and probably deserted since the last expulsion of the Saracens from those districts. This was an important point, from its situation on the frontiers of Algarve, the uncertain dominion of which, sooner or later, would induce a renewal of contention between the two crowns. Clouds continued to gather over the political horizon. The barons and knights who during the civil war had followed the cause of Sancho II., and after the hapless ending of the strife had resided in Castille, on finding it useless to overthrow one whom they judged an usurpator, and who really was so, strove to save themselves from the consequences of the political error into which loyalty or interest had induced them to fall, and regain by other means their lost land and fortune. In conjunction, probably, with the King of Castille, they had laid their situation before the Pope, and obtained from him a bull, by which Innocent IV. charged Alfonso X. to protect them, intervening by gentle means with Alfonso III. in favour of the exiles. The domineering character of the Castillian King, and some of his acts, which manifested that he intended to assume the position rather of arbitrator than counsellor, caused serious apprehensions in Portugal. The representation made to the Pontiff on this subject had its desired effect, and Innocent IV. positively declared to the King of Leon and

Castille that in the injunctions of the bull he did not in any way allow him the right of practising anything contrary to the independence of the Portuguese crown from which the smallest prejudice might result to the King or kingdom of Portugal. Hence the confidence which the exiled knights placed in the pride and power of their protector proved vain, and, as it appears, the most rigid partisans of Sancho II. only gradually attained to return to their native land and restitution made of the properties they had been deprived of.

These disagreements between Alfonso III. and his father-in-law, joined to the jealousy respecting the still disputed possession of Algarve, caused the peace which seemingly existed to be no more than a cloak beneath which war was brewing. Alfonso III., who knew by experience how far the favour of the Pontifical Curia influenced political questions, had cultivated the good-will of the Pope, which the intervention made in his favour against the arrogant interference of Alfonso X. in affairs purely domestic clearly proves. During the course of this year, Innocent IV. sent the Minorite monk Father Velasco to the Peninsula, to treat upon secret affairs with the Kings of Portugal, Castille, and Aragon. Was his mission that of establishing a lasting peace among the three princes, and thus enable the Castillian King to carry out the project, deferred for two years, of sending an expedition to Africa? From the energetic measures taken by the Pope to aid the undertaking, it is believed this was really the case.

Never, perhaps, in the Peninsula had covetousness and mutual envy among the rulers of the various States manifested itself in more frequent raids and devastations from frontier to frontier than at this time, nor more speeches spoken respecting peace and good-will.

Civil tumults were agitating Aragon and Castille, and the former resentments among the nobles rose up anew, to complicate the strifes between the Kings. There are no definite narratives to explain how in two or three years the entire dominion of the Algarve fell again into the power of Alfonso III., although there are existing documents to prove the fact. Meanwhile, this rupture of former conventions, it appears, did not call forth any military demonstrations on the part of Castille; indeed, Alfonso X. seemed to forget the rights resulting from that convention, by omitting among the list of titles which the glory of conquest adds to the names of princes that of King of the Algarve. This was due, no doubt, to the multiplied affairs of graver importance which occupied his attention. The Lord of Biscay had formed an

alliance with Aragon, besides the one with the Infante D. Henry and the knights of his party, the instant the truce expired. Under pretext of combating the Saracens, great military preparations were made in Castille, but the war considered more imminent was that of Aragon. The youthful Theobald enforced with military movements the pretensions he advanced to the possession of provinces some of which the Crown of Castille had formerly despoiled Navarre. On the other hand, the Infante D. Henry, in whose possession were some of the castles taken on the previous year from the Moors, took advantage of this circumstance to harass his brother; and, moreover, it is said that Ibn Mahfot, influenced by him, declined to acknowledge within his dominions of the Gharb and Niebla the almost feudal supremacy of Alfonso X. Added to this, Pope Alexander IV., who succeeded Innocent IV. at the end of 1254, was instilling new vigour into the projected expedition to Africa by enjoining a new Crusade to be preached throughout the Peninsula. As funds were scarce in Castille, the King, being compelled to demand subsidies from the clergy, found much resistance; while the discontent of the people was likewise great, owing to the issue of the new coinage, which was not in proportion to its nominal value. All merchandise in consequence had risen in price, and Alfonso X. added a new financial error by establishing a tariff, or general rate of prices, which served to paralyse commerce, and thereby increased the general discontent. Therefore, in view of all these circumstances, the forced tolerance of the Castillian prince in regard to the procedure of Alfonso III. in the Algarve is easily explained.

If the King of Portugal was not actually surrounded by similar political difficulties, he was at least disquieted by analogous questions. In view of the situation of the kingdom and the wasting of the rents of the State, it seemed that Portugal would have to follow the example of Castille to remedy the deficiency of public revenues. And not only in the Peninsula, but throughout Europe, one of the means employed by princes to fill their empty coffers, or for amassing treasures, was that of altering the coinage. This was done by coining anew the silver, adding more alloy, yet leaving the same nominal value as formerly. In Portugal this took place, as in the rest of nations, although, it appears, this right was limited to conditions of time and manner. Towards the end of 1253 it was currently reported that Alfonso III. was on the eve of imitating his predecessors in this particular, and this suspicion sufficed to produce an increase of prices which it was endeavoured to

prevent by the only means then known, of issuing a tariff, or rate; and the people were not wrong in their surmises. This rate, or tariff of prices, was no more than the precursor of an alteration in the coinage. Wounded interest once more rose up, and the discontent of the clergy and the people compelled the King to suppress the project. Yielding to the appeals of the prelates, the Masters of the military Orders, and of the masses, he promised to continue the former coinage for seven years without making any change. After this promise, he commenced to exact a remission of that fraud, but the resistance and complaints of the principal vassals and prelates were so great that the youthful monarch was constrained to pledge his sworn word, in presence of the Bishop of Evora, that he would never, directly or indirectly, exact donations from the kingdom in order to preserve the coin of the realm without alteration, excepting such as, from ancient usage, the former Kings had drawn from the breaking of the coin, or the people themselves offered in order to avoid that evil.

In the midst of these contentions, the King did not cease to attend to other affairs of government, some tending to consolidate on the south of the kingdom his vacillating dominion, others to increase the Crown rents. Arôche and Aracena were, on the south-east, the extreme limits of the Portuguese conquests, and the possession of these two castles by Alfonso III. was due, not to the Crown which he had wrenched from his brother, nor to treaties with Castille, but solely to the efforts of the Portuguese Knight Hospitallers and to one of their most illustrious chiefs. The possession of those territories, almost attached to the Leonese conquest, was in a certain manner a denial, or rather a protest against the exclusive pretensions of Alfonso X. respecting the conquest of the former Mussalman Gharb. A castellated town placed on this advanced post constituted a species of barrier, if not invincible, at least of sufficient importance in the eventuality of war. Probably Arôche was deserted since the desolating sword of Alfonso Peres, the Commander of Moura, had passed through it; but it became repeopled by Christians, and municipally organised with the extended privileges and immunities accorded to Elvas by Sancho II.

The royal borough of ancient Oporto was at this epoch of small importance, and even, it appears, its inhabitants were subject to the magistrates of the district, and without municipal organisation. At least, we find no vestiges of this previous to the reign of Alfonso III. Around its environs were vast *reguengos*, or farmsteads, belonging to

the royal patrimony which surrounded the valley where Villa-Nova de Gaia actually had its principal seat. On the height of the rock called in our day the Castle of Gaia existed one of those encampments whose origin is lost in the darkness of ages, and probably was the Roman *oile* and the *portucale* of the Visigoths, which popular imagination invested with marvellous traditions. By inviting dwellers to the old Alcacer, and by transferring the borough to the base of its walls, Alfonso III. erected a town which would on one side be a rival, and on the other a bulwark, to the rich and powerful episcopal city, and constituted a council with important privileges. Instead of effecting a division, between the town and city, of the ships, barques, and merchandise which the King assumed, he decreed a more simple means: the fiscal collector, the chief officer of the Crown in Gaia, should, in virtue of the *foral*, exact from the chief officer of the bishop one-half of the entry dues, customs, and transits received in Oporto, while he deliver up to him one-half of what he should receive in Gaia. And in order further to minimise the jealousy occasioned to the burghers of Oporto by the establishment of a neighbouring rival council, the King sought to flatter them by manifestations of good-will.

While these affairs were taking place (1255-1256) the embarrassed situation of the King of Castille had improved. After his close family alliance with England by the marriage of his sister Eleanor to Prince Edward (afterwards Edward I.), and ceding to England his rights to the counties of Ponthieu and Montreuil, he had an interview with his father-in-law in Soria (March, 1256), when both agreed to suspend military operations until the definite conditions of peace should be established between the two crowns, which was only effected during the following year. Meanwhile, the electors of the German Empire being divided among themselves by the death of William, King of the Romans, the Archbishop of Treveris, with other electors, resolved upon choosing as successor of the late monarch the Castillian King (April, 1257), whose reputation for wisdom, or rather science, was world-wide. Whether he worked out this election, or from him came the promises of large sums by which the Archbishop induced the electors of Saxony, Brandenburg, and Bohemia to agree to the election, is unknown, although it is certain that even should he not attain to ascend the throne of the Cæsars, this very election would add to his renown and moral force. The reconciliation of James of Aragon with his relative compelled the Infante Henry to seek a refuge among the Mussalmans of Africa. The

Moorish rulers, who, in conjunction with the Infante, had refused obedience to Alfonso X., could not with equal facility withdraw from the vengeance of this prince now that circumstances enabled him to proceed vigorously against them, as he actually did. The Almohade Ibn-Mahfot was still Wali of the remaining portion of the Algarve, or King of Niebla, as Christian records call him. It was upon him and his capital that the Castillian King vented his wrath, as upon a rebel vassal. The King of Granada, Ibn Alahmar, was compelled to assist his terrible ally against his own co-religionists, and the Granadine troops of Malaga accompanied the army of Castille to the siege of Niebla. This city was renowned for the solidity of its fortifications, and for a length of time the advantages of the besiegers were reduced to devastating the neighbouring territories. After nine months of useless combats, want of provisions and despair of aid compelled the besieged to surrender. The conditions were the definite incorporation of the small Mussalman State to the great central monarchy of the Peninsula. In exchange for lands and rents in the capital of Andalusia, and the right of continuing to hold the title of King, Ibn-Mahfot ceded to the conqueror not only the complete possession of that portion of the Gharb, but likewise the right which he judged he had in parts of that province which the Portuguese arms had successively reduced (1257). In this manner the last vestiges of the brilliant dominion of the Almohades were completely swept away from the west of Spain.

We know not whether Alfonso X., after this new and complete cession of the last Almohade ruler in the Algarve, endeavoured to establish, by force of arms, his authority in that province, where all things tend to show it had ceased for some time, or whether his relative, on beholding him thus invested with the moral and material force which these successes and the peace with Aragon had afforded him, yielded to circumstances; but it is certain that affairs lapsed into their former state. On consulting documents, we find that the King of Castille no longer mentioned among the titles of his seigniories that of Algarve, which, it appears, he had for some time abandoned; but he, at the same time, commenced to exercise acts of authority, although he might yield up to his relative the rights which resulted from the conventions of 1253, such as restoring to the Order of Aviz the Castle of Albufeira, which Alfonso III. had conceded on the occasion of the conquest, and which the Castillian King now occupied, likewise the gift of patronage of all churches in the diocese of Silves.

and the confirmation to Bishop Garcia, who succeeded Father Robert in 1260 or 1261, of the gifts given to his predecessor, which no doubt Alfonso III. had deprived him of, remembering his solemn protest.

If the project of extending the limits of his dominions as far as the southern shores of the ocean was becoming difficult to the King of Portugal, he did not thereby lose courage. Leaving to time and more favourable circumstances the realisation of this undertaking, he turned his attention to domestic affairs, since he could not, with any good result, arrange external ones by means of policy or force of arms.

Alfonso III. had inherited from his father an ambitious, domineering character, but he possessed greater military skill. He had derived great advantage from his residence at the Court of France during an epoch when the government of D. Branca, and subsequently of Louis IX., had afforded princes brilliant examples in the art of governing empires. From this Court he imbibed ideas of social progress which were sufficiently manifested during his reign; and we must bear in mind the influence which the spectacle of Castillian civilisation effected in our country, promoted by such an illustrious monarch as Alfonso the Wise undoubtedly was, in spite of many defects. From the commencement of his reign the Count of Boulogne followed the severe financial system of his father, by reclaiming and increasing the royal rights. The predilection he always manifested for Lisbon, a city which from this epoch commences to figure as the capital of the kingdom, did not spring from the welcome he met with on his return from France, but it was due to its position, the splendid harbour the bay formed, superior to all other ports of the kingdom for commerce. The same motives which urged Alfonso III. to establish an important municipality on the left margin of the Douro, and deprived Bishop Julian of half the dues, also induced him to promote commerce and shipping in Lisbon, a Crown property, where all entries, customs, and dues generally reverted to the benefit of the State.

From the increase of commerce and population in the city the King derived many advantages. On the outskirts buildings had gradually increased in number, and the ancient Achbuna of the Arabs was now a town in a certain manner independent, whose inhabitants enjoyed especial privileges. The most populated suburb of the city extended to the valley on the east and south of Alcaçova. Eleven parishes

raised aloft from the pinnacles of their belfries the standard of the Cross in the midst of this great city, the history of which, relative to the progress of Christianity, was to become one of supreme importance within the space of three centuries, and for its defence the municipality encircled it with strong walls.

The squares and spaces which a bad system of erecting buildings in a rising town had left open between houses were taken advantage of, as well as the uncultivated ground around the city, by the King, although illegally, and large warehouses were constructed, as well as storehouses and inns for the accommodation of the merchants, retail shops, forges, and all kinds of buildings calculated to yield large rents. Besides this, all properties which the owners desired to sell found a ready purchaser in the King; and in this way Alfonso III. became the owner and master, in various senses, of the most opulent city of his kingdom.

These circumstances, which appear trivial in themselves, nevertheless proved of great value in promoting commercial progress in the country, as well as civilisation, industry, and agriculture, the only science of which we find extensive vestiges, and rendered possible the exchange of fabrics, principally textile, of France and Flanders, the two countries that more largely were connected with Portugal at that period of our history.

The foundation of the Council of Vianna, adjacent to the mouth of the Lima, which was resolved upon in 1258, and actually took place in 1262, leads us to infer, from the especial rules laid down respecting all merchandise which should enter the bar, that mercantile industry was becoming considerable. The existence of a large internal traffic may be easily deduced from the fact of the commerce being so extensive with foreign ports; but we have a more positive proof in the privileges accorded during the reign of Alfonso III., to the greater number of towns in Portugal, of holding fairs and markets.

But yet another fact, still more significative, confirms us in our belief that on terminating the first decade of the reign of the Count of Boulogne the towns of Portugal were already becoming prosperous, notwithstanding the political or financial difficulties of the Government, the disorders among the privileged classes, the rapine and violence practised between district and district. This fact is the increase of precious metal, of monetary wealth, not of the King, or nobility, or clergy, in whose hands, it would seem, this wealth ought to have

accumulated, but in the townspeople, especially of the councils. This circumstance, unheeded, led indirectly to a singular mistake. Alfonso III. figures in history as the rival of Sancho I. in founding numerous municipalities and as the restorer of many deserted towns, which is an error. Some efforts are due to him in this respect, but it is certain that they did not exceed those of his predecessor, and, we may say, even those of his father.

Three or four years passed in these works of internal organisation, and no noteworthy change occurred in the exterior relations of the country: in spite of the perpetual incentive of discord between Portugal and Castille (the doubtful dominion of Algarve), the chiefs of the two States apparently lived in peace. But the fire smouldered, however, beneath the ashes, and in 1261 or 1262 new disturbances, if not open war, arose on the frontiers of the two kingdoms. The events which were taking place in the recent conquests of Castille may give us, perchance, the key to the renewal of the hostile acts which occurred. The Moors, who, a short time previously, had been subdued by the arms of Alfonso X., endeavoured from the first to shake off the Christian yoke. An independent Mussalman State yet remained in the south of the Peninsula. It was Granada, whose prince had saved himself by entering into a shameful alliance with the conquerors, and assisted the son of Ferdinand III., as he had helped his father, to combat his own co-religionists. He was moved to this by political interests and racial odium, which is not to the purpose of our work to particularise. In their plan of reaction the conquered comprehended that to effect this it was indispensable to bring over to their party the Prince of Granada. This was effected, and Ibn-Alahmar up to a certain point agreed in the attempt. The revolt at length burst out in the year 1261, and according to the testimony of Arab historians, as well as Christian writers, not only did it spread through Murcia and many parts of the province of Seville, but it likewise extended towards the Gharb. From this a war was enkindled which, if not of great importance, at least it proved an obstinate one, that lasted, more or less violently, for four or five years, and was terminated, in a great measure by the expulsion of the rebel Moors from Andalus.

But did the revolt extend as far as the districts of the province which at the present day is exclusively called Algarve, and that the Christians, even in those days, called by that name the territories beyond the river Tinto?

Arab records appear at first sight to lead us to that conclusion; but as the signification of the word *Gharb* (West) is so indefinite in Saracen writers, and varies according to the various epochs of the Mussalman dominion in the Peninsula, it would be impossible, in view of the small vestiges remaining to us, to decide which were the limits of this province to the west of Seville where the revolt took place. The discords that were again renewed respecting the Algarve, between Alfonso III. and his father-in-law, also the demarcation of the eastern limits of Portugal and other matters not specified by existing documents, however, induce us to suspect that the Portuguese prince was not altogether ignorant of the Mussalman plot, or, at least, that he took advantage of the attempt to regain the conquests effected by his brother and himself on the south side of the sea.

The particulars of the events which took place between the two countries are unknown, excepting that they were followed by the usual evils and crimes, deaths, robberies, assaults, and sale of castles. The aggressor seems to have been the Portuguese prince, who derived all the advantages of the strife, if any really serious resistance was offered. It is certain that in the spring of 1263 a treaty was contemplated between the two countries, and that Alfonso X. nominated ministers, among them the renowned Paio Peres Correia, to sign the treaty of peace with his son-in-law.

This treaty was concluded shortly after, and the King of Castille declared himself perfectly satisfied with the King of Portugal, and terminated by promises of loyal friendship, all grievances against him being at an end. The actual conditions of this peace-making are unknown, but subsequent documents tell us something respecting the Algarve. It appears the envoys of Castille and the King of Portugal agreed that Alfonso X. should hold the right, during his lifetime, of distributing the Crown properties within that province, and of deciding upon any doubts which might arise on the matter, all donations made by him to be considered valid and irrevocable, while the appeals of inferior magistrates to be taken to the Court of Castille, and not of Portugal. At this time Alfonso III. had a son born to him, by D. Beatriz, the Infante D. Dinis (1261). The indefinite position of the King in relation to the daughter of Alfonso X., although a domestic affair, naturally concerned the public welfare. As soon as the Countess of Boulogne became aware in France of the marriage her husband had contracted in virtue of the conventions entered into

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with the King of Castille in 1253, she appealed feelingly to Pope Alexander IV., against an act which policy might counsel, but which morality nevertheless condemned. The Pope heeded the supplications of the betrayed Countess, and in May, 1255, he expedited a bull to the Archbishop of Compostella, to order the King of Portugal to appear within four months before the Roman Curia, in order to resolve the affair in a just manner. As may be imagined, Alfonso III. neither appeared before the Curia nor did he sever the illicit marriage he had contracted. It is probable that Mathilde continued her efforts to break off the odious union, and tradition tells us that she took the desperate step of coming to Portugal seeking Alfonso. We know for certain that the Pope, in view of the conduct of the Portuguese prince, ordered the Archbishop of Compostella and the Bishop of Mondonhedo to command the King to sever his incestuous union within forty days, and in the event of disobeying to fulminate an interdict against both culprits. The death of Mathilde in 1258 did not alter the state of things, nor did it lessen the rigour of the Pontiff. In order to raise the sentence of excommunication and legitimise the act, death had come to remove the obstacle, while the cries of tender infancy seemed to be appealing for mercy. It is true that between the wedded pair there certainly existed impediments of relationship; but Alexander IV., who protected Mathilde, and had issued the interdict, was dead (1261), and Urban IV. had succeeded him. All these circumstances rendered hopeful the desires to obtain from the Pope remission for past errors. Hence, in the name of the bishops and chapters of the kingdom, a petition was addressed (May, 1262) to the Pope Urban, urging the political motives which had led Alfonso III. to contract this union, and other no less powerful ones for desiring not to sever it, beseeching, therefore, the Supreme Pastor to annul the interdict, and moreover bless the union of the princes, in order to render their children legitimate, so that they should be heirs and successors to the throne. To the appeal of the clergy was added one from the King, in his name and that of the people, and the Bishops of Coimbra and Lisbon were sent to Rome, meanwhile that favour was obtained from the King of France, Louis IX., from Theobald, King of Navarre, and Duke Charles of Anjou. These appeals were not in vain. The Pope relaxed the fulminated threats, and rendered legitimate the incestuous marriage, declaring all children born of D. Beatriz competent to hold any political or civil right.

The efforts which the Mussalmans of Spain were making, in spite of divisions among themselves, to sustain their expiring independence in the territories which were daily becoming more and more circumscribed, still continued. The history of the last throes of Islamism at this period is very obscure, but it is known that, in order to carry on the war against the Saracens, Alfonso X. obtained from Clement IV., successor to Urban, the concession of a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues, not only in Castille and Leon, but, what is more singular still, from Portugal. At the same time a Crusade was preached throughout Spain, by order of the Pontiff (1265). War was raging in the province of Murcia, and the King of Granada, displeased with Alfonso the Wise, had returned to the Beni-Merines, who in Africa had arisen on the ruins of the extinct Almohade Empire. It appears Abu Jussuf, the Ameer of Morocco, had in effect sent some troops, while the extraordinary precautions taken in 1265 against the war with the Infidels proves that it was feared the Mussalmans of Africa should make another attempt in favour of their co-religionists of Spain, which, in truth, they actually did.

The concession of a tenth of the rents of the Portuguese Church, made to the King of Castille in order to sustain the strife against the Saracens, was, in many ways, a thorny business, and one which brought grave inconveniences. The Pope, in choosing the Archbishop of Seville to collect this ecclesiastical rent, restricted the concession under two exceptions, either of which rendered the bull of no effect in Portugal. The first was, should Alfonso III. be at the actual point of breaking directly with the Saracens, or the probability of a proximate war with the Infidels; the second, the King of Portugal taking a part in the question of Castille, by helping the King with forces equivalent to his power and the resources of his States. Alfonso III. could not possibly ignore the singular concession made by the Pope, nor its limitations. The first would not be realised, but the second was in his power to effect. By sending considerable aid to Castille, he could convert to his own use the ecclesiastical tithe, and avoid having his kingdom overrun by sub-collectors of the Sevillian prelate, authorised to collect a part of the rents of the Portuguese clergy. Perchance the shrewd Alfonso III. calculated beforehand the effect which this extraordinary aid might produce of putting down the last vestiges of the pretensions of Castille in the Algarve by the spontaneous cession of the grateful father-in-law for his efforts and sacrifices. The character of the King of Portugal

and the circumstances of the expedition convince us that this was induced by these or analogous political considerations. There was still wanting, it appears, the means for the necessary naval and military preparations. A solution of the difficulty was sought for. As the Infante Dinis, who was then about five years of age, represented the *rôle* of feudatory to the grandfather in relation to the Algarve, the King asked in the name of the Infante, from the Councils of the kingdom, an extraordinary subsidary, in order to make the necessary preparations for the fleet which he purposed to send to the coasts of Andalusia, and the body of troops by land to accompany D. Dinis, who would proceed to join the army of his grandfather. This appeal, made thus in the name of a child, transformed into the commander of the expedition, was an act altogether too farcical, and excited great discontent. But Alfonso III., without abandoning his plans, invented a new scene, which, by irritating the people less, they became the actors in place of spectators, and conduced to the same result of action. The payment of subsidies was expressly forbidden to the Councils, as well as for the Infante to receive it; as it was, Alfonso III. declared against political liberties, and imperilled the soul of the monarch. He, moreover, added that, as the war against the Saracens, who were adversaries of the King of Castille, was a pious work, praiseworthy and necessary, he would take as a loan the sums which the Councils were to give D. Dinis, and these he pledged to pay faithfully, or his successors, by establishing as a public and perpetual privilege of the kingdom, that never would a similar appeal be made, and by this solemn decision avoid the introduction of an abuse. Various Councils, in effect, delivered up large sums, as can be proved by the projected journey of the Prince heir.

The manner in which this affair was conducted is in unison with all other acts of the Count of Boulogne characteristic of his crafty, enterprising mind. When difficulties arise he copes with them; when they are insuperable he proceeds to surmount them by craft; but he always goes forward towards the mark he aims at; he never retreats. What matters the conditions or manner of obtaining the desired sums? What was essential was to arrange an expedition to Castille by sea and land. In this way would be severed the last link which bound the Algarve to the sceptre of Alfonso the Wise; and in this way would be realised the whole scheme which had occupied for sixteen years the spirit of the King of Portugal. This thought, which had drawn him

to contract an illicit marriage with a mere child, now induces him to choose a child still of a more tender age to be the leader of his warriors, and whose tiny hands he judged were more fitted to sever that link than the iron gauntlets of the knights sent to Andalusia.

The chronicles of Castille amid much that partakes more of fable and legends concerning this expedition, however, assure us that this scheme had its desired effect, and at its conclusion both the Portuguese and Castillian monarchs met in Badajoz (February, 1267), and amicably ended all their former contentions. Alfonso X. ceded without any restriction all right which might belong to him in the Algarve in virtue of former treaties or in any other way, and ordered the knights who held the royal castles of the province as tributaries to deliver them up to the King of Portugal, or to whomsoever he might delegate.

Alfonso III., on his part, although he scarcely possessed beyond the Guadiana more than the castles of Arôche and Aracena, since Moura and Serpa were in possession of the Knights Hospitallers, ceded them to his father-in-law, definitely establishing the course of the Guadiana as the borders of both States, from the confluence of this river with the Caia to the sea. Arronches and Alegrete, lands situated beyond Caia, about which there existed some doubts between the two Crowns, remained within the limits of Portugal, landmarks being placed to the east of these towns to limit the bounds.

The cession of the seigniority of Algarve established the natural limits of the country, and the Christian reaction against Islamism was consummated on the west of Spain. Encircled by the ocean on the west and south, on the east and north by Leon and Castille, the kingdom had reached its last territorial limits, and even wars or political treaties could scarcely add one or other fragment from the wide monarchy which bordered her, and far superior to herself, she could not hope to derive further advantages. Meanwhile, Alfonso III., peacefully in possession of his oft-disputed conquests, having abandoned in 1259 his title of Count of Boulogne (probably at the death of Mathilde), assumed a few months after the treaty of peace with Castille in March, 1268, the additional title of King of Portugal and the Algarve, which his grandfather had adopted for a time, and which his successors have retained to the present day.

The success and skill with which the son of Alfonso II. had terminated this affair with Castille did not follow him in his domestic affairs, and over the internal horizon of his government brewed a

tempest. The inheritance of the Portuguese Crown appeared to be allied to a terrible legacy, that of contentions with the Church. It was said that it was not given to any King of Portugal to rest in his grave without fighting a pitched battle with the clergy, and Alfonso III. either did not or could not avoid the results of the irreconcilable contradiction of royal power and the almost absolute independence which the ecclesiastical body assumed. In truth, with the exception of the fiscal contentions with the Bishop of Oporto, the successor of Sancho II. delayed for many years the renewal of a combat in which his brother experienced the severe proof that the episcopal staff could at times hurl down the sceptre. The consideration alone of the shameful part he played in the last strife, when the clergy opened to him the path to the throne, sufficed to restrain him. But circumstances soon induced him to act differently.

D. João Egas, the turbulent conspirator and principal agent of the intrusion of the Count of Boulogne, died, in Valladolid, about the year 1255. It is said he died on his return from Rome, after vain efforts to arrange the scandal of the marriage of the King with D. Beatriz. He was succeeded by Martin Giraldes, who was a worthy successor in following the traditions of haughty independence which characterised the Metropolitan of Braga. Julian, the Bishop of Oporto, also had died (end of 1260), without avenging the private affronts received at the hands of Alfonso III., leaving, perchance, this inheritance to his dean, Vincent Mendes, whom the chapter elected to succeed him. Martin of Evora, Egas of Coimbra, Rodrigo of Guarda, successor to Master Vincent, the celebrated Chancellor of Sancho II., and Matthew of Viseu, were the four oldest bishops elevated to the episcopal dignity after the Count of Boulogne had taken the administration of the kingdom. The last elected were Pedro of Lamego (1258) and Matthew of Lisbon, who proceeded to Rome after his election, and continued there, with the Bishop of Coimbra, in the service of the King, until 1263, when he returned to Portugal after the Bishop of Coimbra.

There remained, therefore, none of the former combatants who had revelled in the victory after the battle, when the monarchy, torn asunder in the person of Sancho II., had fallen at the feet of the clergy; but the traditions of inflexibility in matters of interest and ecclesiastical privileges were preserved intact by their successors. Offended and illtreated by the King, who was likewise unbending in

maintaining the rules of administrative reforms he had adopted, seven out of the nine prelates who occupied the bishoprics of Portugal placed themselves in open hostility with Alfonso III. These were the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishops of Oporto, Coimbra, Guarda, Viseu, Lamego, and Evora. The Bishop of Lisbon, who had always maintained friendly relations with Alfonso III., would not take part in a strife which, judging from the past, must needs be violent, while the Bishop of Silves, who had been elected for that See through the influence of Alfonso X., continued to follow the Court of Castille, and kept free from the contentions of the Portuguese clergy until 1267, when he was assassinated in Italy, where he had gone as agent of the Castillian prince. These resolved to fly from the kingdom and appear before the Roman Curia, perchance with the object of affording a terrible lesson to the monarchy. The greater number effected their departure, and proceeded to the kingdom of Leon—at least, we learn that towards the end of 1266 the Bishops of Oporto, Coimbra, and Lamego were in Ciudad Rodrigo. The last, either through infirmity or better advised, returned to his diocese, but delegated a procurator to represent him, an expedient which was likewise resorted to by the Bishop of Evora. In spite of these desertions, Martin Giraldes and the four remaining bishops did not desist from their purpose, an placing the kingdom under an interdict, they proceeded to the Pontifical Curia.

The Papal Tiara at that juncture encircled the brow of Clement IV., an individual of great experience and of an enlightened mind, but in the exercise of his ministry was assailed by many political difficulties. However grave the spectacle might appear of the arrival of the Portuguese bishops to Viterbo (where the Pontiff had retired, owing to the disturbances in Italy), seeking redress from their prince, other duties of greater moment occupied the attention of Clement. Martin Giraldes and his colleagues hastened, nevertheless, to lay before the Pope a lengthened memorial manifesting in detail the causes which compelled them to take that extraordinary step in defence of the ecclesiastical liberties and prerogatives. Bearing in mind that their predecessors, in order to crush Sancho II., had resorted to the expedient of adding to the grievances of the Church the complaints of the people, they made use of the same weapons. To the grave accusations formulated against Alfonso III. as regarded the clergy, they added that of civil oppression, in the forcible and illegal occupation of municipal and private lands in

the interior of the cities and towns with the object of constructing buildings, the rents derived from these being converted to the advantage of the King, and many other complaints too long to mention; but the essential question rested on other matters—the true or supposed grievances against the ecclesiastical orders.

The narrative of the contentions which the King had sustained with Julian, the Bishop of Oporto, and with his successor was placed in its most odious light, and transformed from a special and singular fact into a common abuse repeated in relation to various Sees. This misstatement alone would induce history to condone many faults in Alfonso III., and teaches us to view in this affair the spite of the clergy in consequence of the general inquiries. We do not mean to say that the reign of the Count of Boulogne was a model of religious piety and good government. Notwithstanding the important facts of political and social progress, and his donations to churches and monasteries which historians carefully registered, we do not think that under any aspect can Alfonso III. even remotely be compared to his illustrious contemporary, Louis IX. of France, nor as a good financier with Alfonso II. The laws and provisions effected in the matter of tributes certainly offer us in his reign proofs of greater intelligence and efficacy than in the former prince, yet we see him almost constantly wrestling against pecuniary difficulties.

Had the Bishops of Portugal been moved to proceed to Viterbo from patriotism and the indignation felt for the oppressions practised by the civil power against the weak and the humble, whom, as clergymen, it was their duty to protect against the powerful, these extortions and evil doings would have been the principal theme of the articles touching the political order, in the appeal presented to the Pope, and likewise, as princes of the Church, as ministers of a religion severely pure, instead of many of these grievances, they ought to have borne in mind the depravity of customs which the King authorised by his example, and which belonged to them as to the Pontiff to effect a remedy. In truth, the Bishop of Coimbra, D. Egas, was not altogether competent to treat upon the thorny question, but were all the other prelates in the same condition? By accusing the King almost exclusively of acts which wounded their material interests rather than the doctrines of the Church, they merely covered under an hypocritical cloak of religion human passions, and sought a means of obtaining vengeance for past offences.

But whether due to some political agent at the Roman Curia, or because Alfonso III. beheld the departure of the prelates, he soon became aware of the charges against him, and the administration of the kingdom laid before the Pope, in this respect following the same system which had been so usefully employed against his brother. More active, however, than Sancho II., more skilful, or perhaps better advised, he opposed the tactics of the clergy by others no less crafty. In a short time a declaration was laid before Clement IV., solemnly addressed by the councils of Portugal, wherein they not only excused the procedure of the King, but they extolled him and the administration of the kingdom. No doubt this testimony was not altogether spontaneous, at least his adversaries said this declaration was extorted not from love, but through fear; but, nevertheless, it neutralised up to a certain point the effect of these accusations, and induced public opinion to waver respecting the extent and the importance of the facts alleged. Yet Alfonso III. held in his hand better-tempered weapons with which to oppose the arms of his enemies—to the zeal of the clergy in respect to the immunities of the Church he opposed his own zeal for the glory of the faith. This had enabled him to take possession of the throne, when, under the pretext of enlisting in the crusade against the Saracens of Spain, he prepared the means to overthrow his brother; and now the same favourable occasion offered for vivifying religious ardour. Both the King of France and the Pope were of one accord in the thought of promoting a renewal of the Crusades—the former by taking advantage and employing the Venetians to transport the forces he assigned for that undertaking to the East, and the latter by soliciting the princes of Europe to imitate Louis IX., and endeavour to reanimate the enthusiasm of nations for the redemption of the Holy Places. Hence, many took the Red Cross, not only in France, but also in England, Aragon, Castille, and other nations. Under interdict, and expecting to see poured over him the vials of the Church, Alfonso nevertheless announced in Viterbo his intention of associating himself to the undertaking of the East, and actually prepared for the crusade. Manifesting in this manner that he acceded to the vehement desires of the Pontiff, the King was winning, at a small cost, a decisive battle. And, in truth, this resolve crumbled down, in a great measure, the edifice erected so carefully by the prelates, one of whom, the Bishop of Guarda, dying soon after his arrival at Viterbo, was substituted by a Minorite, Fr. Vasco, the Bishop of Famagusta, an election authorised by the Pope (1267).

Clement IV., believing in the sincerity of the Portuguese prince, expedited bulls to the Dominican Priors of the diocese of Lisbon, to the Franciscan Guardians of Guarda and Evora, not only to suspend the interdicts placed by the bishops who were absent from their Sees, but also to authorise the King to receive during a period of three years the revenues from all pious legacies which had no precise or definite application, or any other alms or gifts left with the object of redeeming the Holy Places, likewise the value of goods obtained by usury, fraud, or violence, which its detainers desired to be delivered up in restitution, the legitimate owners not having appeared. The latter clause, however, was only in the event of the King actually embarking.

Although these concessions of the Pontiff be up to a certain point in contradiction with the acts and wishes of the complaining bishops, it cannot be said that the Pope forsook them. To these bulls he added another addressed personally to Alfonso III., wherein he alluded to the accusations of the political order afore-mentioned, the representations of the councils, and the doubts respecting their spontaneity, and admonished him to repentance, yet barely referred indirectly to the grievances of the clergy. As to what regarded the latter, the means Clement IV. adopted had a greater efficacy. His chaplain, William Folquini, Dean of Narbonne, was appointed Nuncio for Portugal with lengthened instructions on the manner of proceeding in the question of the clergy. No doubt in the midst of the intrigues which were necessarily weaving in Viterbo against and in favour of Alfonso III., the most prudent was to send a delegate to Portugal to examine the truth of the allegations, and settle the affair or enable the Pope by his reports to finish the deplorable strife between the Crown and the Episcopacy. The bulls and instructions which were calculated to settle the difficulties and in part satisfy the bishops, with the hopes of the mission of Folquini, were sent out in July, 1268; but his departure was delayed by the death of Clement IV. on 29 November, 1268.

The Dean of Narbonne remained with the Curia, and the contentions of Portugal were indefinitely postponed. The cardinals collected together in Viterbo seemed disinclined to elect another Pontiff, and for nearly three years the Church remained deprived of a supreme pastor, until the Sacred College, wearied by delays and domestic strifes, elected six cardinals to decide upon the election of the new Pontiff, pledging themselves to accept unanimously whomsoever they should choose. The votes fell to the Archdeacon of Liege, one Thealdo, of the noble family

of Visconti, and an Italian by birth, who at the time was in the Holy Land.

On his arrival to Italy he was consecrated Pope at Rome, under the title of Gregory X. (March, 1272). In Rome, Orvieto, and Viterbo, the three cities wherein the new Pope successively resided during the first year of his pontificate, the prelates of the Portuguese Church renewed their claims, laid aside for so long a time.

Of the five prelates who had proceeded to Italy, the Bishop of Guarda was dead, as we said, likewise the prime mover of this voluntary exile, the Archbishop of Braga, who expired in Viterbo about the time of the election of Gregory X., while Egas Fafes, raised from the dignity of Bishop of Coimbra to Metropolitan of Compostella, did not long survive his new elevation, hence only two remained, the Bishop of Oporto and the Bishop of Viseu, transferred to Coimbra after the promotion of Egas Fafes.

But although the number of the adversaries of Alfonso III. were thus reduced, they did not cease from their project. The events which had suspended the intended negotiations of Clement IV. for a pacific solution of the contention had virtually aggravated the situation of the Portuguese clergy, by affording a repetition of the facts and civil action of ecclesiastical causes of which they complained. To this was added circumstances which rendered the mission of the Bishop of Oporto and the newly elected Bishop of Coimbra one of greater difficulty. The prelates of Lamego and Evora were both dead—the latter immediately after the departure of his colleagues for Viterbo, the former in 1270. As patron of all the Sees of the kingdom, Alfonso III. was very likely to influence in a more or less direct manner the choice of prelates, although the election rested more particularly on their respective chapters; but, nevertheless, he would employ every means to render these elections favourable to himself. And in effect Durando Paes, his confidant, and one of those ministers called Priests of the King, was promoted to the See of Evora. By these changes the procurators of the dioceses had altered the character they represented at the Curia. As soon as the election of Gregory X. was known in Portugal, Matthew, the Bishop of Lisbon, departed in 1272 for Italy. This ecclesiastic lived on good terms with the King, and his voyage was presumed to be undertaken, not to strengthen the complaints against the King, but to bring affairs to a conclusion favourable to the Crown. But, notwithstanding all these advantageous circumstances, Alfonso III could not yet reckon

upon a decisive victory, as much would depend on the opinions and character of the new Pontiff.

While Bishop Matthew proceeded to the Roman Curia, endeavours were made in Portugal to find a successor to Martin Giraldes. The choice fell on a member of the Chapter of Braga, Peter Julian, Archdeacon of Vermuim, who had resided in Italy for years, known by the name of Pedro Hispano, where he had acquired, as throughout Europe, the reputation of high intelligence and vast science. The Archdeacon was very friendly to the King, which leads us to infer that Alfonso III. was the prime mover in that election. When the news of the election of the new Archbishop reached the Roman Curia, the prelate had just been elected to the Cardinalate by Gregory X., under the title of Bishop of Tuscany, and therefore the Pontiff refused to confirm the Portuguese election. Thus the Metropolitan See of Galicia continued vacant, while the Bishop of Vizeu, nominally transferred to Coimbra, was not recognised in Portugal as prelate of the last diocese, the administration of which was, it appears, undertaken altogether by the Bishop of Lisbon. The indefinite situation of the Bishop of Viseu assisted morally to weaken his party, whose chief really was Master Vincent of Oporto, who, in obstinacy and energy, was the worthy successor of Julian and Martin Rodrigues.

In May, 1273, Gregory X. addressed a bull to Alfonso III., in which, after enumerating some of the recent complaints of the clergy, and in moderate language conveying severe injunctions, he said that it was his rule to show indulgence to princes and respect royal prerogatives, from whence resulted the obligation of Alfonso III. to respect likewise the rights and immunities of the Church; hence he besought him, and as supreme Pontiff enjoined him, to cease from molesting men who were consecrated to the service of God, and to restore to the clergy all that had been usurped, or indemnify them, by giving them full satisfaction for all injuries, and other similar instructions, concluding by adverting that, should he not fulfil the Apostolic mandates, he would proceed in a different manner, since it was the duty of the Supreme Pontiff to maintain the peace of the Church and of nations.

This bull, to be presented to the King by the Prior of the Dominicans and the Custodian and Guardian of the Friars Minors, was accompanied by two others addressed to the three Commissioners, one of which was to impose this charge, and the other, in the event of Alfonso III. wishing to come to an understanding, to suspend the

interdict for seven months, while, if the King continued obstinate, they were, according to the spirit of the bull, to renew the suspended interdict before the expiration of the seven months. On the arrival of these bulls at Lisbon, the Commissioners besought permission to deliver them. The clergy had obtained somewhat of a triumph. The exigencies of the Pope were precise and terminating, and Alfonso found himself placed between the threats of the Roman Curia and the fiscal ones, since the stone of scandal of the clergy was principally the providences resulting from the general inquiries of 1258. He had at the time no Moors to combat, and the expedient of a crusade was no longer tenable. He resorted, therefore, to the expedient of temporising. In vain did the three friars beseech an audience: the King, occupied with a multiplicity of administrative affairs, could not grant it. At length, after much delay, he convoked the Cortes in Santarem at the end of 1273, where he proceeded in person. The Apostolic delegates followed, and were able before the meeting of Parliament to obtain an audience. Alfonso III. listened to them, and appeared fully convinced, and affirmed, that in view of his subjects having practised so many evils, he acknowledged that the Pope, in intervening in the question, had proceeded with justice and to the spiritual and material advantage of the monarch and kingdom. The question was then laid before the Cortes, where the *ricos-homens*, the chiefs of the various orders, and the representatives of the municipalities had gathered together.

The result of the Cortes was the election of various *ricos-homens*, members of the clergy, knights, magistrates, and officers of the Crown, to constitute a commission, with power to correct all the acts of the King or of his ministers, practised *unreasonably*, and without redress, Alfonso III. protesting that he would hold inviolable all that the appointed commissioners might resolve upon for the entire reparation of these offences.

But who were those composing that extraordinary juncta? Principally those who by their counsels or acts had perhaps contributed more largely to enkindle a war between the throne and the altar. It was the Bishop of Evora, the former priest-friend of the King, and his confidant; it was the two especial favourites, the Major-domo and Chancellor; it was some of the *ricos-homens*, or administrators of the districts, various privy councillors and judges or ministers of the Supreme Tribunal of the Court, and other officers of the King. The result of this commission was only what might be expected: the

members of this body scarcely found anything that had been *unreasonably* practised. The questions which had induced a convocation of the Cortes remained in the same state, and the protests of the prince and his submission to the Pontifical decrees were manifestly only a comedy which had been acted with all due solemnity.

It may easily be imagined the indignation of the three Commissioners of the Pope when they beheld themselves thus duped. Feeling that all demonstrations would be useless, they resolved not to allow themselves to be again deceived by promises which were never kept, and they exacted a reply in writing to send to the Pope. The King did so, but only as a kind of memorandum, without affixing the royal seal, which alone could render the document authentic, and with this they were fain to be satisfied. The reason for this proceeding on the part of Alfonso III. was because he would have to acknowledge the said abuses in order to asseverate solemnly that he seriously meant to correct them, a confession which would be dangerous to make in a solemn official decree. The Commissioners then wrote to the Curia enclosing this declaration, and explained the affair they were entrusted with, which, in spite of all their efforts, they had only obtained meagre results.

These documents, sent at the commencement of 1274, probably reached Gregory X. in Lyons, where he had proceeded to on the previous November to assist at the Council which had been there convoked. Many grave affairs were discussed at the Council, which rendered necessary the postponement of Portuguese affairs. But when the Council was concluded, and other matters treated upon which detained him in that city for several months, Gregory proceeded to Beaucaire (May, 1275) to meet Alfonso X. of Castille, who pretended to the imperial crown of Germany. The contentions of the Portuguese newly arrested the attention of the Pontiff, and, naturally offended at the duplicity of Alfonso III., at once endeavoured to render null the providences he had adopted two years previously respecting the dissensions between the prince and the clergy. One of his first acts as head of the Church on arriving to Beaucaire was to nominate the Metropolitan of Galicia. And on the 4th September he expedited a bull exposing in strong terms all that the prince had been guilty of, and bidding him under severe ecclesiastical penalties within a year to fulfil entirely the various dispositions therein contained, else the places where these evils were practised would fall under the ban of interdict. If the King, after the specified time, should continue to disobey the Pontifical constitutions,

he would incur excommunication, and if this extended to the space of another month the whole kingdom would be likewise interdicted, and if this state continued for three months the Pope would sever the political bonds of the State, absolving the vassals and subjects of all oaths of fidelity and obedience to the King, and exempting them from acknowledging in the smallest degree his authority so long as he continued impenitent. In an especial manner the Pontiff deprived Alfonso III. or his successor of the Crown patronages so long as the interdict and excommunication weighed upon them.

When this bull of 4th September, 1275, was issued, the agents of the King in Rome were Stephen de Rates and John Paes—the first Canon of Braga, and the second of Viseu. These two returned to Portugal, bearing this sad result of their mission. The rigorous action of the Pope, however, did not produce the moral effect it was expected to do. Alfonso III. appears to have continued peacefully administrating the kingdom with his barons and ministers. We know not the motive why the publication of the terrible resolution of Gregory X. was delayed, but it is certain that before the clergy attained the result they expected, events occurred which deferred the fulfilment of the threats. On returning to Italy, Pope Gregory X. died in Arezzo (January, 1276), and Innocent V., who succeeded him, barely occupied the Pontifical Chair four months, and was followed by Adrian V., whose occupation was still shorter, since he died about one month after his election. The cardinals, in conclave at Viterbo, then raised to the Pontifical dignity the Bishop of Frascati, Peter Julian, or Hispano, who was crowned under the title of John XXI., on 20th September; and during the course of 1276, four individuals had successively sat in the Chair of St. Peter.

Innocent V., notwithstanding that he ruled for so short a time the supreme Pontifical power, at once took up the affair of Portugal, and sent as Nuncio a Spanish Franciscan called Friar Nicholas. After various audiences and vain exhortations, fully convinced of the uselessness of his efforts, Friar Nicholas resolved to fulfil what the bull of Gregory X. had determined. He therefore proceeded to the tribune of the cathedral, and, in presence of a large concourse of ecclesiastics and people, he solemnly published the dispositions contained in the bull, a copy of which was affixed to the doors of the cathedral. Then, quitting Lisbon, the Apostolic Commissioner proceeded successively to the principal cities of the kingdom, renewing in each this terrible

ceremony. At this juncture Pope John XXI. died in Viterbo (May, 1277), and it was not known who might succeed him, or what his intentions might be in relation to the King of Portugal. Foreseeing the effect on the population of the proceeding of the Nuncio—or, perchance, he saw the spectre of excommunication imminent—Alfonso III. sent messengers to Guarda, to where Friar Nicholas was at the time, to inform him of the death of the Pope, and invite him to Lisbon, to treat upon matters of conscience with him, and at the same time confer upon what concerned his own and country's peace. The Nuncio at once returned (July, 1277), but the conference ended without any result. After waiting nearly a whole month, and seeing that the King did not manifest any signs of renewing the negotiations, Friar Nicholas departed to Evora, where he publicly and solemnly published the interdict. He hoped by so doing that Alfonso III. would call him anew; but it appears this did not take place, although, on returning to Lisbon, he obtained an audience from the King. At this audience assisted the Infantes D. Dinis and D. Alfonso, besides the officers and ministers of State; and in their presence the Nuncio declared that, wearied out by many delays, he had decided upon quitting the kingdom, and therefore he would pronounce the last anathema, as the term had expired. He then, addressing himself to the King, said that he had delayed so long in the hopes of seeing him take a definite resolution; but the debate only seemed to further irritate Alfonso III., and it ended with no good result.

Such was the last scene which has reached us of the long strife between the craft and pertinacity of Alfonso III., or of his counsellors, and the pretensions for absolute dominion of the ecclesiastical power. No doubt the Minorite Father fulfilled what he had said, and applied to the Portuguese prince the terrible penalties against a definite disobedience. Hence, on departing from Portugal, Friar Nicholas could not do aught but cast over the kingdom an interdict, and with it the political dissolution and the ultimate ruin of the throne. Since that day, in virtue of the decrees of Gregory X., all duties of obedience, as regards subjects to their prince, had ceased.

No contemporary memoirs inform us what were the results of this violent situation, but the few documents of that epoch cast over the last days of the reign of the ambitious successor of Sancho II. sad gleams. We know that during the year 1277 civil wars rose up in Portugal, and that among the various bands bloody combats took place. Such

was the one of Gouveia, where on one side perished Gil Vasques, nephew of the celebrated Martin Gil, and on the other, brave knights, shield-bearers, and men. If, in reality, the tumults which agitated the kingdom at the end of the reign of Alfonso III. were due to the mission of Friar Nicholas, other circumstances existed, independently of the want of a head, to render more difficult the attempt to dethrone the King. The thunderbolts cast by the Roman Curia, although not to be despised, had during the space of thirty years lost part of the moral force which they possessed in the time of Sancho II., while, on the other hand, the Pontifical throne was deficient of a Pope with the character absolute and energetic of Innocent IV. Added to this, although Alfonso III. had not the military energy of his brother, yet he manifested in many acts of his long reign a great superiority of political talent and firmness of will, gifts which were more necessary in civil discords than the bravery of a soldier. Lastly, unlike Sancho II., he had a son, heir to the throne, who would find enough affection in the country to oppose those who should attempt to deprive him of his paternal inheritance. D. Dinis was over sixteen years of age in 1277. And, in effect, within a few months the heir to the throne was surrounded by a court of vassals and officers, and enjoying an annual rental of forty thousand pounds, when he departed from Lisbon (June, 1278) to visit the kingdom.

Oppressed by the weight of years, and still more by illness and the moral pressure of the ecclesiastical censures, Alfonso III. laid on the youthful shoulders of his son the charge of administration, although business was done in his name, and in all else reserving to himself the royal prerogatives.

On his bed of suffering, the King of Portugal manifested a memorable example of Divine justice. When during the long, weary days of pain which at times presage the advent of death, or in the wakefulness of nights of suffering, his spirit dwelt on the past days, when gold and the sword disputed with his brother a despicable crown; when the curses of the Church marched in the vanguard of his soldiers, and wounded loyalty and misfortune; when he, now cursed likewise, was declared unfit to govern the empire, could see the whole iniquity of his own conduct pass in review before him, and increase the anguish of sickness by remorse of conscience. It is natural that the scenes of the past must have contributed to shorten his existence, and the terrors of death aggravated his suffering. However, there are no documents existing to

show us that Alfonso III. betrayed any such weakness in his external actions. After an interval of six months (November, 1277), the Cardinals elected Pope Nicholas III., and no records exist to show that Portugal effected anything with the newly elected Pope to put an end to this violent position of affairs, or that the absent prelates attempted to return to the kingdom. The relations between an interdicted country and an excommunicated prince with the Holy See must necessarily be restricted, and Nicholas either was too much occupied with the affairs of Italy, or else, convinced that it were useless to pursue further, with any good results, the attempts against the civil powers, confined himself to preventing the vacant Sees of Portugal from being filled through the influence of the King. Hence, when Friar Vasco, the Bishop of Guarda, died, Nicholas III. transferred to this diocese (December, 1277) one John, of the Order of Friars Minors, and Bishop of Guadix. Shortly after, on the Bishop of Braga being promoted to the Cardinalate (March, 1278), the Pope hastened to appoint a successor. This was Friar Tello, also a Franciscan and head of his Order in Castille. But none of these elections were acknowledged in Portugal until after the death of the King, when his successor endeavoured to arrange affairs with the clergy by making various concessions.

This was the position of the country when the year 1278 ended. The new year brought with it the conviction to Alfonso III. that his last hour was approaching. Incessantly assailed by the fears of death, and unable to offer any longer an obstinate resistance, he at length declared himself conquered. On 17th January his sufferings became so intense that it was thought it was his last hour. Summoning to his bedside Durando of Evora, two canons of the same See, vicars of the diocese of Lisbon, and two friars, the Dominican Prior, and the Guardian of the Franciscans, the dying King solemnly declared in their presence and of his ministers and counsellors, that although it had been his intention long since to take the oath exacted, and obey the Apostolic mandates, reserving the rights of the kingdom and of his children and vassals, he now wished to take the oath without any such reservation or conditions. Then one of the Vicars of Lisbon received the oath from him on the Gospels. In conformity with that declaration, the Infante D. Dinis, who was present at the sad scene, pledged himself to fulfil the promises which his father might not be able to effect. After this, D. Stephen, the former Abbot of Alcobaça, pro-

nounced the absolution over him; and immediately afterwards a deed was drawn up of that act, signed by all the persons present.

But the last hour of the terror-stricken monarch had not yet struck, and his agony was prolonged for twenty days, his death taking place on 16th February. Master Vincent and the other clergy exiled in Italy, as well as their partisans, had good reason to rejoice at this event. Not only were they freed of their obstinate adversary, but they saw him descend to the tomb repentant, and humbled by the solemn confession that he was conquered.

Thus ended Alfonso III. Obtaining the crown by dishonest and ungenerous means, he strove to manifest that he was not altogether unworthy of wielding supreme power. In war less illustrious than his brother, and in peace less farseeing than his father, he, nevertheless, united together the gifts of both in an eminent degree. The most distinctive feature of his character appears to be a crafty obstinacy, which did not exclude an excessive indulgence towards his favourites, especially those who had helped him to attain the brilliant position of King. His reign, as may be inferred from the narrative, was an epoch of true social progress, during which he widened civilisation, and the popular classes obtained important conquests. However, in relation to his proceeding with the clergy, viewed in a certain light, he might well be taxed with ingratitude; but it is, nevertheless, true to say that in the acts which gave rise to so many grievances there was, on his part, a motive which condones his conduct—the organisation of public finance. Lastly, if during the course of his government oppression now and again took the place of justice as regards what concerned the people, we must also condone these impulses of tyranny in a prince who opened to the municipalities the doors of the political assemblies of the country, thus enabling them to constitute one of the bodies of the State, and leaving them free to wrestle collectively in favour of their own rights and liberties.

END OF BOOK VI.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

THE STATE OF SOCIETY DURING THE FIRST EPOCH. ORIGIN OF POPULATION—INFERIOR CLASSES.

PART THE FIRST.

Considerations on the study of social history—False idea generally held respecting the population of Christian Spain during the ages previous to the foundation of the Portuguese Monarchy—Causes which have led to this error—Characteristics of the wrestling between the Mussalman conquest and the Neo-Gothic reaction—Differences and assimilation of this struggle compared with the Visigothic conquest—Position and history of the Mosarabes—Their voluntary and enforced migrations offer an explanation for the rapid increase of the Leonese population—Vestiges and effects of these migrations on Portuguese territory during the eleventh and twelfth centuries—Saracen element, and its direct action scarcely perceptible until the reign of Alfonso VI., when it acquires new strength—The Jewish population—Frankish colonies—Historical summary.

In the course of the narrative we have given in the six preceding Books, the reader has seen unfolded before him the scene of the political events which took place in Portugal, from its first days of infancy and weakness until the epoch when, having obtained a complete territorial development, she may be considered to have entered into full age. Her great scheme in the work of Anti-Mussalman reaction was completed towards the end of the reign of Alfonso III., when the pretensions for supreme power advanced by the Crown of Leon had been completely put aside, while the species of vassalage to the Papal tiara, although still at times asserted by the Roman Curia, was, as regards Portugal, no more than an historic tradition. And although in her institutions and national customs there might still linger a remnant of Leonese origin, they had become greatly modified, and the language itself altered to form a separate tongue, which civilisation was perfecting, and the Galician language no longer spoken but in one province, although still employed in the songs of the Troubadours.

The epoch had arrived when Portugal was, in view of its financial and political development, firmly and definitely established as an absolute independence, while the system of its organisation offers us an explanation for the action of this people and land, so territorially and numerically unimportant in the progress of the civilisation of Europe, and enables us to comprehend the insuperable resistance it offered for seven centuries to assimilation with the rest of the Spanish Peninsula. The study of the organisation of a country is ever independent of the influence of political events of grave importance, more particularly at this epoch, when the nations of Europe, painfully wounded by the incompleteness or evil of their organisation, are agitated, seeking new conditions of existence. In the midst of this great work of the human race, whether manifested in wrestlings of intelligence or in the sanguinary combats of the multitudes, the ages have been questioned, generations gone by have been asked for a revelation of its organism, of the conditions of the infancy of modern nations. The political revolutions of the last half-century have accompanied, in their march, the admirable progress made at that epoch by the science of history. To collect facts which constitute the life and development of the people is the principal profession of history, because by an orderly exposition of these facts it becomes converted into a science, useful in its application to the grave questions which laid the foundation of modern societies. With this intention do we endeavour to trace the internal situation of Portugal during the first epoch of her history. Generally, when reading the narrative which historians or chroniclers have left us of the Christian reaction against Islamism in the territory called Portugal, where a torrent of armed men crossing the Douro, and later on the Mondego and the Tagus, commenced gradually to curtail the Saracen dominion in the Gharb of Andalus until they cast them beyond the Guadiana, the idea arises that in the varied events which constituted this grand fact we see in imagination the wrestling of two peoples, each one united, and bravely seeking not only a simple triumph, but the exclusive existence of the disputed land. We imagine that the holder of the Gospel and the retainer of the Koran can only meet sword in hand or with lance couched; that from these no concord, truce, or mercy can be expected; that not even injury, as it flies from one or other side of the battle-field, is understood, because to the Gothic warriors, as well as to the Saracen legions, the language of the enemy sounds as strange and uncouth as their creeds are impious; that the odium existing between the two races, immense, inex-

tinguishable, has carved out an abyss; that the soldier, on crossing uncertain frontiers, which the fate of war changes year by year, and even day by day, casts himself into an algara, or nightly attack across fields and villages, must needs sink his weapon deep into the breast of the first whom he meets, or fling a burning fire-brand upon the first harvest-field or cabin it finds in the darkness. These are the food of the accursed infidel; and that compassion in their regard would be not only senseless, but even criminal; cruelty, piety, and atrocities being holy acts. That when engaged in annihilating the enemies of God, the conqueror has obtained remission of his sins, and the conquered the palm of martyrdom. To obtain heaven it suffices to combat and desolate; and that all paths lead to glory in life and in death.

Such is the idea which results from historic events seen in the light of our ancient historians—a false idea, owing partly to an incomplete or erroneous appreciation of the facts, and partly to ignorance or a voluntary omission of them.

It cannot be denied that in the territories which now constitute Portugal, as well as in the rest of Spain, the wars which took place during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, between the Christians and Saracens, and even in earlier times, partook of the character of a grand ferocity and of firm heroism, which induces the imagination to exaggerate the reality, and to forget that the historian ought to contemplate, not impassively, but above the poetry of human acts, in order to value them with true equity. Fascinated by the spectacle of religious enthusiasm which is the salient point of that lengthened strife, historians forgot that by its side existed other human passions, doubly violent and fierce, during this epoch of barbarism, and that these passions became daily converted to indifference or incredulity, not through perverted intelligence, but by brutal ignorance of these ardent beliefs: they forgot that ambition of power, vengeance, pride, fear, or covetousness, or, indeed, any of the numerous human passions, by counteracting or subduing the fervour of belief, were severing that social union due to the religious idea, and created, in contradiction to it, relations and ties that had their origin in political interests. It is unnecessary to adduce new proofs. The reader will find ample proofs in the preceding narrative. It suffices to remind him of the alliances which the Mussalman Ameers effected with the Leonese in odium to their co-religionists during the reign of Alfonso VI., and the adventures of the renowned Cid, ever combating whether the Christians at the

front of the Saracens, or these in front of the former, forgetting and recovering with singular facility ardour for the glory of the Cross. Even if we reject the fables which surround the memory of the famous Castillian *Condottiere*, he stands, as it were, as a symbol of the contrary idea, which predominates in the modern history of those eras—the unlimited repulsion between the sectaries of the two adverse religions. In Portugal itself, already dismembered from Leon, the union of Alfonso Henry and Ibn Kasi manifests to us an example of how easily policy or passions may cast into oblivion the identity of belief and religious odium. Hence it was not uncommon to see a Christian knight combating by the side of a Mussalman against the defender of the Cross and against the believer of Islam. The battle of Zalaka, in which thirty thousand Saracens combated on the side of the King of Leon and Castille, while numerous squadrons of Christian cavalry defended the standard of the Almoravide Yussuf, is one of the events which more clearly shows us how easily the barrier interposed between the two contending races became transposed. In this way do we also find mentioned in contemporary memoirs, or nearly so, that Alfonso VI. had taken to wife Zaida of Seville, and his pretensions that the son of this Saracen woman should reign in Christian Spain, which, in all probability, would have taken place had the Infante Sancho not perished in the battle of Ucles.

The explanation of these and many analogous facts is not difficult. In the wrestling which resulted from the Arab conquest and the Gothic reaction were repeated the phenomena usual to all conquests. The two nationalities absolutely repel each other, and the natural repugnances felt for the character, language, customs of the opposite race are manifested with ferocious energy; but by degrees the natural tendency for assimilation among men who are always coming in contact with each other begins to show itself. It was in this way that the Saracens and Leonese began to feel that their adversaries were fellow-beings, capable of good and bad effects; that they could appreciate their civilisation, compare it with their own, and appraise more or less imperfectly mutual superiority or inferiority. This comparison soon influenced both civilisations and modified them, and in course of time, in the midst of wars and devastations, or in servitude and dominion, sprang and multiplied kindly relations between the two people, notwithstanding that a division always existed, due to the diversity of origin and of faith, and of emulation for predominance

Those who read consecutively contemporary chroniclers who relate the phases of the great struggle between Christians and Saracens, from the invasion of the latter until the epoch when Portugal became dismembered from Leon, will perceive, in the complex of facts which each narrates, and which each, perchance, witnessed, and in the language and style of the writer, a reflection of the ideas and passions which dominated the race Hispano-Gothic, in relation to the Mussalmans. In the pages of Isidoro de Béja, who bears testimony to the horrors of invasion, and witnessed the end of the Visigothic Empire, is perceived a certain bitter tone of helplessness, of terror, in harmony with the scene of desolation and ruin which he drew; while in the chronicles, however, of Sebastian of Salamanca, and of Sampiro, and in the chronicle of Albaida (ninth and tenth centuries) appear the facts alluded to, and in the tone of the narrator, in the first a certain barbarous enthusiasm, in the latter an insulting phraseology or of odium, when he alludes to the Mohammedans, a style often repeated in the documents of those eras. To terror succeeded odium, since the reaction which was obscurely commenced in Asturias extended by frequent victories. The ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries are the period of greatest wrestling, until the balance turns against Islamism. Then do we feel that the spirits lessen the tension of the continual war sustained for so many years, and in the documents, in the style of the writers, the facts they describe, the irritation, the mutual malevolence, becomes softened, and manifests that these exist more on the lips than in the heart. The friendly relations which often become established between the Christian chiefs and Mussalmans, the usages, customs, and even the institutions which have passed from one society into another, show us that notwithstanding the opposition of beliefs, emulation, dominion: even of rivers of blood spilt, the two races become modified by the contact of one with another, and in studying the subsequent history of any of them we must needs bear in mind the action of its rival society, in order to appraise and duly understand the respective conditions of existence.

It was from analogous influences that in ancient times the Hispano-Roman society, which had itself resulted from a still more ancient fusion became incorporated into the Germanic society of the Goths. That fact, however, was more complete, principally because to the predominance of the barbarians had not succeeded the reaction of the vanquished —because among them, generally speaking, there existed the same religious belief, and also that in the epoch when the Visigoths

established themselves in Spain their customs and character had already in part become altered by the Roman civilisation. Hence, the primitive division of the two peoples is characterised by the diversity of jurisprudence, and in its subsequent fusion by its identity with it. During the sixth century, when the Visigothic Empire became definitely established in the Peninsula, preserving scarcely a limited portion of the vast territories of Gallias, the conquerors ruled themselves by their traditional customs, reduced in part, or altogether, to writing, from the reign of Alaric, at the commencement of the sixth century, and the Hispano-Romans, by the Roman law (*lex Romana*), compiled at that same epoch, and known among modern writers by the denomination of *Breviario de Aniano*. However, previous to the middle of the seventh century the two races had become sufficiently assimilated to establish a common legislation, as laid down in the so-called *Codice*, or *Book of Laws*, or of *the* Goths, and later on, *Foro dos Juizes*, the celebrated Visigothic Code, wherein the various barbarian and Roman institutions became mingled and modified, and where the last legal distinctions between conquerors and conquered were at length abolished. These two chief phenomenons in the history of laws in Spain are scarcely a manifestation of two diverse social situations. The promulgation of the *Brevario* by the side of a code of barbaric jurisprudence not incorporated by the iron hand of conquest signifies that the two combine, but in juxtaposition; and a common code reveals, on the contrary, that in the century and a half which had elapsed from the reign of Alaric until those of Chindaswintho and Receswintho were not passed in vain. The laws which provide the two races in rights and duties, laws which exclude any jurisprudence not contained in the national code, that sanctions the union of families of Hispano-Roman origin, as well as those of Gothic origin, are the effect, and not the cause; they are the recapitulation of a great social work, and not means sought for by princes to found a political union.

What passed in the Peninsula during the wrestling of Saracens and Leonese had, therefore, some analogy with that incorporation, more or less complete, which we shall have to consider under a diverse aspect. The mutual influence of the two societies, Christian and Mussalman, was inevitable, although it acted in a diverse manner. The natural antagonism of the Leonese and Arabs promoted it, besides the opposition of beliefs, although not intolerant, exclusive, or absolutely strange to the respective tongues, the continual battling of interminable, warfare, and

the complete separation of territories. Between the Goths and the Hispano-Romans there were none of these contradictions. Through the irresistible force of a superior civilisation, the vanquished had gradually introduced among the conquerors their language, although corrupted. When the whole of Spain was subjugated by the Visigoths the war ceased, and nothing more remained but passive malevolence on one side, and on the other the ruling without contradiction—odious and enforced relations that could not long resist frequent and close contact; hence it was not the country which was divided between the races by provinces or regions, but the soil that was curtailed, the Goths taking for themselves two-thirds of the properties, and leaving to the former inhabitants one-third. Hence, when these important circumstances, which had so largely contributed to form the Hispano-Gothic nationality, no longer existed, the mutual action of the Saracen and Leonese races became less active and rapid, although there remained the relative superiority of the two civilisations, whose reciprocal influence was undoubted. If, for example, the Saracens exceeded the Leonese in industry, luxury, cultivation of letters, and even in their administrative and fiscal system, the Leonese excelled them in their moral doctrines, due to a more perfect religion, in knightly honour, and in their political institutions, in which the never-forgotten traditions of Germanic liberty formed a notable contrast to the turbulent despotism which weighed upon the Spanish Arabs, and that seemed shaped for people of Semitic origin. It was by reason of these and other particular advantages that the two rival nations influenced one another; and at times, in order to explain the facts of civilisation among the Portuguese, it will be necessary to recur to the history of Arab civilisation.

The principal means by which the diverse elements of Saracen culture became introduced into the great Leonese family was due to a great portion of the Peninsula appertaining to the Mussalman society, although their way of living, customs, and even blood relationship, belonged by religion and civil laws to the Hispano-Gothic family. We refer to the Mosarabes, whose especial influence in the primordial organisation of the Portuguese Monarchy was, it appears, not appreciated. By limiting themselves to the investigation of political and military successes, historians only view superficially or altogether ignore the existence of the Mosarabes, whose intervention in the strife was scarcely more, generally, than indirect or passive, but whose action on civil society was, nevertheless, undoubted.

The invasion of the Mussalmans in Spain was not a conquest of extermination. But, as occurs at all times, the passage of the invaders was signalised by blood and ruin in proportion to the resistance offered; yet even in places where they had met with a more obstinate repulsion the Mussalmans did not always accompany victory with useless slaughter. After a long and daring opposition to the conquerors, the Gothic leader Theodomiro, who was defeated on the plains of Lorca, attained to effect with Abdu-l-aziz, the son of Musa, an advantageous arrangement. In the treaty, Theodomiro was acknowledged prince of the provinces of Valencia and Murcia, territories he had so fearlessly defended, the Gothic ruler accepting the supremacy of the Caliph. To his Christian subjects was assured the preservation of their property and the free possession of the Christian religion, the new masters of Spain pledging themselves to respect sacred places and the domestic sanctuary of home. The tribute which was exacted in compensation was moderate and proportioned to the means of individuals. During the period of greatest enthusiasm for conquering, the rule followed by the Mussalman generals, when taking other provinces of the Peninsula, was that laid down and established by the prophet for such cases, when a great number of inhabitants of the most notable places were left in pacific possession of their properties on subjecting themselves to the conditions of Islamism. These consisted in equalling those who should embrace the religion of the Koran to the Mussalmans by origin, and in fully protecting such as continued faithful to the religion of their infancy, so long as they paid the territorial and capitulation tributes established for infidels. Covetousness or individual violence at times offended against this just and prudent system, but the chiefs endeavoured at once to put down these disorders. Abdu-l-aziz-ben-Musa, Ayub, and other governors of Spain generally treated kindly the Spanish Goths. The Caliph Omar-ben-Abdu-l-aziz, ere scarcely a conquest had been effected, used to enjoin that the Christian worship be respected everywhere, which was fulfilled during the severe administration of Al-horr; and if any Ameer practised or allowed any such grievances to be done against their religion, he would be substituted by another Ameer, who would effect a remedy to the evil, and up to a certain point lessen the idea of lost nationality in the vanquished.

Therefore, while the nobler and more energetic spirits were taking refuge in the untractable mountains of Asturias, in order to form there an obscure nucleus of a new Christian monarchy, the greater number of

Goths, far from forsaking their homes, resigned themselves to the dominion of the invaders.

The chroniclers, when speaking of the Saracen conquest, depict to us the Christian population as, so to say, annihilated, a few of these saving themselves from the great cataclysm in the mountains of the north, these weak vestiges later on becoming the glorious race which was destined to liberate anew Spain from the yoke of Islamism. In this way did inexact traditions place facts in a false light. The history of the refugees in Asturias was for many years that of an obscure and exceptional event, while truly that of the Mosarabes is the history of the Spanish Gothic race. Free to follow openly their religion, protected by public authority, and preserving their properties in return for paying a tribute, in truth aggrieved by the covetousness of the Ameers, the people gradually became reconciled, since, perchance, they did not find foreign rule harder than the rule they experienced before the battle of Guadalete and of their natural chiefs, which would impel them not to sacrifice all these advantages simply for a vague sentiment of ambition. This is what is perceived, notwithstanding the exaggerations of Christian writers (nearly all of whom belong to the sacerdotal order) concerning the barbarism of infidels, and even the efforts of some Arab historians who wished to exalt the glories of the warriors of Islam by more highly colouring the scene of their ferocity.

We do not mean to say by this that during the first impulses of the conquest the ordinary scenes of horror were not enacted in these combats between nations against nations, or that the tyranny of Ameers and Walis and other public officers did not oftentimes embitter the existence of the vanquished; but it is our duty to examine in Arab memoirs whether these tyrannies did not weigh, at the same time, more or less heavily over the Mussalman population, which increased by degrees, not only on account of its natural development, but likewise through their migrations from Africa. If we give its proper due to the rudeness of the times, the despotic form of administration, and to human passions, in the history of the violences practised in the Peninsula during the Saracen dominion, we shall perchance find that never was absurd right of conquest so little systematically abused, never was tolerance associated in a more singular way with religious enthusiasm.

This tolerance, which proceeded from the character of Islamism, its maxims, its canons and laws, was not limited solely in Spain to concessions to follow silently their own creed, given to the inhabitants who

had been subjected to their power by the sword of Islam, or to celebrate their rights publicly; but it was manifested also in the respect shown to the institutions of the conquered and to their property. According to Mussalman jurisprudence, the pay or ground tribute (*karadjii*) and the capitation tax (*djzihed*) enabled the Christians to retain in their possession the lands they cultivated; and although by some subtle distinction their direct seigniority was held as a species of reserve bound to the benefit of believers, those possessing these properties were only deprived of them when they ceased to cultivate the lands. Besides the benefit derived from this general principle, the Hispano-Goths continued to be ruled by their civil laws, preserving not only their ecclesiastical hierarchies in the sacerdotal order, but also the distinctions of their peerage. Whether through bribes or natural indulgence, it is certain that the Christians, during the government of some of the first Ameers, obtained greater concessions than those assigned by treaties at the time of the conquests. As it was not possible to raise suddenly mosques for the worship of Islamism, the Arabs had consented to leave to the Hispano-Goths a certain number of temples, these yielding up others to them. During the government of the Ameer Al-haitham, or of his predecessors, this treaty was always strictly observed. Some churches had been robbed from the Nazarenes; but they had likewise erected others, which fully bears out the wealth and means of these men whom chroniclers would wish to depict to us as despoiled and reduced to the deepest misery. On being entrusted with the administration of Spain, in order to put a term to the disorders which were taking place, Abdu-rahman-ben-Abdallah (730) ordered the new temples of the Christians to be cast down, at the same time restoring to them those which belonged to them, and in this way strictly carrying out the treaties. A noteworthy example exists of the faithfulness of the Saracens in fulfilling the obligations contracted with the subjugated peoples in an anecdote recorded by Ar-razi. Abdu-rahman Ad-dakhel, the founder of the Ommyada dynasty, wished to erect the splendid monument, which still exists, known as the Mosque of Cordova (784), when he beheld himself in peaceful possession of Andaluz. The site chosen for the erection was an ancient Gothic church, which, on the occasion of the conquest, perchance, from the proportions of the erection, the Mussalman sanctuary was desired to be placed by its side. As, for the new mosque, it became necessary to take the land occupied by the Church,

the powerful Abd-u-rahman summoned together the principal individuals among the Christians of Cordova, and proposed to them the sale of the temple. This was refused, and the Ameer insisted in his pleading, offering them a large sum. At length they yielded, but on condition that they be permitted to rebuild a church which lay in ruins outside the city walls, yet receiving, nevertheless, the sums offered by the Ameer, sums which some historians say amounted to a hundred thousand *dinars*.

If the narrative of Ar-razi sums up in a characteristic fact the religious tolerance of the Saracen princes, and their respect for pledged conventions, the biography of two illustrious Mosarabes of Saragoza, written impartially, offers us a no less singular example of civil tolerance. Some phrases in the Acts of the Saints Voto and Felix afford us a glimpse at the position of the ancient Visigothic nobility under foreign rule. This rule must needs be light, since it allowed them to live, surrounded by clients and servants, in the midst of opulence and luxury, which left the profession of military glory open to them, and afforded them the pastime of hunting, an amusement almost exclusive to warriors in semi-barbarian epochs. The history of these youths seems to refer to the most brilliant epoch of the Visigothic Monarchy, had the pious hagiographer omitted to say that it belonged to the period of the *cruel* dominion of the Arabs.

But whatever be the political system adopted by a conquering people in relation to the conquered, the two societies, as we said, mingled with each other, more or less, and the two civilisations became mutually modified. Superior in letters, possessing a language which was incomparably more cultured than the Visigothic, gifted with more luxurious customs, more urbanity of intercourse, added to gentleness towards those whom the fate of war had placed at their mercy, the Arabs beheld in a short time the Hispano-Goths becoming accustomed to their customs and ideas, except their religious beliefs, in which, in spite of the dominators not acknowledging it, the latter possessed the advantage. In the century immediate to the conquest the influence of Mussalman civilisation had produced in them natural effects. National customs were obliterated, and the new generations transformed. The most brilliant minds became immersed in Oriental literature; philosophy, science and Arab poetry carried everything before them; and even barbarian Latin, the written tongue of the Hispano-Goths, became lost and forgotten in the midst of the pomps and elegance of the Arabic

dress, fashions, usages: all that constituted external life was Saracen. Some even went so far in imitation as to admit ceremonies which apparently placed them in the category of Mussalmans. On the other hand, the tolerance of the latter reached its height. At first the churches and monasteries were limited to a certain number, but now they were multiplying on all sides, while the ancient parishes ornamented their churches with the exquisite works of Oriental art. Entrusted with civil appointments, admitted into the military service, and the most noble among them receiving their education in the palaces of the Caliph of Cordova, in all externally the Hispano-Goths were only distinguished by the difference of places wherein they worshipped God. The voice of the Muezzin, calling the Mussalmans to prayer, became mingled with the ringing of the bell which announced to the Nazarenes that the hour for solemnising their worship had arrived. On proceeding to the Basilica, the Bishop would pass the Imaum, who was hurrying to the mosque; the priest would meet the Mohadi; and in the temples, standing together, would be heard in one the psalmist entoning the hymns of the Gothic ritual, and in the other the Alime, or Ulema, invoking in the Chotha the blessings of Heaven upon the Caliph. Lastly, the frequent marriages between individuals of both races prepared the complete fusion of them, which would eventually have taken place, had not the diversity of beliefs placed an insuperable barrier. The intolerance on one side of the Christian priesthood, and the excessive zeal of some ardent spirits, brought about irritation and odiums which degenerated into persecution. But although depicted in darkest tints by ecclesiastical writers, it appears this persecution was not so violent as they presumed to say. The persecuted considered it both their duty and right to proceed to the courts and mosques to hurl invectives against the Prophet of Islam. The judges, in obedience to the law, would then punish with death those who without any provocation insulted the dominant belief. Up to this point, notwithstanding the apologies of Eulogius and Alvaro in favour of those whom they considered as martyrs, and even granting that there had been excess in carrying out the rigour of the law, we cannot accuse the Saracen magistrates of exercising tyranny. At length the indomitable intolerance of the instigators awakened intense indignation in the breasts of the provoked ones, and Islamism, which held the greater power, passed at times the limits of justice and legitimate rights, the innocent becoming confounded with the guilty, and forgetting that the greater

number of Mosarabes of all conditions and hierarchies disapproved of the proceedings of their co-religionists, who not only rushed to death themselves, but brought on men of their own race and creed the animadversions of the Mussalmans by performing acts which, according to the rules of human prudence, were highly reprehensible.

Hence, the oppressions, whether great or small, which weighed over the Christian population of the Ommyade Empire during the last years of the caliphate of Abdu-r-rahman II. and the first of his successor, Mohammed, either never were so intense as we are led to suppose, or else they shortly ceased. Prelates, the lower clergy, the nobles and magistrates of the Christians used voluntarily to recur to the Saracen tribunals to protest against this fervour or zeal, which accused of cruelty the lords of Spain, because they would not allow that the conquered should insult their belief in the market-places and within their own temples. This procedure on the part of the greater number of Christians was sensible, judged humanly, and was calculated to produce on the spirit of Mohammed a good effect, because, having expelled from the palaces the Christian Mosarabes, and deprived those who were knights of their stipends, he sent for them a few years after to join the ranks of the army, or to employ them in his private service, without regard to their religious opinions. On the other hand, it appears this repression had contained the more turbulent in their exaggerated zeal for the propagation of Evangelical truths and the confutation of Islamism. About the middle of the tenth century, during the government of the celebrated Abdu-r-rahman III., the Mosarabes had generally adopted more moderate ideas, or rather less warm ones, and lived in sufficiently peaceful relations with their countrymen of diverse origin and faith.

Therefore the population of Hispano-Gothic origin, which continued to inhabit the provinces of Andalus, or *Spania*, as was generally designated by Christians the territories of the empire of Cordova, far from diminishing, was likely to increase in the succession of two or three centuries, according to the ordinary laws of the development of the human species, by the side of the colonies of Asiatic and African origin which the invasion and the dominion of the Saracens had brought from beyond the strait, and had progressively accumulated in Spain. It is to the association of these two elements that we are enabled to explain satisfactorily why in the course of the protracted and desolating wars with the monarchy of Asturias, and with the rest of the Christian States which were successively established on the eastern side of the

Peninsula, she did not become changed into a wild desert. In truth, the Mosarabes, in the midst of invasions, changes repeated over and over again of dominion, of breaches and raids, were those who necessarily suffered less in these violent political transitions and in these repeated devastations. In towns peculiarly situated along the changing frontiers of the two races, where it was not unusual within the course of a twelvemonth to be under the yoke of Spanish Caliphs or of the Leonese Kings, the Mosarabes, in their dual social character, could easily accommodate themselves to each of these dominions. The Saracens spoke the same language, wore the same dress, and were similar in customs, and even in family relations. On the other hand, between the Leonese and the Mosarabes there existed identity of origin and religion, community of laws regulating the civil rights and dues, and, in a word, the living traditions of the glories of the Gothic father-land. Thus, if it was easy to the Mosarabes to accommodate themselves to one or other seigniority, it behoved the warriors, whether of Islam or of the Gospel, to respect the honour and property of those whom they could never hold as actual enemies.

The primitive monarchy of Oviedo, which had commenced by a few exiles, who were circumscribed within narrow limits, were compelled to live always with weapons of defence in their hands, and as a consequence partaking more of the pastoral than the agricultural element, and its population hidden, so to say, within the tangled forests of the Asturias, was necessarily weak in its origin, and most weak in relation to the Mosarabes. Reduced to the condition of warrior savage tribes, their development was naturally slow, as it is and has been in similar tribes at all ages and in all climes. But assisted by prowess and fortune, the Kings of Oviedo gradually widened the limits of their dominions. Scarcely more than half a century after the Saracen conquest, Alfonso I., taking advantage of the elements of reaction collected in those rough, wild places, sent them towards the south-east or the south-west, to repulse the Saracen forces which were invading the province now called Old Castille, and along Galicia. In the swift narrative of these events the monuments have preserved to us a noteworthy fact. While putting to the sword the Mussalmans who were unable to avoid falling into their hands by flight, the Asturian King sent all the Christian population of the devastated provinces to take shelter in the territories wherein the Visigothic independence had been preserved. This fact, which was repeated in subsequent raids, explains at once the rapid

increase of the monarchy of Oviedo, and the insuperable difficulties which the powerful empire of Cordova experienced later on when endeavouring to effect a decisive campaign against the fierce resistance offered to its absolute supremacy. The new State, while it became strengthened by the artificial development of the population, formed a barrier of defence, with its surroundings of waste places. But these men, who came more or less willingly to incorporate themselves with the Goths of Asturias, had lived for years in the midst of the Arabs, had altered, up to a certain point, their customs, and if they were as yet only imperfect Mosarabes, in the strict sense of the word, they had already experienced the influence of Saracen civilisation, which had commenced to act on the Asturian monarchy from its very birth. When speaking of Aurelius, the immediate successor of Alfonso I., contemporary historians mention a wrestling between masters and servants, a strife in which the latter, who had momentarily rebelled, were at length reduced to their former servitude. Who could these servants be but the numerous colonists of territories twenty times more extensive than the rough gravel plains of the Asturias, constrained, but a short time previously, to live subject to an unbridled soldiery? The existence of men of the lower classes among the exiles of Asturias, and in such numbers that they were able to effect a revolution against the warrior caste, would be incomprehensible unless explained by the forced migration during the epoch of Alfonso I.

Notwithstanding the submission of the colonists brought into the Asturias, the few historic vestiges which remain to us of those periods, respecting the two following reigns of Silo and of Mauregato, reveal a preponderance of the Mosarbe element. The Monk of Albaida tells us that Silo was at peace with the Saracens on account of his mother. What does this indicate but that the mother of Silo was an Arab, and his father probably one of those nobles who, though subject to the Mussalman dominion, had formed an alliance with the daughter of the conquerors—unions of which we have many examples, principally in the memorials of Eulogio? The Bishop of Salamanca informs us that Mauregato was the son of Alfonso I. by a servant. By fraudulently depriving his nephew Alfonso, elected King by the chiefs of the Goths, he took possession of the crown. The elevation of Mauregato, who was the son of a servant-woman, expelling the one chosen by the noble successors of the followers of Pelagio, and the maintenance of peace with the Saracens, fully offers, in our opinion, another evident sign that the

colonists were in preponderance once again among the warrior class. By the death of Mauregato, it appears, the latter recovered their supremacy in the election of Bermudo, who quickly forsakes the throne in favour of the youthful Alfonso, the elected of the Counts of Gothic rulers; but the idea of a violent reaction against the Mussalman conquest triumphs at once, because the social element which represents it again predominates. Alfonso II., in Oviedo, founds a presentment of the Visigothic capital of Toledo, and restores the ancient hierarchies of the Court and Church. The thought of the first exiles of the Asturias, vacillating during some years, becomes fixed, and the tendencies of political assimilation with the Saracens, brought by the migrations of the Mosarabes, grows weaker, until they disappear altogether during the two subsequent centuries.

One of the events which characterises not only the importance of the Mosarabic or nearly Mosarabic population of the new monarchy of Oveido, but likewise the close relation they bore to the Hispano-Goths, who continued living under the tolerant dominion of the Ameers and Caliphs of Cordova, is the introduction of the heresy of Felix of Urgel among the Christians of Asturias. A venerable old man, Elipando, the Bishop of Toledo, is the one who by his influence induced many to adopt the errors of Felix; and to him appealed the Asturian priests in their apologies of Catholic doctrine, and it is against him that they combated. The history of this heresy manifests to us that the moral action of the prelates residing among the Mussalmans was most efficacious in regard to the people subject to the crown of Oviedo.

We shall not, however, continue our investigations further during the ninth and tenth conturies for the reason why new migrations of Mosarbes came besides the first and most notable one ordered by Alfonso I. This research belongs to the historians of Leon and Castille, and one most interesting, as showing many events, especially in relation to the social order, under an aspect both novel and exact. To us one fact suffices—the rapidity with which waste places became populated that Alfonso, the Catholic, had placed between his States and the Mussalman frontiers. A century had scarcely elapsed since his death, yet Ramiro I. was raising an army in Galicia to invade Asturias, the principal province of the monarchy, which had revolted against him; Ordoño was repeopling Leon, Astorga, Amaia, and Tuy; while Alfonso III., following the example of his father and grandfather before

him, was widening the permanent limits of his own States as far as modern Beira-Alta, and, as it were, transporting the line of waste land to the south of the Herminian Mountains, and distributing Christian dwellers among the most notable cities of the territories of Leon and Astorga, and between the Minho and Mondego, or rebuilding others and expelling the Saracen tribes. On comparing the extension of the monarchy of Oviedo during the latter half of the thirteenth century, as far as we can judge from the narrative of contemporary monuments, with what we find had been acquired at the end of the ninth, it appears impossible that the colonies which had quitted that circumscribed extent could of themselves have sufficed to repeople these vast provinces, more particularly as the existence of these cities presupposes a rural population around them, as we find in records relating to Portugal to have been the case since the last epoch.

Hence it must be admitted that on beholding the Asturian monarchy, which at first was disorderly and uncertain, extending and constituting itself, and restoring more or less the traditions of the Visigothic empire, a portion of the Hispano-Gothic race which had bent to the foreign yoke came, notwithstanding Mussalman tolerance, to incorporate themselves into a society which, although less cultured, offered them greater affinities. The nobility, the turbulent, warlike spirits, all those to whom love of property or especial circumstances did not bind them to the land of Spania, had a powerful incentive for preferring to live under the sceptre of the Kings of Oviedo. This incentive was that of religion. In epochs of ardent beliefs tolerance was not sufficient for Christianity, at least for Christians of fervent minds. These needed to rule. It attributed to itself the right to cast injury and curses on the memory of the Prophet of Mecca. The desire of reprisals against this proceeding, the tyranny or individual fanaticism of the Mussalman chiefs, was frequently manifested in these imprudent demonstrations of some Christians to persecute them without distinction, and to satisfy evil passions. Hence the natural attraction between men of the same faith became strengthened by religious contentions, and these, again, multiplied its effects by the numerical development of Leonese society.

But restricting our observations on the elements of population which originated the modern Christian States from whence Portugal became constituted, we shall find that the Mosarabe element acted in a more distinct and efficacious manner in the midst of her other elements.

Towards the last quarter of the tenth century, not only were the two modern provinces of Minho and Tras-os-Montes populated, but likewise Beira-alta afforded the Counts large forces to oppose in manifest rebellion the Leonese troops, led personally by Sancho I., conqueror of Galicia, a province which also rebelled. We know for certain that at the commencement of this same century the diocese of Lamego had become sufficiently populous to render the residence of a bishop necessary in the restored See where already Divine worship was conducted by a numerous staff of clergy. Other documents of that epoch inform us that the territories between the Minho and Douro, and between Douro and the Mondego, were covered with churches, residences, and farmsteads, and this population, which lived, and certainly were not born, on the land, as were the sons of Cadmus, nor were they limited to the offspring of the few fugitives who had followed Pelagio to the wilds of Covadonga.

It is therefore conjectured that since the time of Alfonso I., in the successive entries effected within Mussalman territories, particularly in the reign of Alfonso II., who advanced as far as the mouth of the Tagus, where he sacked Lisbon, of Alfonso III., who sped victorious along the Gharb of Andalus, and in that of Ordoño III., who again invaded it up to Lisbon, new migrations of Mosarabes proceeded, voluntarily or otherwise, to inhabit the districts to the south of the Minho, which, by degrees, were becoming included within the permanent frontiers of the monarchies of Oviedo and Leon, and thus they gradually became populated. This population might, perhaps, include some of the families whom Alfonso I. compelled to follow him to the Asturias, and even some of the nobility, but the greater portion were descendants of the independent warriors of the north; but this alone could not constitute the whole population existing on the territories between the Minho and the Douro, and to the south of this river, towards the end of the tenth century. And in proportion as the conquests of the Christians became more rapidly extended towards the south, the progressive predominance of the Mosarabic element over the Leonese becomes apparent and proved by facts later on.

The invasions of Almansor at the end of the tenth century could not greatly alter the position of the Christian population in our modern territories to the right and left of the Douro. When Coimbra was retaken by the Saracens, and the frontiers of Galicia reduced to the line of this river, the inhabitants of Beira became subject to the

dominion of Cordova, but were not exterminated. The celebrated Hadjib had friends among the Christian Counts of the southern provinces of Leon, and even among the most influential personages of Galicia; and even when Arab writers do not afford positive information that he respected the liberty and the properties subject to the allies, the character of the Hadjib would offer us the assurance that his triumphs, deadly for the Leonese warriors, yet would not weigh heavily upon the rural pupulation—that is to say, the greater number—because we have impartial testimonies of the moderation and justice of the Hadjib. Besides which, he was well aware that the extermination of the laborious and peaceful inhabitants of the reconquered provinces would only revolve to his own damage, independently that this proceeding would belie all the traditions of policy followed constantly in Spain by the Mussalman princes.

It behoves us, however, to give the true value to the general expressions of ancient historians when they depict to us the destruction and ruin of the territories which later on constituted our monarchy during the campaigns of the celebrated minister of Hixam. For this it is necessary to bear in mind that the working man or servant, or even, perchance, the simple tributary, did not claim a greater consideration than a beast of burden, or, perchance, a property of value. And if we picture in our minds the continual anxieties of his life, the precarious existence he led in the open places, and the almost exclusive importance which, for this reason, the cities and strongholds, encircled by rampart walls and garrisoned with soldiers and knights, possessed, wherein all means of defence were concentrated, and where in times of danger the nobles and well-to-do classes used to place for safety all their goods, wives and children, and sacred vessels—in a word, how different the civil life of those epochs was to our own—we shall then comprehend why the chroniclers, when beholding under subjection the great towns of a district, the castles reduced to ruins, their defenders dead or captive, described the territory as reduced to a waste. But we must not conclude from this picture that the invading troops, obliged to preserve themselves vigilant in order to put down resistance, and when victorious to continue their march, or, again, when repelled to retire without being annihilated, should spread themselves along the country to devastate and carry captive a population which numbered twenty or thirty times over that of the army, or put to the sword peacefully disposed men whom they would need to substitute when they should re-establish their

dominion. Even supposing the Mussalmans to be furious enough to commit these useless devastations, reasons of convenience, and even the impossibility of effecting this in the absolute manner we find described in these monuments, would compel us to understand these expressions in a restricted sense, and as referring specially to important castles and fortified towns. Positive facts confirm what reason dictates. It suffices to examine attentively the narratives of ancient chronicles to find in a certain sense the reverse of these same scenes of desolation which they so frequently offer us. The Monk of Silos, for instance, when asseverating that the Hadjib had devastated the cities and castles, and depopulated *all the country* up to the shores of the sea on the west of Spain, reminds us that, after his devastations, Almansor rendered tributary all the territories he had subjected. The chronicler was well aware that waste places were not rendered tributary, but in the first phrase he means the *cities* and the ruined castles, and their defenders slain, fugitive, or captive, forgetting the labouring classes and the villager. Then looking to the tributes which were coming in to fill the coffers of the Mussalman conquerors, this good monk discovers that the servants and tributaries continue to exist in those tracts of land which a short time before he had depicted as deserts.

It is certain that at times contemporary documents repeat the phrases of the chronicles which are more or less inexact, but it is from their character, their object, and from its own existence that the true state of the country, relatively to the population, may be deduced. At the commencement of the ninth century, the extreme western frontier of Galicia had, it appears, become extended to the south of the Douro, near its mouth along the sea-shore, to beyond the Vouga; but following the course of that river to the east, the Saracens had possession of the Castles of Lamego, Tarouca, S. Martinho de Mouros, and others, and consequently they retained the seigniority of the eastern territories of Beira-Alta, and perchance up to Pavia. From the Mondego to the Vouga the conquests of Almansor had taken a firm dominion, and held the military strongholds of Viseu, Seia, Coimbra, and other towns and castles defended by Mussalman garrisons, and only submitted or became reduced towards the middle of the century by Ferdinand the Great. It was through these districts that the army of the Hadjib had passed in its march to Galicia, and it was at the mouth of the Douro that the fleet met him with troops and provisions from Alcacer do Sal. The ancient Oporto, situated on the left margin of the river, was

necessarily taken or destroyed, and later on reconquered or rebuilt by the Leonese, otherwise it would be incomprehensible the dominion of the latter along the maritime shore. During the reign of Alfonso V. (999—1028) vestiges appear of the first attempts to recover Beira from the hands of the Saracens, when the prince died from an arrow shot at him during the siege of Viseu. In the time of his successor, Bermudo III., similar attempts were continued, until Ferdinand I. drives the Mussalman warriors to the south of the Mondego, and establishes this river the boundary of the monarchy on the side of Portugal. In all these invasions and repulses, with their combats lasting half a century, in the destruction and rebuilding of cities and fortresses, who would not imagine when reading the generic phrases of chronicles and of documents wherein they constantly assert the destruction of places, that these villages and destroyed residences, of uncultivated fields, of death and solitude extended on all sides from the Minho up to the Mondego? Yet of this same half-century, so turbulent, so steeped in blood, there remain original contracts, which prove the existence of villages and granges of an agricultural population, of wealthy landed proprietors, of monasteries and churches; in a word, of all that constitutes a country more or less populated in an ordinary situation, not only on the tract of land between the Minho and the Douro, but also along the districts of Beira-Alta, the theatre of wars which lasted almost without intermission for more than sixty years.

From what has been advanced, it will be seen that the greater portion of the Hispano-Gothic race accepted the fact of the Arab conquest, and under the tolerant shadow of the Moslem princes formed with the conquerors a political society which, if not compact, at least was united by common ties, even of blood—ties which in course of time becam closer, and tended to become still more so, had not the diversity of creed placed insuperable barriers. Thus we see that in the monarchy of Asturias, which was small and weak at first, rapidly increases in population, due to the forced or voluntary migration of the Mosarabes; the territories to the south of the Minho and the north of the Mondego become likewise repeopled and widened by the races coming down from Oviedo and Galicia to the south, independent of the continual influx of Mosarabes. Hence in Beira the Mosarabic influence laid its characteristic mark more deeply on the population than to the north of the Douro, and here more so than in modern Galicia, a fact which no doubt helped to consolidate more permanently the Saracen dominion in the districts

lying between that river and the Mondego during the first half of the eleventh century—a domination which was prolonged for sixty years.

These facts of the social order, which are deduced from the political wrestling which took place in the Peninsula between the Arab conquest and the Neo-Gothic reaction, are confirmed by documents. Excepting their creed and the rules of the ancient Visigothic civil laws, they had adopted in all external forms the Saracen ways of life, their language, dress, intellectual culture, and Arab arts and industry. When the Leonese received them as subjects, the Mosarabes did not suddenly abandon their habits of superior civilisation, perhaps never any great portion of their customs, rather on the contrary they introduced them into the Asturian-Leonese society.

The Hispano-Gothic subjects of the Saracen princes had preserved among themselves social hierarchies, wealth, liberty of worship, and, as a consequence, a numerous clergy. We see that in the ninth century Arabic was the polite language of the cultured classes, among the conquered and even of ecclesiastics, while it was rare to find any one writing Latin tolerably. The imitation of all Saracen customs became so common that the Mosarabes even practised circumcision in the tenth century. Sesnando, the district Count of Coimbra, after the reduction of the city by Ferdinand the Great, and in the events of his youth, the circumstances of which raised him to that important charge, the way in which he acquitted himself, and even the style of his decrees, are the personification of Mosarabism. The Monk of Silos, and with him Lucas de Tuy, tell us that Sesnando, taken captive from Portugal by Abed-al-Motadhed Ibn-Abed, King of Seville, distinguished himself by his talents, while the important services rendered to the Mussalman prince enabled him to become his principal minister, and when, later on, he forsook Abed and passed on to the party of Ferdinand I., he received from him the government of the newly conquered territories, and became the terror of the Saracens. In our opinion, the name of the father of Sesnando (David), and his being a member of a family of Coimbra who held landed property in its neighbourhood, ruled by the Mussalmans since the end of the preceding century, and the singular fact that from the position of a slave he rose in a few years to the highest offices, convinces us that he was a Mosarabe, and that the Monk of Silos, by making out that Sesnando was a captive, wished to disguise his odious behaviour to the Sevillian prince, who had exalted him to the post of first Wazir; which is improbable, unless we advance

that Sesnando, at least in appearance, laid aside his religion. However, it appears that the Wazir of Abed-al-Motadhed, after contributing to reduce Beira, was proposed the administration of Coimbra, and laboured to surround himself with Mosarabes. One of these was Paterno, the Bishop of Tortosa, who, coming to Zaragoza in 1064 or 1065 as ambassador of the Beni-Huds, met Ferdinand I. at Santiago, and on being besought by Sesnando, who followed the King of Leon, to rule the diocesan See of Coimbra, promised to do so, but which he did not do until the time of Alfonso VI., at the conjuncture when Sesnando, likewise ambassador for this prince in Zaragoza, bade the prelate of Tortosa fulfil his former promise. We also know that the Count of Coimbra received joyfully in the restored town such Christians as, forsaking the land of infidels, came to live in territories under him, and gave them fiscal properties, and behaved otherwise in a liberal manner. These favours were written by notaries, who were evidently Mosarabes, because if in them appear barbarous Latin vocabularies, the phraseology and style reveal a mind accustomed to the forms and elegancies of the Arabs. Finally, Sesnando, when adopting the Leonese titles of Count and Consul, did not altogether forsake that of *Wasir*, which was generally in use, and designated the appointment he held in Seville, a title which his immediate magistrates, probably Mosarabes like himself also adopted, since this title was not used or understood to mean the governor of a district throughout the kingdom of Leon either before or after this epoch.

In this way do we find that various events had coincided at the latter half of the eleventh century to strongly activate the increase of the race of Mosarabes in the population of the provinces which soon after were to become the nucleus of the Portuguese monarchy. But this action did not end here. Successively new families and fresh Mosarabic groups, withdrawing, whether forcibly or voluntarily, from the Mussalman society, came to associate themselves in these parts to the Leonese society. In the charter issued from Toledo to the inhabitants of Santarem, two years after the first conquest (1095), Alfonso VI. declares that, on the occasion of its submission, he had promised to the resident Christians to grant them exceptions and privileges. Notwithstanding the progressive enlargement of the Leonese States, and the wars and civil tumults which perturbed the Ameerships into which the empire of Cordova was dismembered, there were many Mosarabes who could not resolve upon forsaking the

society of the Mussalmans in the places adjacent to the territories where the triumphant Cross ruled. And, in effect, more than a century later, when the independence of Portugal had been established, and the victorious arms of Alfonso Henry carried terror and desolation beyond the Tagus and the Guadiana, among the numerous captives which he and his knights carried away from the frequent *algaras* in the Mussalman territories were hordes of Mosarabes—forced migrations, which contemporary writers describe to us as proceeding from a generous act on the part of the prince, who by this means liberated his fellow-brothers in creed from the yoke of the Infidels.

The definite result of all the facts which we have thus gathered together is that the preponderance of the Mosarabic element at the commencement of the monarchy was great among the inferior classes, while among the nobility evidently excelled the race Asturian-Leonese, because the descendants of the followers of Pelagio, born amid the roar of warfare, educated for a life of combats, aliens to the arts of civilisation, and constrained to seek protection solely by the aid of the sword, constituted warrior lineages synonymous with the noble State which was formed by reaction and by conquests. Many powerful and illustrious families of the Mosarabes came, in truth, to associate themselves, whether by changes in the districts wherein they lived or voluntarily, to the families who had preserved the traditions of independence; and although the military spirit was less strong in them, they had the moral superiority of never having bent to foreign dominion. Besides this, the Mosarabe knights, as we have seen, were admitted into the Saracen army, falling prisoners to their own co-religionists, poor and unknown among them, usually changed condition and fortune by incorporation with the soldiery, and happy that they did not remain to be bound to the Arab slaves whose position was worse than that of retainers or of servants by birth.

To these important elements of the primitive population of Portugal must be added others which, in part, were already united to them or became so later on; and although only accessories to the greater bulk of the Mosarabe-Leonese population, yet they influenced the development of the new society. We refer to the Moors or Saracens, the Jews, and the foreign colonies which came from beyond the Pyrenees. Three distinct groups in origin, laws, and customs, who, in part, continued to subsist without becoming intermixed, while the Leonese and the Mosarabes were hardly distinguishable by their customs, soon became incorporated

into a whole, since they were already, strictly speaking, by community of origin, civil laws, and religion

The Saracens who destroyed the Visigothic empire did not constitute one only people: they were an assemblage of diverse peoples, who had embraced or were gradually embracing Islamism. The army of Tarik, which on the Guadalete ended the dominion of the Goths, was composed in a great measure of Berbers, since the rest were a mere handful of Arabs, and the Mussalman troops which came successively to the Peninsula, and the colonies who followed them, were a mixture of men who, during the seventh century, had become incorporated with the religious society founded by Mohammed. To the Arabs proper of the Yemen were associated Syrians, Egyptians, Persians, inhabitants of Palestine—in a word, men from all the various regions which had submitted to the immediate successors of the Prophet. This fact was one of the greatest causes for the continual civil discords of the Saracens of Spain, and which more greatly contributed to weaken them, and thus facilitated the progress of the monarchy of Asturias. The variety of Mussalman colonies that already existed in the Peninsula ere thirty years had barely elapsed after the conquest, the wrestling for predominance among them, which almost exclusively constitutes the history of that epoch, compelled the Ameer Abul-Khatar to divide these diverse people among the Visigothic provinces. To the Egyptians and Arabs fell the south of modern Portugal, the districts of Lisbon, Beja, and Faro, and a portion of Murcia; to the *Emessenos*, Seville, Niebla, with their territories; those from Palestine dwelt in the territories of Sidonia and Algesiras, and so on. But the mutual opposition of these different colonies was never so deeply characterised nor so important as that of the colonies of the Moghreb or the Berber race against these same rival peoples. Malevolence, whether manifested in long, sanguinary battles between the Asiatic and African tribes, lasted until the latter obtained a decisive triumph—an undoubted triumph even in the twelfth century, when the Almoravides and the Almohades, tribes purely African, established their dominion successively in Mussalman Spain.

Whether the Leonese rulers frequently took advantage of the enmities and contentions which emulation and dislike of the race engendered among the sectaries of Islam, to liberate the land of their forefathers from the foreign yoke, or whether they often intervened in favour of either side, their view was none else than to curtail their dominion, by destroying or repulsing them until they should drive them beyond the

sea, or subjugating them to the Christian yoke. Up to the eleventh century the result of the victories and conquests of the successors of Pelagio was, as a rule, the extermination or captivity of the conquered in its most absolute form. The idea of tolerance, the policy of converting enemies into subjects, and of incorporating them into the masses as free individuals and colonists even in a state of servitude, was unknown. Inoffensive men and women, captive children and the aged taken during the raids and *algaras* were considered beneath the human species; they were spoils of victory, as household chattels, goods, or animals, and became divided among the soldiery, exchanged, sold, bequeathed, or bestowed on the churches and monasteries. Such was the fate generally of the inhabitants of any city, castle, or Mussalman *alcaria* which might fall into the hands of their Christian adversaries until the reign of Alfonso VI.—a fate, however, which was less hard than that of captive warriors, placed in irons if not redeemed by large sums or not exchanged for Christian prisoners. The conquests of Alfonso VI. partake of a different character. Odiums had gradually grown weaker, while relations had become more frequent between the two societies. Alfonso himself found hospitality among the Saracens when he was unfortunate, and learnt to value them better. Since that epoch, the Mussalmans who had submitted were not deprived of liberty; they became subjects of the Leonese crown, and the tolerant policy which princes and Ameers, and later on the Caliphs of Cordova, had pursued was finally adopted by their enemies. The conquest of Toledo offers us a memorable proof of this change, and in the following century, and still more so in the thirteenth, we find this idea and change predominating in Portugal after it was constituted as an independent State. The position of the Moors or Saracens who lived in the midst of the Christian society we shall explain in another part of our work, under the double aspect which this portion of the population, divided into bondsmen and free, offers us. Here we consider the individuals of the Asiatic and African race solely as elements of population; therefore we limit our observations to the influence which they exercised on its increase.

During the first epochs of Asturian reaction, contemporary chronicles, or those nearest those times, when narrating invasions and victories, do not speak to us of captives nor of exchange of prisoners. In the destruction of the troops of Munuza by Pelagio, Sebastian of Salamanca tells us that all were put to the sword; not a single Saracen

remained within the defiles of the Serras of Asturias. The same system was adopted by Alfonso I. in his invasions: the Christians (nearly Mosarabes) he would bring to Oviedo, but the Mussalmans he slew. In the battle of Ponthumio, given by Froila, his son and successor, Omar, the leader of the enemy's army, was put to death after being taken prisoner. Alfonso II., having sheltered in Galicia a rebel Wali of the Caliph of Cordova, soon found a motive or pretext for destroying him and all the Mussalmans who had followed him. But about the middle of the ninth century this ferocious system appears to have become modified. Respecting the taking of Albaida by Ordonho I., the chronicler confines himself to vaguely affirming that the defenders of the city were put to the sword; and when speaking of the conquest of Salamanca by the same prince, he expressly says that he ordered all warriors to be slain, but took captive the inoffensive inhabitants, with their wives and children, and later on put them up for sale. This procedure, less barbarous, continued to be adopted, and even became modified. The Wali Abu-Walid, on falling into the hands of Alfonso III., was liberated by a ransom of a hundred thousand *soldos*, and the defenders of the Castle of Quinicia Lubel scarcely one-half were sacrificed. The barbarous eulogiums of the chronicler Sampiro to Garcia, son of Alfonso III., are reduced to summing up the desolations and conflagrations with which he scourged the Saracen territories and the taking of a great number of captives. Ramiro II., in the battle of Oxoma, took many prisoners, and from the taking of Talavera he brought seven thousand slaves. Lastly, in the invasion of Ferdinand the Great on the side of Portugal, the Moorish captives in Seia were divided between the King and the soldiers. In Viseu, where the Leonese prince avenged the death of his predecessor, Alfonso V., the conduct of Ferdinand, compared with the sanguinary traditions of his race, might well be qualified as moderate, because he contented himself with mutilating the hands of the archer who slew Alfonso V., and distributing the other captives among his soldiers. The Moors of Lamego, who had escaped at the first assault, were loaded with chains, and sent to work in the construction of the sacred buildings which were erected in various parts. Lastly, the dwellers of Coimbra, when they delivered themselves up at discretion, found in the conqueror a more generous proceeding. The monarch merely expelled them from that territory, ordering all the infidels to pass beyond the Mondego.

The influence of the Saracen element must have been small in the

population of the Leonese States until this epoch. The reason of this is obvious. These groups of captives, composed mostly of the aged, women, and children, distributed among the houses of the knights, subject to all manner of oppressions, to brutal treatment, far from multiplying by the ordinary progress of population, diminished, unless their ranks were reinforced by new groups of hapless ones whom the ferocity of their masters, misery, and sickness continually dismembered. The history of the negroes of Africa, who were transported to America by the thousands every year, yet never seemed to increase over-much among the other races, as it might seem the case, in the course of three hundred years, enables us to comprehend how small was the result of this increase of people of Saracen origin, who were cast amid the Neo-Gothic society up to the middle of the eleventh century, until a more generous and wise policy was adopted.

As we affirmed, this policy was manifested and characterised in an evident manner during the reign of Alfonso VI. This extraordinary prince had learnt during days of misfortune and exile to contemn the preoccupations, the odiums and vain exclusiveness which small intellects and mean hearts associate with the love of their country. He felt that Leon was a semi-barbarous country, that beyond the Pyrenees, and particularly beyond the Saracen frontiers, there existed a more advanced civilisation—at least, the acts of his life prove that he was well aware of this fact. It was during the reign of Alfonso VI. that the Frankish clergy came to influence the Leonese clergy with their ideas and authority, and that many knights and lords obtained high appointments and favour at the Court. It was also at that epoch that the Mussalmans inhabiting the towns which had submitted to the Christian King—that King who had even taken to wife an infidel woman—found in the conquerors tolerance, protection, and civil liberty. The concessions made to the Moors of Toledo, by which they were allowed to hold property, various exemptions, civil rights, and freedom of worship, proceeded from a political system of gentleness, which is vividly depicted in the following case. Soon after the surrender of the city, Queen Constancia and the Archbishop Bernard, in an accession of fanaticism, ordered the principal mosque, which had been reserved for the worship of Islam, to be forcibly occupied. When Alfonso VI., who was in Sahagun, was informed of this, he at once proceeded to Toledo, and declared, in a fit of passion, which no doubt was simulated, that he would punish his wife and the prelate for this act by putting them to

death by fire. The offended party, believing this exaggerated indignation, implored in favour of the culprits, and voluntarily yielded up their right of restitution and vengeance. As was natural, Alfonso yielded to the supplications to spare their lives, and the mosque remained in the possession of the despoilers, greatly to the joy of the prince, who thus obtained the temple without losing his pledged honour. This sincere effusion, narrated by Rodrigo Ximenes, who tells the anecdote, reveals to us how much there was farcical in that otherwise grave scene. The conduct, however, of Alfonso VI. proves that he fully understood the advantage of persuading the Saracens to submit to his authority, since they would find tolerance, favour, and loyalty.

The system adopted in the restoration of the ancient capital of the Visigothic empire was pursued in the later conquests of this reign, since we find memoirs and documents to that effect. In Santarem, for example, reduced in 1093, is seen by the charter of the Christians that the Saracens had, at least in part, continued dwelling there under the immediate protection of the King or of his officers. When Valencia submitted to the celebrated Cid (1094), the Mussalman inhabitants obtained from the Christian chieftain equally advantageous conditions as those obtained by the dwellers of Toledo. When Portugal was separated from Leon, and continued its progressive extension by conquests along the south of Estremadura, Alemtejo, and Algarve, we notice that in the greater number of the important and most populated places the Moors continued to reside free who had accepted by treaties the dominion of the Nazarenes, side by side with those who, more rebellious or less fortunate, had escaped death in the combat to fall into slavery. Among these treaties, from whence the vanquished derived advantageous conditions, one of the first and most notable was the charter given by Alfonso I. to the Moors of Lisbon, and is a type of others which were given during the same reign to the Moorish inhabitants of some towns beyond the Tagus, and which, in the time of Alfonso III., were promulgated, almost without exception, in favour of the Saracens who still resided in the province of Algarve; meanwhile that the Kings of Leon and Castille were employing similar means in the provinces newly united to their crowns, in order to moderate or altogether annul resistance, and also to increase the number of their subjects by the Arab-African race.

Hence from the eleventh century the influence of the Mussalman

races in the progress of populating Christian Spain acquires an historic value which hitherto it had not had. In Portugal, constituted as a separate kingdom, the two forms of association of this element—by captivity or submission—march together. The first was of little efficacy, but not so the second. The free Moors of the communes, although subject to greater taxes than the Christian subjects, were nevertheless protected in their lives and property, their creed and liberty. Hence the Saracen population not only simply maintained themselves, but prospered in a proportionate manner to the increase of Christian population. Moreover, the natural ill-will which might exist between two peoples who for ages disputed the dominion of the soil was tempered by the influence of the ancient Mosarabic families which preponderated in those places, and who, if their origin and faith differed from the Moors, yet were linked to them by motives of good-will and sympathy.

The Jews, like the Saracens, were scarcely an accessory to the total of the population of Christian Spain at the epoch of the individual existence of the Portuguese nation; but the form and conditions of their accession were diverse. The Hebrew race existed in the Peninsula before the invasion of Tarik and Musa; it existed in this region, as in all others where Christianity was dominant, oppressed and vilified; but in no country has its legislation, whether Roman or barbarian, been more inspired by such persecuting and deeply malevolent tendencies against the Israelites as in this province of Europe during the last epoch of the dominion of the Goths. The Visigothic code of laws, wherein is found compiled the laws of the various reigns respecting the Jews, is a model of ferocious intolerance. The resolutions of the Councils of Toledo, collected together in a great part in that code, tend to bringing them over to Christianity by all means without becoming mixed with the Hispano-Gothic population, or else to exterminate them legally by fire and sword. The particulars of this legislation, and up to what point its influence lasted at the commencement of the monarchy, will be considered at its proper time. During the epoch of the Mussalman conquest it had produced its effect. The desire to cast off the hard yoke under which they lived induced the Jews to enlist in the Mussalman party. In the reign of Egica (687—701) they already laboured to induce the Mussalmans to invade Spain, a project in which they were helped by their co-religionists of Africa, in regard to whom the chiefs of Islam had followed the invariable system of leaving at liberty to follow their creed and worship the people they subjugated.

When this conspiracy was discovered the Hebrew race were reduced to slavery, deprived of their properties, and compelled to abandon their own children to be instructed in the Christian religion. These conditions, severe to the verge of barbarism, produced what all violent persecutions do. When favourable circumstances brought about the realisation of the desires of the proscribed race, the Mussalman invaders found in them ardent and loyal allies. The army of Tarik in a great measure was composed of Barbary Jews, who had a short time previously embraced Islamism, perchance only in a simulated manner, in order to save their brethren. This was another motive for uniting them to the conquerors. Hence we see that, as a rule, the Saracens, in order not to further curtail the diminished forces with which they subjected the Peninsula, used to deliver up the guarding and defence of the cities they submitted to Hebrew garrisons, and this not only proves how much the Jews contributed to secure the Mussalman dominion, but also how largely they numbered among the population.

Notwithstanding the rigour of the Visigothic laws newly imposed within the monarchy of Oviedo and Leon, those which affected the Jews became modified and relaxed. So greatly had the Jews increased in the territories of the Leonese Kings towards the eleventh century that severe providences were taken at the Council of Coiança (1050) respecting their intercourse with the Christians. The code of Alfonso VI., which regulated the manner of resolving civil and criminal contentions between Christians and Jews, are nearly alike for both races, and manifests the consideration which the Hebrew people merited. In effect, when municipalities are founded and multiplied we find the Jews established in some of the most important ones, and, moreover, protected by especial privileges. At the commencement of the twelfth century they formed a large portion of the population of Burgos, the capital of Castille, and they intervened in the civil wars of that epoch. Records still exist that some who resided in Toledo were killed in a popular mutiny against them, a mutiny which probably arose from their perseverent covetousness, and its result, wealth, characteristics which at all times have been the distinguishing mark of the Jews. A curious circumstance, which shows how they had mingled among the Christians, is the fact of whole villages or towns existing composed of Jews—a fact of which Portugal offers us an example. In the particular history of their social situation during the periods of political events described in the preceding Books, we shall have occasion to consider the

great importance the sectaries of the law of Moses acquired among the Portuguese.

How, then, had they become dispersed along the territories of the Leonese monarchy, notwithstanding the severity of the Visigothic laws? What we said in respect of the Mosarabes and the Saracens enables us to advance the reason, although documents are wanting to prove it in a positive manner. In the social confusion consequent on the state of the Peninsula during its ages of reaction, the Jews living under the Arab dominion followed the fate of the rest of the inhabitants of cities and lands of Andaluz. At first they were the victims of the inexorable sword of the first Asturian conquerors and the Leonese, or placed in irons and subject to the cruellest slavery; later on they participated with the Saracens in the tolerant system which had been adopted towards the end of the eleventh century. Relatively to these, and to the Mosarabes proper, they had the advantage of the character which has always distinguished this wandering, persecuted race—that of enduring suffering—and the singular mixture of passive contumacy and sweetness of disposition, gifts most valuable to brave the stormy existence of those times. Obscure, on account of the species of moral reprobation which hung over them, and loving obscurity, strangers by origin and faith to both contending people, and solely bent on accumulating wealth, which no doubt often afforded them the means for recovering liberty, saving their lives, and acquiring powerful protectors for days of anguish and desolation, although this very wealth might awaken popular envy and odium. In a word, the history of the Jews during those dark ages must have been, in their principal lineaments, what they ever were in all countries since they ceased to be an independent nation, until modern times.

It remains to us now to speak of the men beyond the Pyrenees who, in the midst of the struggle for reaction, came to join the Leonese society. The denomination of Franks (*Franci*), too vague to embrace the population of France and of a part of ancient Germany, became more vague still in the Peninsula, because it was indistinctly given to the natives of the various countries of Europe. During barbarian ages, when warfare constituted the rule of life, and in which rapine found constantly motives or pretexts for satisfying its thirst, the spectacle of what was passing in Spain, particularly after the Leonese monarchy had become so powerful that she advantageously battled against the Saracen dominion, excited warriors or ambitious men to

seek fortune in these regions. A similar fact as that which impelled the Crusades, and urged thousands of men to proceed to Syria, naturally induced others to come and combat with the Spanish Mussalmans. Covetousness and bellicose passions were likewise concealed under the splendour of religious enthusiasm. Up to that epoch, that is to say up to the last half of the eleventh century, France had exercised a more or less direct action on the kingdoms to the east and north-east of the Peninsula, but its influence in Leon was not small. The family relations which Alfonso VI. contracted in that country, the military character of this prince, and his ideas of reform and progress, in which he was not always fortunate, brought to the Leonese States a large concourse of nobles, knights, and French ecclesiastics. Moreover, after the conquest of Toledo, the Bishop of the restored See of the Visigothic capital was a former monk of Cluni; likewise many bishoprics were filled by French ecclesiastics, or those who had lived there and adopted their ideas. We have seen, besides, that Alfonso selected two individuals born in France for his sons-in-law—a fact with which is linked the history of the separation and independence of Portugal. We also know that numerous companies of Frankish knights assisted the son of Ferdinand the Great in his warlike undertakings, at least in the latter ones of his long reign; and the mixed charter of Toledo, where, even in 1101, there were none but Mosarabes and Castillians, proves that, in 1118, at least a part of that foreign army had become incorporated to the bulk of the population. During the period when Alfonso I. of Aragon ruled the States of his wife, D. Urraca, or part of them, vestiges are found of fresh troops from beyond the Pyrenees arriving, and also that this prince employed them in his campaigns against the rebel Leonese; and, moreover, in that age of anarchy we find Frankish knights hired by private individuals to defend them from their political adversaries.

These facts invested French society with a certain influence of a special character over the Neo-Gothic society. The majority of individuals of French origin who came to the west of the Peninsula belonged to the privileged classes, such as the clergy and warriors, hence they mingled but little with the bulk of the population. They might, and up to a certain point did, alter ecclesiastical discipline, the ideas and customs of the nobility, and introduced some principles of political and civil jurisprudence into the country foreign to the Gothic traditions; but they could not easily influence in any marked

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manner the inferior classes, rendered more difficult on account of the existing relation between the masses and the powerful classes being such that it precluded an assimilation of the two.

In Portugal, from the first events which constituted the history of its independence up to the beginning of the thirteenth century, the introduction of elements of population drawn from Central Europe was of greater significance than in Leon. The founder of this independence was from Burgandy. Ambitious, daring, associated at least once with the military expedition of the Crusades, and with no powerful relatives among the nobility of Leon, all things counselled him to join native knights and soldiers, or those selected for the armies which were to proceed to the East, and to introduce foreign colonists into territories where ambition incited him to found for himself and heirs an independent State. In the few memorials existing concerning Count Henry, we find vestiges of both causes. In effect we know that during the civil wars which desolated Leon after the death of Alfonso VI., Count Henry proceeded to France to enlist troops, which proves that he adopted the system we attribute to him. When he established his Court in Guimarães, he brought a colony of French, to whom he gave a district to live in close to his palaces. Of another foreign colony, whose coming, no doubt, dates from that epoch, are found vestiges that this colony established itself in Alto-Minho. The name of one of its individuals, who, on account of oppression, induced a revolution, even during the lifetime of the Count, in Coimbra, the principal town of the country, convinces us that some of the Franks held public appointments. Added to this, the introduction into Portugal of the Orders of the Temple, Hospital, and of the Sepulchre, whose knights brought with them a numerous suite, and who were moreover largely endowed in the less populated territories of the frontiers, enables us to judge how large must be the number of foreigners distributed about the kingdom before its independence became definitely established.

Later on the reader has seen that in the first reigns colonists from the north came seeking a new nation in Portugal. Municipalities were created, composed entirely of Franks, as those first established in Atougia, Lourinhan, Villa-Verde, Azambuja, Cezimbra, and Ponte do Sor. The fleets of the Crusaders, whilst assisting to conquer important cities, such as Lisbon and Silves, left in them ecclesiastics who were raised to the highest dignities of the restored churches. Records speak to us of these individuals; but we believe that others

likewise resolved to remain in this country, so superior in every way to the severe climate of their native land. And in effect documents are still extant in which figure names of obscure foreigners. Dispersed among the native population, it would be difficult in our days to state their number; but it suffices to remember how greatly, at least during the reign of Sancho I., the idea pervaded of populating the south of the kingdom, which was thinly inhabited, by sending expressedly outside the kingdom for colonists, and if we likewise bear in mind the great number of towns founded by strangers, as well as the supposition that these induced others to come, we shall understand how the influence of the Frankish element in the peopling of our provinces, especially in that of Estremadura and Alemtejo, was far more important than in Leon, because these became associated with the masses, and contributed to increase and extend the municipal corporations.

We have considered the population of the monarchy in its infancy, and indicated its diverse origins. In summing up what we advanced, we find that among the masses predominated the Mosarabic race, that is to say, the descendants of the Hispano-Goths, modified by the influx of civilisation, and in a manner by Saracen blood; that among the nobility prevailed likewise the race, Hispano-Goth, but free from servitude, energetic and independent, of the exiles of Asturias, mingled, we do not say up to what point, with the natives of those mountainous wild ravines; that the bulk of the population was composed of these two groups; that the Saracens and Jews, although after their conversion they might have become lost among the Hispano-Goths, were separated almost entirely by their creed, and reduced as foreigners to an especial political position, formed distinct groups, these distinctions subsisting even after the first period of our history. As regards the knights or colonists beyond the Pyrenees, their brethren in faith, and even by customs, to the people to whom they joined, this element gradually lost its individual characteristics, and became incorporated in such a manner to the whole of the Christian population that at the end of the period we are treating upon the municipalities purely foreign could only be distinguished traditionally from the other municipalities, while even among the nobility disappeared all vestiges of diversity of origin.

These facts show us the method to be followed when studying the primitive social history of Portugal. Three societies in juxtaposition inhabit the land—the Christian, the Saracen, and the Jewish—but the

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first, predominant and incomparably more numerous, conceals the two others in its shadow. Simply accessories to her vast edifice, the examination of their position, of their relation to the great bulk of the nation, must follow the study of the character of Christian society, of the complex of her institutions, customs, and laws.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

PART THE SECOND.

Preceding considerations on the municipality and liberty — The position of the people previous to the establishment of councils — Great division of the population in the time of the Goths — Nobles and plebeians —Predominance of the Hispano-Roman race among the latter — The principal characteristics which distinguish the two great divisions of people — Roman traditions respecting imposts and conditions of persons — The influence of these traditions on the Visigothic monarchy— Popular subdivisions—Taxes—Free colonists—Serfs or slaves—Germanic and Roman origin of servitude—Servitude among the Visigoths, and its varieties—The liberated and the free—The position of the people after the Arab conquest and during the Christian reaction—The tumultuous state of the population of Asturias—Diverse influences on the primary organisation —New characteristics of servitude—The enrolled – Free men of the inferior classes – *Presores* by inheritance, tributaries, rustics *juniores*, labourers— —The distinction and value of these various designations—Conclusion.

We have seen which were the elements of population that had gathered together on Portuguese soil during the infancy of the nation. The Hispano-Gothic race, although modified by foreign influences, not only predominated in numbers among individuals of diverse origin, but also constituted almost exclusively society, whether incorporating to itself other elements or maintaining itself separated, and by this separation proving its own inferiority. It behoves us now to study the internal temperament and social organisation of that dominating race which constituted the nation, and to which the others could barely be considered as accessories. It is necessary for us to examine the physiology of this moral body, whose external life we have endeavoured to trace, and investigate the position of the greater number of the people; then of the privileged classes, of exceptional individuals, and observe attentively the mechanism of public administration and civil laws; and, in a word, attempt to delineate the scene of the internal existence of the State, and the mutual relations which united all its members. This is an arduous undertaking, and difficult to carry out, because this species of history, deepest of any, was contemned by historians for a great length of time.

Scarcely more than half a century has elapsed since the first attempts were made to rend asunder the dark shadows which concealed the character and temperament of the primitive epochs of the monarchy. In truth, notwithstanding many imperfections, these attempts are at times veritable landmarks, to point out to us here and there the road we should follow in tracing these vast solitudes, and like uplifted posts on its most salient points, show us its existence, but which are far from shedding light into all the vales and windings of the desert. Like those which have preceded this one, our work will probably be incomplete, but we console ourselves, however, that most certainly our efforts in the progress and interests of history will not be altogether lost. Larger intelligences will come to gather together the dispersed materials which we have been unable to collect, or to make a better use of those we have found. Then Portugal will contribute with a most useful monograph towards obtaining the result of the immense historic labour of Europe, that of creating a science of the past, whose doctrines, dependent on general facts and in every side uniform, will render this science one of application, to assist in resolving more than one problem of future social organisation.

At all epochs, and in every country, two principles actuate human associations—one of the moral order, intimate, subjective; the other material, visible, objective. The first is the innate sentiment of dignity and personal liberty, the second the constant and indestructible fact of inequality among men. The internal revolutions of societies, their external wrestlings, the very changes, slow and peaceful, of its temperament and organisation, constitute phases more or less perceptible in the ascendency which one or other of these principles takes in its constant wrestling with itself. When searching to the very pith of some great historic fact we ever find this perpetual combat. Conquests, despotism, oligarchies, be whatever their name, are only diverse manifestations of the predominance of this same principle of inequality, whether it shows itself in brute force, or in dexterity and intelligence, or in wealth. Resistance, successful or not, of nationalities or democracies, so long as these do not degenerate into the exclusion and tyranny of the greater number, are manifestations of human dignity and liberty, of the subjective principle, or of conscience. These two facts being indestructive and undoubted, it becomes the great social question to poise them, and not attempt the impossible by assuming to annul one or other, because it was God who stamped the one on the face of earth, and wrote the other on the human heart. The futility of

all attempts in this age to place society on new bases, the frequency of the terrible shocks which have agitated Europe, when attempting to regenerate it, proceeds, perchance, if not from the exclusiveness of the parties which represent the two ideas, from the denial of legitimacy with which they mutually treat one another. These two tyrannical powers, looking on the great battle-field wherein the future is disputed, await its issue to know which of them is to take its seat on the throne of the world—absolute democracy, which belies human inequality, or the oppressive and materialistic oligarchy, which scorns the aspirations of the heart and has no faith in the conscience of the masses, and confounds the fact of superiority with the right of oppressing the popular classes, whose members are to them simply machines of production, calculated to afford them the comforts and pleasures of life. But whatever be the issue of the strife, the peace resulting from the exclusive triumph of one of these principles can never be lasting, because this triumph arrogates the condemnation of an eternal law which it is not legitimate to offend with impunity, because never can liberty and peace subsist so long as mutual concessions do not render possible the co-existence and concurrence of the two principles.

The history of political events, which is no more than a summary of the experiences of the human race, whether in its internal life or in the external one of nations, becomes reduced to describing phenomena that are more or less notable of this interminable strife. The conquest undertaken or realised by the stronger corresponds to the resistance or the reaction of the weaker, the despotism of one against the conspiracies of many, oligarchic oppression against a democratic revolution. But none of these facts brings a definite situation. At the conclusion of the battle in which one of the two principles absolutely triumphs commences the preparations for victory of the adverse principle. In this way history offers a constant protest of liberty against active inequality, and at the same time proves to us that all efforts to substitute it for an absolute equality have been useless, and that efforts have degenerated into a popular tyranny, the abuse of numerical inequality, or strengthen still more the despotism of one or the tyrannical predominance of intellect, daring, or wealth.

Enlightened by the light of a triumphant Gospel, the Middle Ages, the epoch of the foundation of the modern societies of Europe, offer us, in the complex of their institutions and tendencies, the commencement of

the solution to the problem which the ancient world did not know how to resolve. Divers causes prepared during the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries the establishment of absolute monarchies, which prevented the logical development of those institutions, in truth incomplete and barbarian, but which, in spite of their rudeness and imperfection, contained the elements to balance inequality with liberty. Far from denying or condemning the differences of intelligence, material force, and wealth among men, or to attempt to vainly destroy them, the democracy of the Middle Ages representing the principle of liberty, acknowledged and entirely accepted it, but, for that very reason, manifested admirable instincts in organising and forearming itself against the anti-Liberal tendencies of these superior powers. Similar instincts produced the councils or communes, those asylums of popular rights, those powerful associations of working men against the wealthy classes, against the violent and absolute manifestation of the principle of equality, and against the cancelling of the liberty of the greater number. In our opinion, the history of councils or communes is, in Portugal, as in the rest of Spain, an important study, a pregnant lesson, highly useful for the future, because we are intimately convinced that, after lengthened combats and painful political experiences, Europe will be forced to acknowledge that the only way to overcome the difficulties of the situation which trouble her, and remove oppression of capital over labour, the supreme question to which all others are subordinate, is to restore, in harmony with the age, municipal institutions, more perfected, but in unison with its temperament and its elements, as in the Middle Ages. Without these, the predominance for despotic unity, power of capital, and intellectual force which, beneath the cloak of mixed monarchism, rules, at the present day, the greater part of Europe, or that of odious exclusive democracy, the absolute expression of the exaggerated sentiment of liberty which at the moment threatens to devour all things, are nothing else but diverse forms of tyranny, more or less tolerable or lasting, but which are incapable of definitely reconciling the legitimate aspirations of liberty and dignity of the human species with the indubitable and indestructible superiority of those who, by their riches, activity, intelligence, and power, are, in a word, the representatives of the perpetual law of social inequality.

The history of the institution and multiplication of councils is the history of the influence of democracy on society, of the action of the people, in the common acceptation of the word, as a political element.

This institution and multiplication, however, presupposes a previous diverse manner of being among popular classes—presupposes a coexistence of this same manner of being carried farther on for a period more or less extended, side by side with the first municipalities which were founded and established gradually along the country, and whose population towards the north of the Mondego we saw was more universal than is generally considered. This position of the people at first was naturally one of oppression, as otherwise there would not exist a rational motive to explain the progress of the municipal spirit and the rapid increase in number and importance of the councils. Hence before studying the temper and organisation of the popular corporations, of the councils, more or less imperfect, it behoves us to examine the preceding state of the inferior classes, a state which we see still continued for a certain period, side by side with municipal institutions. This examination, important of itself, will enable us to find the comparative value of the councils, or the high influence which by its intervention the democratic element obtained in society.

When the Portuguese monarchy commenced the state of oppression under which the plebeian classes laboured dates as far back as the epoch of the Goths, and even of the Roman domination. In truth, the municipalities, also of Roman origin, survived the ruin of the Empire, and protracted its more or less perfect existence to the dissolution of the Visigothic society. But put aside during the early stages of the Asturian reaction, it only began to revive gradually when the Leonese kingdom had acquired a certain stability, yet with radical differences, which altered and formed a new social formula, because a long interruption had greatly obliterated the traditions of the ancient municipality. It is from the history of these inferior classes, spread over the surface of the country, bent down by working the soil, weak with no union among themselves, and therefore subject to all manner of legal or illegal vexations, that we must rise to the history of the association of burghers, of the great corporations of the masses, because the institution and multiplication of councils, gradually perfected, strengthened, and summoned to a political life, is no more than the slow transformation of a part of the inferior population, from whence rose the middle classes, the most powerful of modern societies.

In describing the position of the labouring man during the first epoch of the monarchy, we cannot view him solely without relation to the right of persons. His situation in a certain way was united on one

hand with property, and on the other with taxation in the widest signification of the word.

The inhabitants of Spain, as generally throughout Europe in the epoch we are describing, were divided into three great groups or classes—the nobles, the free, and those under servitude more or less harsh. Of the first, and the characteristics of its organisation, we shall treat upon at the opportune time. Our intention now is to put forth the conditions of existence of the two classes which in a restricted sense we call at the present day the people. Throughout all the changes effected during four or five centuries, by the flux and reflux of populations, due to the Mussalman conquest and the Christian reaction, notwithstanding all the modifications, more or less important, in the manner of living of these two individual classes, which took place at that period, and which had up to a certain point altered the condition of each at the epoch when the Portuguese nationality became established, they still revealed in their principal lineaments the Visigothic origin and traditions. In order, therefore, to comprehend clearly their position during the period especially interesting to us, it is expedient to follow the history of them from the time when the Germanic element came to alter deeply the ancient or Hispano-Roman society.

Among the Visigoths, free men, whatever their rank, were denominated in juridical language *ingenuos*, in contradistinction to individuals who did not enjoy civil liberty; and these, again, although varying among themselves by different degrees of independence, were called by the name of serfs (*servo*). Hence the first qualification included nobles and the commonalty; but a great number of legal expressions were used to express and define, among the aristocratic class, the bulk of the free population, such as of humble birth, inferior, of lower condition or dignity (*minoris loci vel dignitatis*), mediocre, and lowest (*viliores*). These two classes, generally equal under the juridical aspect, by liberty and by a common civil right, were distinguished by the exercise of certain appointments which were reserved for nobles, or which ennobled those who held them by the titles and hierarchical qualifications of the nobility, and even by some exceptions in the principle of civil equality which predominates in the Visigothic code. On the other hand, there were circumstances in which institutions or customs, by elevating the serfs or lowering the plebeians, the two groups of inferior population approached one another, and, in spite of the severity of the law, to prevent the mixture of blood between the serving

classes and the *ingenua*, the assimilation which at times took place between them tended to render the two indistinguishable.

The bulk of the inhabitants of Gothic Spain was composed of individuals of Germanic origin, and of Hispano-Romans, politically united, but socially different. In both societies there existed one idea, the principle of distinction of three classes—the privileged, the popular, the serfs: it was their material expression which in part was diverse. Putting aside the especial disposition of the ancient Roman nobility, which differed from the conception which in our day we make of this qualification, we shall confine ourselves simply to observe that in the decadence of the Empire the aristocracy partook rather of the personal character than of inheritance. It was the magistrates, senators, generals, men of wealth, who constituted a body which considered itself superior to the people. Civil law, therefore, recognised no other distinction but those of citizens or serfs. In the German races, on the contrary, the nobility constituted a distinct caste, transmitted for generations. Hence the fact of the conquest left untouched the Roman idea, which, moreover, was already included in the military hierarchy of the hosts or Gothic armies, and obtained a new vigour owing to the necessity of administratively organising the subjugated country. At the epoch immediate to the definite establishment of the Goths in the south of France and in Spain, personal property acquired through appointments and by inheritance was naturally influenced by the two forms of nobility, but were both almost exclusively represented by individuals of the Germanic race, which was the consequent result of the great cataclysm wherein the Empire was dissolved.

And while in relation to individuals hierarchical situations were altered by a complete political revolution, another revolution, more serious still, in property destroyed, also in relation to individuals and families, the ancient aristocracy of wealth. The victorious Goths divided the cultivated lands of the Peninsula into three portions: one was left to the Hispano-Romans, and the remaining two they reserved for themselves, and jealously maintained this division, although the number of the former inhabitants was greater than the conquering race. Hence the large landed proprietors among the Hispano-Romans diminished, meanwhile that those of Gothic origin increased; therefore the aristocracy of those holding State appointments and the aristocracy of wealth associated themselves to that of caste, and all

three increased in the Germanic race. The bulk of the inferior population on the contrary, composed largely of Roman-Spanish proletarians, beheld joining them all those whom the fortune of war, the unequal division of lands, and the new order of magistrature had reduced to an obscure condition; hence the increase among this class of the Hispano-Roman element rather than of the conquered population.

The reader must bear in mind that we speak of the first periods of the conquest, when the two societies lived in juxtaposition, yet not mingled, meanwhile that the Goths preserved their warlike customs, their love for individual independence, their pride as conquerors, and their separate legislation, although, of all barbarian nations, they were the ones who had more largely partaken of the Roman civilisation. Speaking of the interpretation given of the law promulgated by Alaric II. for his Hispano-Roman and Gallo-Roman subjects, a celebrated modern writer observes that "the municipal government occupies a large space in the interpretation of the *Brevarium*: the Curia and its magistrates, the duumvirs, defenders, and others, are there mentioned constantly, and prove that the Roman municipality subsists and works, and, moreover, attains a greater importance and independence. Amid the ruins of the empire disappears the *præsides*, the *consuls*, the *correctores*, and in their place rise up barbarian *counts*, yet not with all the prerogatives of the Roman governors, but in a certain manner divided. Some of these remained to the counts, such as those which concern the central power, receiving of imposts, of making levies of men, and others.. The privilege appertaining to the private life of citizens were delegated to the Curia and to municipal magistrates."

This aspect of society reveals to us the history of the two elements of population at the end of the fifth and during the course of the sixth century. Why does in the new code appear vividly and active the municipality, and the scope of action of the municipal magistrature, so enlarged when expounding the mode of application of the Roman law? Why do not the forms of Germanic government figure in it when the system of general administration and the character of the superior magistrature become Germanised? Does not this indicate that the Roman law was to be applied principally to the great municipal centres and cities, and, as a consequence, that it is in these where the greater number of the Hispano-Roman race dwells? The masses of conquered people, the crowds, the proletarians, open their ranks to receive the families of the aristocracy, of ex-functionaries, of the impoverished rich,

all the fragments of past greatness scattered by the barbarians, into whose hands passed the dominion of two-thirds of rural properties.

When, in the reigns of Chindaswintho and Receswintho, a reformed code was promulgated common to the two races, and unions were sanctioned between individuals of either, what do these acts manifest? Simply that the motives which compelled them to maintain both these distinct had ceased to exist or had become exceedingly diminished. In effect, when the Roman Empire became destroyed in the West, the only one which could revindicate the dominion of Spain, the greater part of its land in the possession of the Germanic nobles, the administrative and military hierarchies organised by the Gothic element, and the people accustomed to the results of conquest, the advantages of ending with distinctions which were morally odious and practically useless were many and obvious. The two nationalities, which had been in juxtaposition for nearly two centuries, and should have assimilated gradually in language, habits, and customs, became at length constituted in one alone, yet without becoming confounded one with another individually, generally speaking, because the two races were separated by a diversity of condition and categories.

A grave fact, however, appears to repel that almost exclusive predominance which we attribute to the Germanic race in the class of nobles, while presupposing the Hispano-Romans to constitute principally the inferior or popular. The fact we allude to is the immense influence of the clergy, the political action of the Church on civil society, which is one of the most notable circumstances in the history of Spain during the Visigothic dominion. Up to the time of Rekaredo Catholicism was the religion of the conquered, and Arianism that of the conquerors. From the accession of this prince to the throne dates the influence of the Catholic or Hispano-Roman clergy. It was through the Church that the road for honours was opened, of wealth and of power, to the men of the conquered race, because in the councils —those mixed assemblies wherein all ecclesiastical as well as civic affairs were regulated—the episcopacy represented the first power. Besides this, the bishops in the cities were not only the heads of the clergy, but also intervened in the judicial and administrative system while the piety of the successors of Rekaredo, which not unfrequently degenerated into fanaticism, afforded examples of the firmness with which the Church exercised its predominance. The laws of Chindaswintho and Receswintho, issued for the union of the two races, although

they are explained by the change of social and political circumstances, would not, perchance, have been promulgated so early or so broadly had not the clergy become the principal legislators of the country.

But it was truly the effects of the conquest, which, by placing the Hispano-Romans in a relation inferior to the Gothic people, protracted for nearly two centuries, at length became facts which were difficult, if not impossible, to destroy. The Gothic families, enwrapt by a nobility of lineage, exercised all the principal charges of the State, possessed by inheritance the greater portion of landed property, besides many benefices of the Crown, and generally filled the highest posts in the army. To change all these things was equivalent to a complete revolution, a revolution which the clergy would not dare attempt, and which would be a strange one, since the Gothic race manifested itself generally prompt to obey the will of the prince, and had abandoned Arianism. Certainly, the victory of its own creed ought to open the road to greatness to those of the Hispano-Romans, who were more distinguished by intelligence and daring; and we see that soon after this religious change, a Hispano-Roman called Claudio, Duke or Governor of Lusitania, a man odious to the people, was leading the Gothic troops sent against the Franks, who were defeated. But this and other analogous facts, singular and isolated, do not prove a deep alteration in the relative situation of the two races. The influence of the clergy was especially moral, and tended rather to Romanise, so to say, customs and the civilisation of the conquerors than to alter the material consequences of the conquest. Hence, as the element Hispano-Roman held by the Church so wide and extended an action in the political world, and the Gothic crown being purely elective, we fail to find among the individuals elevated to supreme power, whether by free, regular election, or by means of conspiracies or revolutions, even one who by name or any other circumstance belonged to the Hispano-Roman race. This fact is sufficiently significative. By this is understood that, whether through violent occupation of the Crown or by the regular way of election, those who had the power and resources were the Gothic families, and therefore that the nobility from which came the princes were essentially Goths. This power of aristocracy was due principally to the transformation through which persons and property had passed from the establishment of the Germanic dominion in the Peninsula. This leads us naturally to speak of the transformation.

The division of lands among Goths and Romans which was made on

the occasion of the conquest, unequal not only in itself, but also in relation to the numerical inferiority of those who reserved a double portion of the total, must necessarily produce, as we observed before, a great disparity in landed wealth. Another fact was added to widen this disparity. As the character of the Germanic society consisted in a vast system of military *clientèle*, by which the bulk of free individuals joined the nobility of race, and from these received the means of subsistence through concession of goods, the consequence was that the nobility almost exclusively took possession of the Gothic portions in order to distribute them afterwards as benefices. From this sprung, in our opinion, the division of free men, but not nobles, into two classes —one that was nearly noble, and the other almost serfs. From the first class came the buccelarius, from the second the free agriculturists. This division had commenced to work during the first epoch of the conquest and previous to the legal incorporation of the two races, because the Visigothic code presupposes its existence as a previous fact.

The *buccelarius* were those who, not possessing property from whence to support themselves, or possessing but insufficient, offered their services to the rich or powerful in return for emolument. Writers have differed about the origin of the denomination: some derive it from *buccella*, a barbarian Latin word, which signifies a *piece of bread*, because the buccellarius eat the bread of his patron; others say it is derived from the Germanic word *buckel*, a shield, in the supposition that he was shield-bearer to his master. But be what it may, the buccellarius received a stipend from the powerful one, and in return took the title of his patron, arms, and goods. These arms and goods were to be restored if as a free man he sought the protection of any other master. Should these relations of protection and servitude subsist unchanged during the life of patron and buccellarius, it was further continued between the children of both, yet at whatever time this was severed the restoring of arms took place. Of what the buccellarius had acquired for himself during the term of service, half, after the breaking of the contract, belonged to him, but the other half to his lord, and the same took place when the patronage failed through disloyalty. If at the death of the buccellarius he left no male issue, but only a daughter, this child remained in the power of the patron, upon whom devolved the duty of getting her properly married, retaining what the father possessed; but if of her own free will she chose a husband of inferior position to

her own, the property acquired by her father from the master would revert to him or his children.

The especial mention made by the Visigothic code, in alluding to the buccellarius, of arms and goods, as distinct from the wealth accumulated from what he received from his master, appears to us to show the military nature of the services which fell to the buccellarius. And, in effect, a law of Wamba or Ervigio, relating to the times of a campaign, presuppose in all who were joined to a patron the obligation of following him to the war, and not forsaking him on any pretext. Hence the condition, especially martial, of the buccellarius, at an epoch when the highest profession of mankind was warfare, more nearly approached the class of nobles; and, in truth, the combination of various Gothic laws bears evidence that the greater number of free men were reputed inferior to the class of buccellarius.

The King, whether due to the portion which was received for the Crown at the distribution of the cultivated lands which the Goths had taken for themselves, or from the progressive increase of fiscal property, an increase resulting from civil and political offences, was in quality of King the greatest proprietor of the country. His tenants, therefore, were the more numerous, yet they were rather linked to the Crown than to the royal person as an individual, because, as the monarchy was elective, the preservation of benefices at the death of the prince depended not on his children, but on the successor of the kingdom, whom the holders of these properties continued to serve. The generic name of these were *fiéis*, or loyal *(fideles)*, a designation which appears to include any free persons, whether simple soldiers or invested with some public dignity, in return for some concession of benefices.

These free men, who in accepting a species of military domesticity constituted in a certain manner a body of permanent soldiery, and formed the last link in the chain of nobility, were supposed to be of Gothic origin. But on going back to the institution of the buccellarius, at the first epochs of the Gothic monarchy, we find that the warrior instincts of the Germanic race and the enervation of the Hispano-Romans, as well as their agricultural habits, which were incomparably more deep-rooted than in the Visigoths, naturally attracted the conquerors to the peaceful life of agricultural industry and field labour, and the conquered to the profession of arms, while policy inculcated to kings, as to the Gothic nobles, the convenience of preferring men of their own race in the distribution of benefices, who would be interested

in maintaining their predominance. Hence, among the people in the most restricted sense of the word the greater number would be of the subjugated race, and constituted the inferior group of free men. The causes which we alluded to influenced this fact and augmented the institution of buccellarius, the system of particular and public benefices, a general system introduced by the barbarians in the various provinces of the Roman Empire, and which, outside Spain, produced feudalism.

The conquest destroyed the Hispano-Roman aristocracy essentially individual of the administrative order and of wealth, but saving the hierarchic principle, and associating it with the nobiliary principle of caste, but transferred in the first to the conquerors. From thence resulted, as a consequence, that a popular class of free men were constituted with the Hispano-Roman element, and the noble class with the Germanic. Yet this division becomes deeper still, because to this concurred the separation which subsisted for a long period of the two distinct nationalities. Through the clergy, through that influence which the Church exercised on Gothic society, some individuals or families of the conquered race became afterwards aggregated to the aristocratic body, but without altering its essence and individuality. From this fact, in combination with others of the social and political order, rose the legal incorporation of the two nationalities. But the conquest produced its effects. The position of property becomes changed ; the conquerors, less numerous, took possession of the large portion of the lands, whose dominion generally remained in the hands of the heads of the conquerors. By the distribution of these lands among the less opulent natives, they created a *dientèle*, an inferior nobility, hence the Germanic element ceased to preponderate in the class of popular *ingenuos*.

In order to comprehend the state of the citizen, it is impossible to separate the history of its civil condition from the history of property and tribute. This is what takes place when seeking in Visigothic times for the origin and reasons for previous social facts. The two-thirds of land taken by the Goths were exempt from paying tributes, while the third portion left to the former inhabitants *(tertiæ Romanorum)* was taxed. In legislation, and in monuments, we have no direct proofs of the absolute exemption of the Goths; but we have indirect ones in the legal disposition, wherein is gathered that the lands of the Hispano-Romans were held tributary. This principle of absolute exemption from imposts in the properties of the conquerors, and the existence of

them in the lands of the vanquished, was common to the diverse states which were established, through Germanic invasion, upon Roman provinces, a fact which bears out the somewhat obscure testimony of the law. But knowing that the Hispano-Romans constituted the majority of the people, it follows that the two great classes of *ingenuos* were distinguished in general, and contributors and non-contributors in the same manner, as they were divided into lowest *(viliores)* and in nobility, including in this designation the *buccellarius*, or clients.

The legislature of the Goths does not reveal to us the proportion of tributes nor the form of distribution; but it is obvious that, when the authority of the barbarian kings was substituted for that of the emperors, the system of imposts upon the property left to the Romans could not have altered essentially. However difficult and complicated that method might be of assigning and collecting these taxes, it would have been far more difficult for Germanic barbarism to invent a new system. To strive to simplify it was natural they should do; but the general idea of taxes, foreign to the instincts of Germanic society, was Roman, and Roman it remained. We know for certain that the conquest brought with it a great alleviation of fiscal exactions, by which the Imperial Court, the seat of avidity, luxury, and corruption, aggrieved them; but the continuance of taxation, although simplified as to method and diminished in intensity, was an undoubted fact. As a modern writer very properly observes, the barbarian kings sought to follow the system of Roman administration, and one of the most important objects of that administration was that of imposts. In the time of the Empire the tribute paid by proprietors was in essence royal, and not personal; that is to say, it fell upon the land, and not on the individuals who possessed them with plenary or direct dominion, for which object from year to year a species of register was made, the rural properties being then measured and valued anew, with all the personal properties included. The taxes were paid partly in goods and partly in money. The method, however, of assessment, and collecting the tributes of landed property, took the form of poll-tax. But besides this impost, which fell directly on the landowners, there was another, a true poll-tax in the strict sense of the word, which included all the individuals who, either because deprived of landed property or direct right over it, were not in a position to pay the impost or predial tithes. These were called human poll-tax *(humana capitatio)*. Since remote times, this tax was a fixed sum for each man, and half that sum for women. This tax was

later on reduced to two-fifths for men, and one-fourth for women. This was paid by the operative classes, artisans, day-labourers, colonists, and serfs, and it was but rarely that especial workers of the industrial classes were exempted.

The condition of the colonists nearly approached that of serfs, cultivating either by proscription or contract the land of others, in which they succeeded from father to son. It did not behove the colonists to take any judicial action against the landowner, except in case of crime. He was considered free as far as his person, although united to the glebe he cultivated. His marriage was held to be legitimate, and he could possess personal property over which the landowner had no claim, as with serfs. Yet these personal properties of the colonist were not absolutely free, because he had no power to alienate them without the permission of his master. And while he could not expel him from the land he lived upon, neither could he forsake it, and in the case of transferring the property he passed on with the land to the new proprietor. The properties of holders of land were generally cultivated on the system of division in portions, and the portions constituted the colonies.

In relation to the tribute called *humana capitatio*, the possessor of the seigniory was answerable for his colonists. He paid the census, and then received it from them. As the fiscal collector was to receive integrally the imposts, the landowner had to pay as many poll-taxes as were the colonists enrolled on his property register of taxes, whether they had escaped or their number had become reduced through any accident.

It was in this position that the Gothic hosts, and the tribes which followed them, found the territories wherein they established themselves in the south of France, as well as in Spain. On taking possession of a large portion of the lands, it was to their interest to retain the hard-working colonists wherever found, and these were, in their turn, perfectly satisfied to substitute their former masters for the Roman ones. In this way the Gothic nobility could gather the fruits of the conquest, and continue their military habits, without descending to the tedious cares of agricultural industry. This was likewise applicable to the lands conferred, in grace and favour, to the buccellarius, and those granted to the officials, magistrates, and dependants of the Crown.

During the domination of the Emperors the people of the municipalities were divided into *decuries* and *plebeians*. The decuries formed

a superior class of proprietors, and constituted the *Curia*, which elected the municipal magistrates, and undertook the office of receiving the imposts. The position of these individuals, which appears to correspond to that of burghers during the Middle Ages, was, in virtue of the institutions of that epoch, one of greater oppression than of other freedmen. In later times *decuries* were also styled *wards*, and perchance *senators*, because sometimes the Curia was called senate. These were included among the number of *proprietors*, and under them were those who did not hold over twenty-five acres of land, artificers, labourers, and merchants—those who, not mixing in municipal administration, were called plebeian. The people, composed principally of the Hispano-Roman race, formed a body of ratepayers, and continued the same as previous to the conquest. The proprietors became subdivided into *curiales* and *privati*; but the name of *plebeian (plebei)* ceased to be applied to any but colonists. The law generally enjoined proprietors not to alienate their possessions, but should they do so, the solution of the tribute to devolve on the new proprietor. It is evident that this clause refers to the alienations effected by the tribute or rate payer in favour of the non-tributary higher classes.

The situation of those who cultivated the land by a free contract, and enjoyed the usufruct of the rented land, once the tax was paid by their owners, scarcely represents the general condition of the colonist under the Visigothic domination. Ever since the dissolution of the Empire the position of the rural colonist in the various barbarian States was too obscure, and it would be well-nigh impossible to distinguish it in all its phases and aspects, in order to appraise its value to society. Among the tribes of Germanic origin, serfs existed as among the Romans, but their position was diverse. Rather subjects than serfs, those of a more elevated class, such as the *liti*, *leti lazzi*, *aldiones* of the ancient barbarian code and records, generally corresponded to the Roman colonists.

From this imperfect or incomplete state of servitude, ascribed to Roman colonisation, mingled with and meeting the societies organised with the fragments of the Empire, sprang this group of individuals, placed in a middle situation between personal servitude absolute and the *privati* who formed the cultivators of the land. But in the agricultural system of colonisation of the Empire, as in the barbarian system, the conditions of contract made or supposed to exist between the patron and the colonist were varied and different in their species. The very laws that

in the Visigothic code regulate the contracts of this order presuppose that the perpetual and temporary colony are similar in location, presuppose likewise the solution of a canon and the dividing of fruits between the master and the agriculturist—that is to say, the method of apportioning. The variety of relationss which in earlier times we find established between the labouring man who cultivated the land and followed the great, nay, the almost sole industry of the Middle Ages, and the man of property, of dominion, had its origin in the action and reaction of barbarian institutions and Roman ones, meeting and modifying themselves one by the other. It would be an impossible task to record all these modifications, uncertain and confused, nor would the study afford any immediate interest for comprehending our social history. Meanwhile we cannot desist from reminding the reader that the system of legislation affords us two classes of distinct colonies—one the *plebi*, who cannot alienate what they held, neither vineyards nor fields, houses nor serfs, since they were joined to the glebe; the others, whose dependence is scarcely material, voluntary, and even transitory, existing solely by agrarian prestation, without being apparently joined to personal service. In our opinion the first represents the Roman idea and influence, the second the Germanic idea and influence. When, for many long years, the Goths had been established in the Peninsula, and increased in numbers, and had allowed themselves gradually to be ruled by the civilisation of the conquered, uniting with them by family bonds, they contracted peaceful habits, and many became agriculturists. Towards the end of the seventh century the agricultural tendency became almost general, and the military genius of the Goths nearly disappeared. From this may be drawn that a great number of individuals of that race who were *ingenuos*, yet without personal property, naturally subjected themselves to the colonist, under the gentle conditions which the law established in contracts of similar nature. Hence not only the *lidos*, who at that epoch had naturally accompanied the barbarian hosts, but the descendants of many individuals of the buccellarius order, became colonists, and on taking the plough, the symbol of peace, was realised oftentimes the union of the conquered with the victors, the incorporation of the two races, which legally were equal and intermixed.

After describing in general terms the condition of the colonists, it follows that a few words on the slaves would be opportune. Slavery, which only could be destroyed in Europe by means of the gradual influence of civilisation, strengthened by the Gospel, was an institution

which the barbarian conquerors of Spain brought with them, and one they found deeply rooted in the submitted society. Besides the *lidos*, or *lazzi*, among the people of Germanic origin, there was a class inferior to the serfs, who were really slaves. This class was the one nearest to Roman serfs and servitude *(servi, servitus)*, but for a singular contrast the fate of the barbarian slave was less hard than that of the Roman, who was civilly reputed to be an *object*, but not a *person*. This thought sprung from the Roman idea that slavery represented the position of the captive whom the victor could slay, but whose life he reserved as a spoil, or of a free man who by selling himself did not reserve any one of his rights. Hence, whether by personal right or civilly, the slave became the whole property of his master. From this may be inferred to what a height the consequences of such a situation reached. With the spread of the Evangelical light, and later on by the complete triumph of Christianity, commenced to predominate ideas more human respecting this class, and in Roman legislation some warranties began to be gradually introduced to remit the slaves from at least the right of mutilation and death which their masters could exercise upon them. Yet these laws met with the resistance of common passions and customs; therefore even in the fifth century, as we read in Salviano, the clauses which abolished the right of life and death held by masters over their slaves were oftentimes illuded. The serfs were distinguished by the qualifications of public and private. The first belonged to the State, and were divided into two classes—those who constituted the body of operatives in public works, or galley-slaves; and those of less humble origin, who were employed as prison warders, lictors, servants of the magistrates and clergy, and so forth. The private serfs were likewise divided into two classes—the urban and the rural. The first class, under varied designations, fulfilled all necessary offices for the comfort and luxury of life; while the second cultivated the lands of their opulent masters.

The serfs, which in the Germanic races corresponded to the Roman serfs, were such as in the barbarian code were denominated ministers *(ministeriales)*. This word is equivalent to servant, or familiar, and implies a man who ministers or in some manner was in the service of a master. In later times this word grew to possess a wider signification, and was applied to the principal officers of the King's Government or Court. It was from this class, although of inferior rank to the *lidos*, that nobles chose individuals for administering their properties

(majores), and with them formed a kind of court, notwithstanding that in this class was also included the artificers, a very numerous class on the estates of both kings and nobles. Hence, among non-free men the indeterminate position of ministers appears to become elevated on one hand to the height of incomplete liberty, and on the other descend to the lowest condition. Let us now see how Roman and Germanic servitude, meeting on Spanish soil, mutually unite and become modified.

The Visigothic slaves preserved the same Roman denomination of serfs *(servi)* as the masters of owners *(domini)*. Their birth determined the condition: a son of serf parents was a serf, although here jurisprudence varied in one circumstance. Among the Romans the condition of an individual was assigned according to the mother: under the Visigothic dominion, although unions were forbidden between *ingenuos* and serfs, the fruit of these illicit unions followed that of whichever was a slave. But even this had an exception: if up to the age of thirty the illegitimate offspring had not been reduced to actual servitude, and during that time one of the progenitors who belonged to the servile class had apparently lived in liberty, he remained free. Another source of slavery was that of crime, many of which were punishable by the criminal being delivered up to the offended party as a slave. The insolvent debtor also paid his debts by loss of liberty; and lastly, the *ingenuo* defaulter, who pretended to be sold in order to take part of the price, on his condition being discovered, was caught in his own net and condemned to slavery, unless he could integrally restore the price, or was ransomed by his relatives.

Essentially, however, the Gothic serfs were distinguished from the Roman by being considered as civil persons whether they were objects of donation or sale. In this is evident the influence of Germanic ideas, and the fact itself constitutes a true social progress.

As we said before, the union of *ingenuos* with those of servile condition was strictly prohibited; nevertheless it appears such a union was considered a true marriage, although it could be dissolved if contracted between serfs of different masters; while in Roman jurisprudence, on the contrary, such unions were held as a species of concubinage *(contubernium)*.

The slave who, through proficiency in any mechanical art or other reason, merited a greater consideration was called *idoneo, good;* and

those who, from want of ability or otherwise, were condemned to the hardest labours were designated by *vil*, *infimo*, *rustico*. This last designation, and which is oftenest found, shows that these inferior slaves were rural labourers. To these, it appears, was applied the denomination of *mancipii*, a word sufficiently vague, to which, in our opinion, was implied not the general idea of servitude, but the state of any individual of a low sphere, and probably without family and reduced to the lowest degree of human abjection, whether of servile or free origin, or of unknown birth. Perchance the word *mancipium* expresses the degree next to that of purely animal, of whose existence there are vestiges to be found in modern society which have not absolutely disappeared.

In Gothic legislation we do not find sufficient foundation for considering as a separate class the serfs of the Church and clergy, notwithstanding the general opinion. The dispositions of the councils relative to the *ecclesiastical families* (a phrase by which they were especially designated) are, in our opinion, particular dispositions of the Church, and not civil laws; nor do we find in these same rules of proceeding between the clergy and the serfs that any conditions different from those which regulated the rights and duties among private individuals and their slaves belonged to these; and if in relation to civil society and public power they enjoyed some exemptions, these did not represent any privilege of their own, but referred to the immunity of the sacerdotal corporation to which they were subject.

There existed, however, a class of serfs among the Visigoths whose especial position rendered them not only superior, as a rule, to the private serfs and the colonists, whether subject or free, but even equal, under a certain aspect, to the *ingenuos* known as *privados*, and perchance to the buccellarius. We speak of the fiscal serfs *(servi fiscales)*, called likewise *families of the fiscal (familiæ fisci)*. These evidently corresponded to the ministers, or else were the representatives of the Germanic idea of domestic servitude. The fiscal serf could obtain not only inferior palace appointments, but even more elevated dignities. Moreover, he possessed, although with imperfect dominion, lands and lowest grade of slaves *(mancipia)*, which belonged virtually to the fiscal. To these were entrusted the offices of collectors of public finance and administrators of the patrimonial properties of the prince. Their own properties, although they belonged strictly, with their own persons, to the fiscal, were tributary.

Hence, in the same way as descending from the state of freemen to that of slavery, we find the middle existence of the colonist aggregated, so do we find, on rising from the state of servitude to that of *ingenuos*, the one of liberated. Manumission or enfranchisement was an act which in its effects counterbalanced the laws, the penal sanction of which was servitude, and that so greatly contributed to increase the number of individuals deprived of liberty. Those whose birth had made slaves retained the hope of obtaining from the generosity of their masters a more or less complete liberty. Manumission was practised in two ways—one absolute, the other conditional. The first was when the master, on performing the act of liberation in presence of a priest or deacon, or by a declaration made before a judge, did not impose on the recipient any conditions or obligations of service which could restrict this free action. These were considered so independent that even the Church admitted them to the sacerdotal order. But however complete the act of liberation might be, if the liberated one constituted himself an informer or denouncer of the liberator, or was guilty of any affront, he could be reduced to his former state of servitude; and these duties and rights became perpetuated in the children of both parties. Should he continue to live as colonist to his former master, and did not leave any legitimate issue, he could will one half of his effects, the other half to go to his patron. Were he to forsake his patron to become the client of another or his colonist, his former patron would inherit one half of his effects, in case he died without issue and he bequeathed the other half; thus his second master was excluded, and this latter clause tended in a great measure to deter them from changing masters. To this same end was established the law that when the liberated one left his former master he or his children had the right to revindicate any donation which might be made at the act of manumission. Absolute liberty, and without the smallest restriction, was laid upon the Jews to afford to their Christian slaves, an act expressed by the law in the singular phrase that "they passed on to be in the category of Roman citizens," which proves that legislators had principally imbibed their ideas respecting the liberated from the Roman code.

We have endeavoured in a cursory manner to examine the varied existence of the inferior population among the Goths. On one side, through the *privati*, they approach the last step in the grade of nobility; on the other we see them descend to extreme degradation, on account of the individuals to whom were specially given the name of *mancipii*, the

servants of serfs. The class of *privati*, in which predominates almost exclusively the Hispano-Roman race, represents civilisation materially subjugated by the barbarian, but which it overcomes in many ways by the superiority of its institutions and customs—a class which, although characterised by most diverse conditions of existence, is nevertheless the origin or type, more or less defined, of the modern middle classes, and which, throughout all the extraordinary events which followed the fall of the Gothic empire in the Peninsula, we shall find in the cradle of our country, where we meet likewise reproduced, although altered and in part assimilated, all those inferior groups of free and non-free colonists, of serfs and liberated, both private and fiscal—all that undefined, mingled mass of peoples who live and work around an aristocracy, principally a racial one, domineering and turbulent, which the Germanic conquest principally perpetuated and symbolised.

We have already seen the Arab invasion under two aspects—that of the political events which flowed from it, and of the popular movement in the whirl of strife which was started between Christians and Saracens. We have seen how the Asturian monarchy, the nucleus and germ of the Neo-Gothic societies formed by the reaction, at first weak and obscure, became gradually illustrated and invigorated, until the epoch when the Saracen dominion becoming weakened, she was dismembered into diverse States. We have seen how the Hispano-Gothic population, generally impelled towards the centre of Mussalman society, and, up to a certain point, incorporated with it, returned, so to say, to its former cradle. It behoves us now to examine by what means the popular elements of the dissolved monarchy became ranged in the formation of the new, and constituted at the epoch of the establishment of the Portuguese independence.

Notwithstanding the contradictions and obscurities which pervade our ancient records respecting the first steps of the Christian reaction, the initial situation of the exiles in the defiles of Asturias may, up to a certain point, be comprehended. The Monk of Silos, a writer of the eleventh century, although relatively modern, expresses, with picturesque truth, the state of that social embryon during the first years of the government of Pelagius. Speaking of the victory obtained from Munuza and the taking of Gijon, he adds, "After this the Gothic people, as though rising from sleep, gradually accustomed themselves to acknowledge social gradations—that is to say, to combat in an orderly

manner beneath the standards of their chiefs, to acknowledge an internal administration, a legitimate authority, and to restore in periods of peace the churches and Divine worship"—this triple formula of all societies which become organised in the midst of aggressions—military discipline to resist, civil discipline for maintaining order, and religious discipline for the moral order. The re-establishment of these political principles enables us to form some conception of the former state. It was a wave of armed men, which rolled on along the defiles and mountains of Asturias, and became incorporated among the more or less sparsely spread population of the mountains. The efforts and prowess of Pelagius enabled him to acquire a certain preponderance over that unbridled horde: it was a new example, so to say, of the captains of the Germanic hosts who, three centuries earlier, had desolated the provinces of the Empire, and to whom, in default of a more exact designation, the Romans gave the title of *rex*. First, through prowess among his equals, the son of Favilla, when laying down his shield and sword, would exercise only a limited authority in the midst of those daring men who had preferred the rough existence of the mountains to the odious tranquillity of peace under foreign yoke. Soldiers all, since it was necessary they should be so, but ardent warriors, undaunted, prepared, through enthusiasm, for battle one against ten, they were naturally free men. Among them could not exist that forced, servile militia whose arms had been unable, on the Guadalete and its successive combats, to save the Gothic nation. As a tributary people, no serfs could exist among them: the tribute was collected beneath the tent of the conquered Arab. Servitude nestled in cities which had been subjected to the Mussalmans. Sebastian of Salamanca tells us that, after the defeat of Munuza, many came to join the heroic defenders of Spanish independence; but these were not families, but squadrons of soldiers; and in the spirit of the chronicler, the thought of populating those defiles seems to be exclusively associated with the successive increase of the number of warriors.

The new monarchy, with barely the rudiments of organisation and essentially warlike, must have but slowly become agricultural. Yet the conquests of the successors of Pelagius brought into the limits of the kingdom a mixed population. Voluntary or forced, many migrations of individuals or families who had subjected themselves to the Saracen dominion flocked in. Through these, civil society, with its institutions

as well as its customs, and with these its needs, began by degrees to substitute the exclusively warlike society. By establishing in Oviedo the royal residence, Alfonso II. was raising there a counterpart of the ancient Gothic Court, and ruled the Ecclesiastical Orders. And in proportion as the frontiers became widened and population increased, Gothic laws and the resolutions of the former councils of Toledo took new vigour. Yet the complete restoration of Visigothic society was impossible. Circumstances had in part changed. Many former conditions of social life had ceased to exist, while new ones appeared, due to the effect of time, particularly in a country agitated by revolutions or strifes of conquest.

In order to afford the reader some idea of the state of the popular classes from the foundation of the monarchy of Oviedo-Leonese up to the epoch of the separation of Portugal, we shall state some facts respecting the history of the progress of population. This increased by two means—by migrations, and by accession of territory. In the first instance the heads of families, subject to the Mussalman dominion, abandoned or were compelled to forsake the city, village, or homestead wherein they dwelt, and transport themselves to a country up to a certain point foreign. In the second instance the head of the family remained alone on the land, preserved his inherited property, cultivated the fields, and did not in any essential manner alter the habits of civil life. His public duties altered more or less with the change of dominion. In primitive times, before the Neo-Gothic reaction, the Kings of Asturias increased the number of subjects by the first above-mentioned means; Oviedo and Leon later on increased in population by the second. These facts, whether isolated or simultaneous, no doubt altered the situation of the inferior classes, necessarily changed many features, although essentially as regards their mode of existence they preserved the Visigothic traditions.

Let us suppose, for example, one of those successful raids effected into the Saracen provinces, during the epoch of Alfonso I. or of some of his immediate successors. The knights of Asturias ran along fifteen or twenty leagues of the enemy's territory; the Mussalmans they encountered were slain or fled; but these advantages were for the moment, and could not be considered as a permanent conquest. A Gothic colony resides there. The proprietors may be noble or inferiors, buccellarius, colonists, for a time, for life, or franchised, serfs and liberated, because the Arabs respected in all conquered societies what-

ever did not prevent the establishment of their own dominion. Meanwhile the territories of Oviedo are in a great measure uncultivated. Cities begin to be constructed or rebuilt, but it is necessary to people them; it is necessary to cut down the woods, to clear out the fields overgrown with weeds, to cover the ground with villages, granges, farms—in a word, create the industry which supplies the first necessaries of life, agriculture. The purely military organisations become daily more difficult to carry out. It is needful to seek in the internal economy of the country for substantial means to carry on the progress of reaction which the fruits alone of invasions and rapine cannot supply. Hence men who worked and produced an industry became as indispensable as those who fought. Then the Goths who had plotted with the infidels, those who sold independence in exchange for property, for comforts and domestic peace, lost it all with the transitory triumph of their co-religionists. Compelled by these to follow them to the defiles of the north, they became in a certain sense so similar to the Saracen captives, that for the future their fate becomes determined according to the conveniences or caprices of the power they are subjecting themselves to. And supposing that lands are distributed to them in their new country which they are forced to adopt, will they find a rigorous system of compensation? Will the various relations of *clientèle*, of colonisation, of servitude, be established in an equal manner for each individual? In a word, will there be in this change of country only a material change of location? Even in the case of a society wherein all civil institutions are clearly and minutely laid and established, it would be impossible that this should happen, much less in a country where all things were tottering, where all things were subordinate to the great question of life or death, to the thought of resisting enemies superior in every way, and against whom it were necessary to combat almost constantly. What naturally occurs is that which alone, perchance, is possible, that generally to these new subjects were distributed lands to cultivate under the patronage of the Crown and obligations of tribute; but that the popular classes should not up to a certain point become intermixed, is what we judge impossible. The plebeian, for instance, the colonist dependent on the private individual or noble through his union to the glebe in Spain, how would he consider himself joined to it if, after being transferred to Oviedo, the one would lose the usufruct of it, and the other the dominion of the glebe? Under the difficulties which rise up to oppose the preservation

of the ancient categories on the one hand, and on the other the necessity of turning this adventitious population to profit, there is but one hypothesis that appears to us alone plausible—that the enforced migrations generally which came from Spain were established in Oviedo by a species of Crown colonisation more or less similar to the condition of the fiscal serf of the Visigoths.

We say hypothesis, because that alone is possible respecting those involuntary migrations which chroniclers tell us, since they are silent as to their ultimate fate, and we lack other monuments to assist us to illustrate the narratives of the chroniclers. This does not occur as regards spontaneous migrations: of these vestiges remain of the manner they were established in the country, even in obscure epochs, until the eighth century, when the reaction commenced in Asturias. Among the documents which afford us more singular examples in this respect are those which relate the restoration of Lugo. A certain priest, named Odoario, still youthful, and, it appears, a member of an opulent family, continued living under the Saracen dominion on the occasion of the conquest; but on knowing the progress of arms of Alfonso I., he retreated to Galicia with many other individuals of the *ingenua* class, nobles and non-nobles, invited by the Asturian prince, and accompanied by many liberated families or serfs who were dependents of them. In the midst of the war, the episcopal city of Lugo was destroyed and the former population dispersed. This multitude of adventitious Goths came here to establish themselves, occupying the adjacent lands and villages. Odoario, elected Bishop of Lugo, remained invested with a species of supremacy above the new inhabitants of the territory, while the villages and fields he took for himself were distributed among his relatives and freemen, and establishing as tillers and cultivators the serfs. Some of these, or the liberated ones who from their former legal services had deserved recognition from their patron or master, were converted into perpetual colonists, and to them were assigned houses, and serfs to assist them in rural work and building. The position of these colonists, it appears, approached, as far as respected the rights of acquisition distributed to them, to that of Visigothic times, while as respected their personal relations, under a species of perpetual patronage. Side by side with these individuals we find established, in the territory wherein Odoario exercised such a wide influence, some others, that appear, according to all indications, to have been men of condition absolutely *ingenua*.

In this voluntary migration of Gothic population to territories wherein national independence had retreated appear the same gradations socially as formerly existed, but circumstances modified them. As we have seen, along the territories subject to the Saracens the spirit of the Visigothic society survived the conquest in all that was in harmony with the new political situation of the Peninsula: the nobility or inferiority of caste, the rights and duties which among individuals resulted from the organisation of property and family, all continued to subsist under the Arab government. What was altered were the tributes and various other affairs of public right. The voluntary migration to Oviedo was therefore a fact which modified more or less the situation relatively to the individuals themselves. The serfs and the liberated acted spontaneously when following their masters and patrons. It is evident that these could not have recourse to the laws or the authority of Mussalman magistrates to compel them to associate themselves with an act which oftentimes had to be practised privately. Transferred to other districts, where a society commenced to be established still rebellious, and moreover warlike, occupying by conquests lands wherein could not be found vestiges of former distinctions between the Gothic and Roman allotments, and to which both had equal right, besides many other circumstances which rose up unforeseen, must have rendered juridical rights or duties difficult to carry out. The nobility, the clergy, and the middle classes must, in truth, have sought to reproduce among themselves an image of Gothic society, since they knew no other theoretically and practically excepting the Mussalman, which was still foreign at that epoch, but an absolute imitation would be impossible. Hence, notwithstanding that involuntary migrations might be preserved, the principal divisions of *ingenuos* and serfs, of nobles and the masses, which in forced migrations must have become mingled in a greater degree, slavery, which became voluntary on the part of the serfs, the condition of the plebeians and colonists of glebe lands, and even the patronage of the enfranchised and clients, must have lost much of its former severity, and the humiliating distinctions between men take a more liberal character. Similarly, as with nearly all great revolutions, notwithstanding their irreparable damages, the Arab conquest and the Asturian reaction brought to society a true progress. This progress, however, consisted more in ideas than in facts; it prepared rather the future than affected the actual present. We do not believe that in the unformed aggregation called the kingdom of Asturias the fate of the

inferior classes would be materially better than during the latter times of the Visigothic Empire. Under the vacillating and disorderly state in which all things were, oppressions, the abuse of power in the military corps, the brutal and unbridled state of the soldiers, must have weighed more heavily upon the labouring classes, either through defiance of laws or the impossibility of enforcing them during the uncertainties which ever accompany the tardy reorganisation of peoples after a great political convulsion, while this very difficulty of restraining the nobles and the powerful acted upon the former jurisprudence, wherein was enforced the system of gradations and castes, from whence sprang the abjection of the humble and the weak. The social bonds, severed in a great measure, and the splendour of the ancient privileged classes, reduced to a semi-barbarian rudeness, the serfs and colonists, who had lost but little in proportion, because they had but little to lose, beheld, in the calamities which afflicted Spain, the aristocracy nearer to them, not because they had risen in the scale, but on account of the aristocracy having fallen from its former splendour. Hence the *mancipium*, the serfs of all descriptions, the colonists, whether plebeian or attached to the land, the freedmen, all those placed in a category more or less servile, into which the lower population was divided, aspired to freedom, while in their spirit the instincts of emancipation must have risen up, with its desires and aspirations, so much more ardent in proportion as the vexations and oppressions over them became more violent and less hallowed by ancient institutions, now imperfectly observed or altogether laid aside.

In the chronicles of the Monk of Albaida and of Sebastian of Salamanca, the two most trustworthy sources of the political history of the primitive existence of Oviedo and Leon, when describing the reign and times of King Aurelius (763—774), we find a fact which characterises that reign. Its importance was such that both chroniclers, while cursorily describing the history of the monarchy during the eleven years of its duration, especially mention this fact. This was a popular revolution. "In the reign of Aurelius," says the Monk of Albaida, "the serfs who had rebelled against their masters were reduced to their former state of servitude by a stratagem." And Sebastian of Salamanca, when speaking of this same reign of Aurelius, further says, "The liberated serfs, taking up their arms, rebelled tyrannically against their own masters, but, subdued by a stratagem of the prince, were reduced to their former servitude." Historians,

who are generally more careful to point out chronological events than to weigh the importance of facts, pass over with indifference this notable event. Its value, however, as an indication of the great number who had proceeded, freely or otherwise, to the Asturias, considered under a different aspect, is a proof of what we have already advanced. The sentiment of liberty had vibrated in the spirit of the masses, while oppression, instead of becoming legitimatised by institutions, depended solely on power. Both chroniclers designate the condition of the revolutionists by words which, in their strict acceptation, mean two diverse situations. The Monk of Albaida calls them *serfs*, while Sebastian of Salamanca denominates them *liberated*. In our opinion, this proves the indefinite idea of the true position of the inferior classes, and that both manners of expression represent more or less the undefined state of dependence which, participating of diverse gradations of inferiority, precisely assigned and distinct among the Goths, were but vaguely determined in the new monarchy which rose up amid the ruins of the former one.

The victory of Aurelius, or, rather, that of the nobles or warrior class, against the serfs or colonists, brought upon them, doubtlessly, new oppressions and vexations. Nevertheless, we do not believe that the difference in the public and private code of laws of the Goths respecting slaves was then restored, but probably was reduced to increasing their duties, and leaving them more greatly at the mercy of the caprices of the powerful. The assertion of the chroniclers that Alfonso II. re-established Gothic institutions in both civil and ecclesiastical laws proves the former state of anarchy, and, despite this restoration, the existence of the servile classes appears to us still more uncertain and fluctuating during the reign of this prince (791—842). There exist documents respecting a donation made by him to the See of Oviedo, in which, after stating certain properties and ecclesiastical furniture for the Divine worship, he includes a number of serfs bequeathed to the cathedral for the same purpose. Among these we find mentioned a presbyter, a deacon, and many others denominated as *priests*, which the King declares he obtained by purchase. Besides these, he further bestows many serfs obtained from various individuals among the laity. All these evidently belonged to the lower classes, since he styles them *mancipia;* and he further enacts that should any escape or refuse obedience to the Church, they are to be arrested and forcibly compelled to serve. Another decree of a later date confirms in a cer-

tain sense the previous one. All these serfs, which are bound to the landed properties dowered to the cathedral, are called *families* of both *sexes* and *classes*, and in respect to these is confirmed the resolutions of the first document—that is to say, they are to be compelled forcibly to remain in the service and obedience of the Church. Therefore if, on one hand, servitude at this epoch appears complete, on the other hand, how explain the existence of priests, deacons, and slave-priests, purchased from private individuals by the King and dowered to the Church, which would be a flagrant contradiction, not only in the spirit, but also with the letter of the Visigothic legislation and ancient canons? Does not this show that the species of organisation introduced by Alfonso II. into his States was little more than that of regulating the temporal power and the episcopacy, leaving the condition of the inferior classes in a great measure uncertain, and this appears confirmed by the manner the chroniclers express themselves? What we deduce from these and analogous documents is the fact that these families of serfs included all forced colonists, subject to the solution of especial censors, and to personal services more or less oppressive, imposed on the lands which were distributed, and that the properties conceded to the See of Oviedo were those they dwelt in, and which they tilled or would in future cultivate. If the ancient distinction of plebeians, serfs, and freedmen existed in a positive manner, it would be impossible that some vestiges should not appear about this date.

The restoration of the ancient public and private code of the country must have been slow, in practice at least, however much it might be admitted in theory, meanwhile that society became organised in such a manner as the needs or advantages of the moment permitted. A thousand circumstances, which would be difficult in our day to estimate, placed individuals and affairs in positions which induced rights and duties that were not always possible to reconcile with the Visigothic legislation. The complicated system of dividing the servile classes, or nearly so, and its relation with them, as well as the complex jurisprudence which the Germanic adopted from the Romans, demanded a more peaceful and permanent existence than that afforded by the population of the new monarchy. To the troubled and uncertain state of the country, the rudeness of customs and ideas repelled the subtilty, the juridical heights, and therefore the servile subjection of those times appear before us with a more simple character.

We have seen in a general way the transformation through which

servitude passed during the ninth and tenth centuries, a transformation which essentially became more permanent until the separation of Portugal from the Leonese kingdom. The desire of liberty was no less vivid, nor manumission considered an act less generous, because although it was materially improved, servitude was still grievous and scorned.

The movement of the Mosarabic race towards the north and west, in combination with the progress of the Christian conquests, enabled the population of the monarchy of Oviedo and Leon to increase very considerably.

Such were the varied positions of the labouring classes, of the tribute-payer, in the widest acceptation of the word, until the separation of Portugal. Free colonists, or attached to Crown properties, families of serfs or belonging to the land, proprietors or rustic knights, labourers or *juniores*—all, in a word, are developing the industrial activity of the country, by cultivating the land under the different gradations of dominion which are passed on from father to son, and who support, by the various tributes and taxes imposed upon them, the elevated classes, meanwhile that they combat the Saracens side by side with them, and support by the sweat of their brow the King, the Church, and the whole machinery of the State. Despised as a class, subjected to brutal violence and treatment, nevertheless they attain by degrees to become a power in themselves. United to the monarchy, and the monarchy to them, through convenience or common necessity, the municipality springs up from that union, and the inferior population commences to resist violence and lawlessness, until it attains not only to repel force by force, but to convert itself into a political whole.

While endeavouring to investigate the manner of existence and position of the inferior classes from the commencement of the Christian reaction up to the separation of Portugal, and when searching obscure records and written laws, we have frequently had to allude to tributes, aggrarian prestation, and personal services which oppressed them. Pursuing the system in regard to the Visigothic society, it would be due now to individualise the varied grievances which weighed on the people, were it not that all these become reproduced in the primitive state of Portuguese society, which we shall be called upon to study and define in the progress of its national history with far more individuality than we could do so here.

By referring to ancient epochs, we simply wished to show the origin

and identity of Portuguese society under one of her two aspects, and enable the reader to comprehend the reason why we find during the infancy of the monarchy a portion of the people distributed and established side by side with the municipalities under certain conditions and manner of existence.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

PART THE THIRD.

General idea of the territorial division of the kingdom during the first epoch of the monarchy, viewed under the administrative aspect—Civil condition of the population at the beginning of the twelfth century—Gradual progress of personal liberty—Forced conscription becomes voluntary—Classification of the various groups—Rural cavalry—Its origin, and characteristic conditions of existence—Various degrees of rural knights—Leaseholds, royal farms, and other estates—Royal farmholders and their varied modes of existence—Condition of ratepayers—Cottagers and other tenants—Summary.

Let us in imagination transport ourselves to the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, when the independence of the crown of Alfonso I. had been firmly established, the Saracen frontiers withdrawn to beyond the Tagus and the Guadiana, the limits of Leon proximately assigned on the north and east to their present boundary, and Portugal at length constituted one of the kingdoms dismembered from the ancient monarchy of the Goths after the restoration. From thence let us glance around us, and endeavour to sketch the principal outline of the social topography of the kingdom. Let us imagine that we stand on the height of a *serra*, from whence on either side extends a line of mountains, hills, and cliffs, interspersed with woods and forests; valleys divided by rivers or streams, extensive plains, uncultivated wastes, rank and overgrown with weeds; in a word, a vast territory, with all the varied accidents of a land more or less mountainous as is that of Portugal. Two or three territories or districts divide this large extent of land in the administrative, military, and judicial order.

A cliff-bound castle may be seen rising up, perchance erected in the eleventh century, and once the capital of the district. Farther on, or around it, stands a cluster of humble dwellings constituting a *villa*, a generic denomination of any grange, village, or hamlet, as well as of a more important municipality, and corresponds in its vague signification to the modern expression of *town*. In each of these tracts of land, extending to some leagues, are seen lines of bulwarks defining or circumscribing the *park*, or grounds of a church, or of a noble residence, or of a military order, a powerful monastery, or denotes the limits of an

ancient municipality, or, maybe, a new institution. There are, however, spots where this line of stone bulwarks (*patrones*, *petrones*) becomes lost to the sight, and where a tree, a channel, the stream of a river, a line of hills, marks the boundary of privileged lands, particularly those of the municipalities. But within these exceptional places, as well as outside them, residences, villas, granges, ploughed lands, vineyards, chestnut plantations, rural temples, and other vestiges of civil existence appear side by side with these wild forests, wherein dwell the bear and the wild boar, the stag, and game of all descriptions, to indicate that the country is still in a barbarous state, and but little populated. The distinguising mark of these privileged spots is the residence of the nobleman rising above the huts clustered around it—the palace of the lord or the peer. In the ecclesiastical park is seen the monastery or the cathedral, lifting up its massive square towers above the borough or episcopal city. In the commanderies of the military orders tower the preceptories, the dwelling (*mansio*) of the warrior-monks on the borders of the councils, which are as yet scarcely established in the districts, while within these limits, and in the centre of the population gathered together, rise the municipal or Government offices, or perchance only the church, where, in its grounds or churchyard, meet together the people to deliberate upon parish affairs, while in the already established and perfectly organised municipalities stand the castle and the governor's residence, or *palatium* of the chief alcaide, magistrate, or commander of war, who, while extending one hand to the rustic burgher, and the other to the King, unites these two powers. These are the material indications which define the exceptions to the general system of government, and mark the tracts of land over which the King no longer acts as administrator and as the chief of justice and of war—scarcely rules, in a more or less indirect or imperfect manner.

These privileged places, which are inhabited and cultivated as the rest of the kingdom, contain families and individuals of the inferior classes as labourers and otherwise.

The primitive, common form of popular organisation which the Leonese Monarchy bequeathed to Portugal in its infancy was not municipal. At the commencement of the twelfth century councils already existed on Portuguese territory which were more or less complete in their organisation, and these increased steadily in numbers and importance during the first epochs subsequent to the separation,

and served to render the development of the municipal principle a prominent feature in the reign of Alfonso I., and more so marked the reign of Sancho I.—names venerated by all who view in the establishment of municipalities the only bulwark for true liberty. But notwithstanding the constant progress of this great political element, its predominance during the thirteenth century was, at least in the provinces north of the Mondego, an exception. By individual or collective contracts since remote times, the rural agriculturist dwelt on the land he fertilised by his labour, and his mutual relations with the King and State were individual and direct.

The whole kingdom was divided into districts, which were both military and administrative, called lands (*terras*), and these were governed by a supreme chief, in the person of a nobleman, called *rico-homen* or *tenente* (*ricushomo*, *diveshomo*, *tenens*), and oftentimes lord of the land (*dominus terre*). These districts constituted likewise *shires* judicial, villages (*judicatum*), whose magistrate was simply called judge, or judge of the land (*judex*, *judex terre*). Besides the nobleman and the judge, there was a fiscal officer or major-domo (*maior*, *maiordomus*, *supermaiordomus*, *maiordomus-maior*), who undertook the collection of royal dues, a designation usually applied to all rates of the State. These districts were usually subdivided into prestimonies (*prestimonium prestamum*)—that is to say, into a certain portion of residences, villages, or parishes, the rents of which in part or wholly reverted in favour of one holder or receiver (*prestamarius*), and were the emolument for some public office—generally military, but sometimes civil appointment. Royal dues which had not this application constituted, in part or wholly, the revenue of the *rico-homen*, who had, in the castles not belonging to any council, a governor, or *castellan* (*castellarius*, *castellanus*), who was a subordinate, and who corresponded in a military sense to the chief alcaide of the municipalities. In course of time, the progress of cultivation, and increase of population, the villages also became divided, and some districts, in their turn, likewise divided into several villages. The judge had his subaltern officers, who, it appears, were substituted by royal *porters* and many other inferior officers, who collected imposts and rents, many of which were paid in kind, and rendered a large staff indispensable in those days.

Such was the judicial and administrative organisation of districts into which the kingdom had been divided. We shall now examine the

situation of the lower classes or families established in these districts, and subject to such ministers and officials of the King.

We have seen that in Leon, and as a consequence in Portugal, which was still a Leonese province, the population was variously distributed. With the exception of the Saracen serfs, the last degree in the social scale were the serving classes, or belonging to the land; these were followed by the free colonists, *juniores*, or labourers; above them were the land-owners or non-noble proprietors, subject only to the public tributes and offices—in a word, representatives of the Roman *holder* and of the Goth *private*, precursors of the modern citizen. All these gradations, included under the generic denomination of *villani*, continued to subsist separated during the first epoch of our history; and all these composed the complex population of the territories, non-nobles, non-ecclesiastical and non-municipal, subject immediately to the administrative hierarchy above described. We shall commence by serving men joined to the glebe. The transformation which they passed through at that epoch is, in our opinion, a fact which has been altogether ignored in our history, but which, nevertheless, is undoubted.

When the twelfth century commenced the servile classes appear in documents as holding the same place as in the eleventh. The colonists, whether joined to the royal glebe lands or private property of a noble or the Church, were all called alike serfs, and their children equally with them were serfs. We will quote a passage from a work written at the epoch when the monarchy was about to commence, and which explains the position of families under various aspects of the servile class. The principal personages mentioned are familiar to our readers.

"At that conjuncture the Queen D. Urraca affirmed that various priests of the church of Santiago, Diogo Budanense, and his brothers Pelagio and Pedro, and to their generations, with all their possessions *(cum tota sua hereditate)*, were of the race of serfs *(capite censos)*, and wished to prove by many arguments that they ought to give their services under the condition of serfs. However, as they were canons of Santiago, the Bishop Diogo Gelmires, profoundly grieved at this dishonour and injury, addressed repeatedly to the Queen appeals for her to desist from her demands, for the love of God and of St. James, and in remission of her sins, to leave the said clergy in peace, and to exercise the legitimate right of liberty. The Queen condescended, and not only did she cease to molest them, but decided to number them among her intimate and most favoured individuals."

Thus we see that men of the servile class had, when bound to a certain possession, received a clerical education, and were invested with ecclesiastical dignities. But the invisible bond which united them to

the land wherein they were born had been silently watched by the vigilant eye of the fiscal commissioner, until the moment when he judged opportune to awaken them to the sad reality of their original condition.

Yet when liberated afterwards by an act of royal munificence, did they, perchance, yield up to the fiscal right the possessions to which they were linked? We believe so, since in the above-quoted passage only their persons are mentioned. Similar examples could be indefinitely multiplied to prove this external fact found in the Leonese Monarchy—the strict union between the servile man and the land. The idea of colonist is in relation to dominion what is equivalent to the idea of glebe. In common parlance, and even in legal language, are vocabularies and phrases employed to represent one or other.

But the internal fact, hidden, the servitude which bound the labourer to the soil he rendered fertile by the labour, did this remain unchanged? Social progress, which transformed the Roman servant from an object into a person, and the Visigothic serf into an *adscriptus glebæ*, did it not more or less alter the position of the Leonese bondsman? Many circumstances which ought to diminish gradually the personal nature of bondage took place. These were such that in time they must needs destroy it altogether. Notwithstanding the intimate association, the absolute dependence of the land where we meet the colonists, we begin to find a deficiency of documents in the twelfth century wherein any material violence is offered to individuals to compel them to reside against their will on the property they cultivated, a violence we saw legalised even in the preceding century. Later on by the manumitted found it is clearly proved that they refer to Saracen slaves, converted or not to Christianity, while from the obscure and doubtful records it cannot be certainly affirmed that they refer to bondsmen or serfs by race. We see that many circumstances concurred to transform the bondsman into a free colonist, although that transformation be slow; hence it is impossible to assign a precise date. We know for certain that this emancipation took place between the end of the eleventh century and the commencement of the thirteenth.

The principal cause which contributed to alter the state of glebe servitude was the institution and rapid increase of municipalities, a fact which coincides exactly with the epoch in which we see all vestiges

of forced bondage disappearing from documents. In the history of councils we find that one of the incentives employed to attract population was to turn them into asylums for the guilty. Many charters include this clause, and where some kinds of criminals are excepted no exception is ever made of colonists who have fled from their masters; rather, at times, it is expressly declared that the serf who sought for protection to the council's lands was to remain free. Hence, in proportion as municipal organisation became widened throughout the provinces, so also did it become more difficult to constrain the colonist to inhabit the glebe, particularly if the neighbouring council was established on waste lands or upon a destroyed town which it was wished to restore, and where there were lands to distribute to the new-comers. On the other hand, the immunities of the nobleman's park or of the church—immunities which were oftentimes absolute—offered likewise a refuge against oppression to the *adscriptus*, not only in the Crown lands, but likewise in the properties and possessions of other nobles and churches. Therefore it is obvious that on invoking the established right respecting the adhesion to the glebe, and resorting to public or private force in order to retain the colonist, it would not be always the means most safe to obtain the desired end, and oftentimes it would be necessary to employ interest, and admit the spontaneity of the serf, and as a consequence accept the principle of personal liberty.

Another cause tending to alter the characteristics of servitude was the existence of Moorish slaves. In condition equal to the ancient Roman serfs, reduced to the qualification of things, and as such a permanent example of all that is odious in the absolute denial of personal liberty, this fact must have been repugnant, at least in generous souls, to behold men of Gothic origin, and brethren of their masters by the union of belief and common country, equalled in certain cases to that debased race, an object of merchandise like any household goods or domestic animal, without rights, and almost deprived of duties or moral responsibilities. The sentiment of Evangelical brotherhood, that pure and sublime democracy which, accepting all social inequalities, conciliates them with the dignity and liberty of the individual, and to whose peaceful but incessant influence must, in a great measure, be attributed the continued progress of the emancipation of serfs during the Middle Ages, could not in this case avoid exercising a beneficent influence on facts and ideas. We make the following extract from a writer of the twelfth

century, in which may be seen how vivid was the repugnance of noble spirits to maintain the hard mark of servitude and slavery on brows purified by baptism. This narrative fully bears out in a few words our idea respecting the opinions which were current in those days in this respect. The historian narrates a raid of Alfonso Henry on the Mussalman territories of the west, and says—

"Besides large spoils, his warriors had brought and kept captive a portion of a people commonly called Mosarabes, who live under Pagan yoke and follow the law of Christ. On being acquainted with this fact, the man of God (St. Theotonio) became greatly grieved, and he who never crossed the outer door of the cloister rushed out, burning with zeal, to encounter the King and the whole army, and said to them, "O King, O thou barons, sons of the Holy Church, why do thou thus reduce to servitude thy brethren? Thou hast sinned against thy Lord and God." And after speaking to them for a short time in this wise, he threatened them with Divine wrath if they did not set at liberty that people, and the King and his warriors liberated all the Mosarabe captives, and in presence of the saint allowed them to depart freely."

By this is seen how repugnant to Christian feeling was the idea of personal servitude. In truth, the sphere of this sentiment was not yet wide enough. The good Prior of Sancta Cruz forgot in his allocution that the benefits of liberty, or at least a less brutal treatment, ought to extend to the infidels themselves. But in view of that rude epoch, in which absurd tyrannies were oftentimes reputed as rights, the noble proceeding of the monk, and prompt acquiescence of the King and his fierce band of soldiers to his words, manifest that the thought of the moral dignity of the Christian was at last commencing to penetrate the heart of society.

A third circumstance, in the material order, actuated greatly in obliterating the principle of personal restraint and servitude. This was the increase of population. In proportion as the raids and incursions of the Moors ceased to desolate a province, and the frontiers became more withdrawn towards the south, and peace, and, as far as possible, security, became established in those days, population multiplied, and as a consequence this multiplication induced an increase in the value of cultivated lands, free offers of work by degrees taking the place of cultivation by compulsion. Of the two manners by which in those days was understood the division of land labour, free colonisation and forced, the first became more natural in proportion as the acquisition of land increased. The nobles in their honours, the churches in their parks and wills, the counts, and later on the *ricos-homens* in the lands and districts which the King gave them to govern and cultivate, must have thought

less of reclaiming violently to the glebe the fugitive *adscripter*, since the free colonist voluntarily offered himself under the same, or nearly the same, conditions of personal services, while the serf, who in many ways used formerly to dread being deprived of the land whereon he dwelt, excepting when the grievances of his master or the perpetration of some crime now led him to seek refuge and property in the lands of some municipality.

From these and other causes, which it would be difficult in our days to discover, was verified a fact which monuments render indisputable. The servitude of the *man* at the commencement of the thirteenth century had been converted into *land* servitude. It was a novel phase in which society entered relatively to labour and to territorial property, the duration of which would be protracted for a long period. As we said before, this transformation, since it proceeded from causes the effects of which were slow and irregular, could only be slowly completed.

Returning to the beginning of the twelfth, or rather to the end of the eleventh century, we shall find, perchance, personal liberty established on one hand, while on the other the subjection to the glebe was protracted to a much later period. But principally in honours and parks, where the serf was immediately under the action of the master, unless the above circumstances influenced them, coercion, by forcible personal residence, must have resisted a longer time to the revolution which was worked. If, however, we seek for a precise date to this fact, we shall work in vain. To seek dates for these great social transformations is not only an error, but leads us often to assign to documents, to singular and isolated events, a value which they do not really possess.

Among the laws of Alfonso II., promulgated in 1211, we find one which contains the last vestiges of personal coercion, although as an exception, and, moreover, an illegal one. This law proclaims the principle of individual liberty, proposes an exception, and condemns it. In order to explain the text of this legislative act, which is somewhat obscure, we shall make a few observations. The text is as follows: —

"We definitely establish that any free man throughout our kingdom can enter the service of any master he may wish, with the exception of those dwelling on transferred possessions, and by will and testament these to have no other master but those of the inherited land, in which case . . . This we establish in order to secure liberty, and that any free individual may act as he judges best. If any nobleman should act against this law, let him be fined in 500 *soldos*; and should he infringe a third time, let his possessions be confiscated and he expelled out of the country."

At first glance, this law appears to be contrary to our opinion, since it supposes an existence of serfs. And, in truth, serfs did exist, but they were Moorish slaves, who lived under the rule of abject domestic servitude, although some few examples remain of being employed almost with the same rights as colonists on rural estates, and by such means they obtained their manumission. What, in reality, the law advances as a universal principle is to establish freedom to those who cultivate the land. Virtually, it is by the very fact of constraining the cultivator of the transferred estate that he declares him to be formerly an essentially free man. The interruption which unfortunately occurs in the text probably prescribed the penal law against the colonist who abandoned the colony to enter the employment of another master. The penalty certainly was the loss of the use and right of cultivating the estate, since it could not be otherwise. The disposition of the law does not distinguish, but includes all manner of colonisation—those which resulted from the former family bondage, as well as a perpetual treaty or uncertain claim, or, lastly, a simple location.

Could it be for a moment imagined that the penalty of losing personal liberty would be the consequence of infringing all these diverse hypotheses? It would be indeed placing the agriculturist, at least the free colonist, the *junior*, in a worse condition than he was at the beginning of the eleventh century, when, in the Council of 1020, so many rights and immunities were granted him, and, moreover, would belie completely all monuments and the great fact which results from this evolution, the uninterrupted progress of personal liberty. What we behold in this important legislative act is that the forced bondage which was once an institution has now become exceptional, contrary to customs, abusive—in a word, that only the knight, the nobleman, that is to say, haughty brute force practices, but which is worthy of punishment, and that severely. It is not the law which makes the revolution; that law has been already made: it is the legislator who regulates it, prevents it from trespassing the bounds of justice, from degenerating into anarchy and the severance of legitimate rights; because, at that epoch, the conditions of dividing direct dominion from the useful were such, as we shall see, that the colonist who dwelt on one estate, and cultivated another, could easily elude the fulfilment of a part of his duties in regard to the land-owner whose estate he cultivated.

Hence the bondage of the glebe in relation to persons passed away, and if any vestiges still remained, it was at the risk of those who com-

bated against human progress. We suppose these vestiges, since the law presupposes them. Decrees cease to speak of personal restraint and treaties of perpetual and hereditary servitude, by the fact of the severance of civil contracts which we find in previous centuries. This silence is highly significative, and of itself proves a hidden change, a change in harmony with the law of Alfonso II., and renders the interpretation we have given of greater certainty. But we do not attribute to our opinion a greater scope than in truth it has. If the individual is free, the land remains in bondage. The material existence of the colonist who was previously a bonded serf (*adscriptus servi*) can only be partially and indirectly ameliorated by the master when and how he judged it to be his interest to do so. What is changed is his moral position. Heavy agrarian prestations, frequent personal services, all that renders life painful in him who tills the ground, continue to subsist. What is broken is the manacle which bound the servile race to the land. On the boundary which marks the farmstead or the estate is wiped out the terrible inscription which Dante wrote on the entrance-door of hell, and hope rises up for the bondsman. Whenever the grievances become intolerable he can quit the homestead wherein he first saw the light, and seek a more humane master, or he can join some rising municipality without fear that the stern arm of the law should be drawn forth to drive him back to his native glebe.

Transformed into personally free colonists, the bondsmen enter, like *civil persons*, into the class of *juniores*, a class which likewise includes all those who cultivate the land of such who formerly had serfs. The distribution of lands considered generically, and before descending to especial modifications, becomes less complex in relation to individuals. In honours and parks property is divided between the colonist and the master, whether a noble or an ecclesiastic. In these all the cultivators are tributary more or less, some through the inheritance, others without, similarly to the former colonists of uncertain title, in accordance with the conditions under which such dominion was transmitted to them. On royal properties the position of the tiller of the soil is generally analogous to that of private lands. One vast system of colonisation, rising from the location up to almost leasehold, determines, by the nature of the farmstead, the possession, the homestead, the estate, the material situation of the colonist, without, nevertheless, presupposing the existence of a free will and personal liberty. Viewed under this aspect, we find that the inferior classes had, so to say, become equalled.

But besides the families which enter into the subdivisions of this group, and below titled lineage or nobles and the privileged classes, enters a class of individuals of the existence of whom vestiges appear in all centuries, and who, even in Leonese epochs, we find designated by the name of rural knights.

Generally in the documents of the thirteenth century most of the terms employed to designate social institutions or relations have a vague and changeable signification. The barbarous Latin in which these documents were written frequently produced a common phraseology, to which various and different significations were attributed. The word knight had a restricted value, and is the generic term to designate a noble warrior. Nevertheless, the word which, in its simple signification, gives the idea of nobility or of privilege, when joined to its contrary, *villao* (*miles villanus*), *rustic*, or *rural*, means especially the inheritor, the tributary, during an epoch when the principal characteristic of true nobility was the complete exemption from tribute. If, therefore, expressions which indicate various degrees in the social scale are vague and confused, and, as a consequence, insufficient, political and economic facts, rights, and duties, which determine the relations of each individual in regard to society, afford us generally sufficiently safe proofs to distinguish the various classes.

On examining the social conditions which characterised the Visigoth, we find that the most noteworthy was that of military service, particularly cavalry. When describing the first steps of the Asturian restoration, we endeavoured to show that this was reduced for some time to incursions or raids into Saracen territories. In these raids, solely effected with the object of deriving spoils, destroying the properties of the enemy, and attracting, willingly or unwillingly, the Mosarabe population to the new Christian possessions, certain circumstances were indispensable. The King of the Mountains or his chieftains in war, when favourable circumstances permitted, would break through the ruggedness of the serras, the deserted wastes and defiles unknown to the Mussalman conquerors, and proceed to districts which they desired to possess. The very nature of these expeditions demanded rapid marches, in order that their appearance should be unexpected and their retreat secure. Hence it was only small detachments of cavalry which could be employed with any good result. In this way horsemen would suddenly surprise the Mussalman districts or provinces. When the garrisons of the cities and fortified places were unable to repulse them

on the field, they used to retreat to the fortifications, while they summoned to their aid the troops of the adjoining districts. Meanwhile, the invaders pitched their camps on the brows of the mountains or hill-tops or in the valleys, and entrenched themselves by erecting earthworks around, in order not to be assailed, while they conveyed the Christian population to the North, and collected the spoils of the Mussalmans who had been unable to escape. Such, more or less, was the history of these expeditions, which at first constituted the whole system of warfare, and which were continued and renewed every spring for some centuries.

Hence, in properties or inheritances subject to tribute there was the charge imposed upon the holders that they be prepared to proceed, usually every spring, to any military expedition not exceeding a stated number of weeks. These men were to take horses and arms, generally lances and shields. For this object they were obliged to appear on horseback at the annual gatherings, and, in course of time, when the Neo-Gothic reaction triumphed, this state of warfare ceased to be permanent, and these raids became limited to strifes with Leon and Castille. This was the simple and general form of blood tribute, of military service, which was imposed on the higher classes of the rural districts. As circumstances varied which demanded their services, this formula became gradually changed. During the thirteenth century this tribute had become, in a great measure, converted, especially in the districts to the north of the Douro, into a fixed tax, payable either in current coin or in kind, usually in coarse linen stuff called *bragaes* (*bracales*). To the south of this river, principally in Central Beira, those who wished to avoid keeping a horse and serving in the wars paid annually an impost, commonly called *o cavallo de maio*, consisting of a *morabitino*. To all appearance, the *cavallo*, or *morabitino de maio*, was equivalent to the tax, but in essence there was a considerable difference. And by degrees, as the monarchy became definitely established, and the kingdom ceased to extend by means of warfare, these substitutions, if they concerned the free proprietor, were no less advantageous for the King, who, during a great portion of the year, could not make use of personal services which presupposed the existence of interminable warfare.

Let us now descend to describe the modifications and more noteworthy divisions existing among the rural knights and their properties. In those days all things were local and diversely modified, and perchance

there was no institution or principle universally applicable without exception. From thence proceeds the difficulty of comprehending the monuments of those epochs, and whose interpretation at times becomes almost impossible. We will, therefore, confine ourselves to the three large groups: first, properties which were simply taxed; secondly, cavalry, which were not only subject to the tax or mulct, or to an equivalent and accidental substitution, but likewise other taxes and tributes; and thirdly, those who, besides these, paid *foros* and rates and fees, and in this sense were confounded with colonists, and serving as the intermediate link between the order of rural knights and the inferior classes.

Among the conquerors mentioned and the Mosarabes who entered into Christian society by means of the aggregation of territories in which they dwelt there existed a political distinction. In the first there was voluntary and sincere adhesion, while those who were incorporated through conquest to the Neo-Gothic society were placed in a situation relatively unfavourable. Hence it was not natural that the tribute should act in the same manner on the two groups. The first and more worthy, either through their own merits or those of their predecessors, had served the common country in troublous times, when combats were more frequent and full of risks, and warfare a terrible profession. The second were entering the Leonese association when the Christian power was increasing and the Mussulman declining, and when oftentimes peace was implored by the corrupted descendants of the warrior Saracen conquerors of the Peninsula. Hence taxation, in relation to the merit of individuals, had a very diverse value. Nothing, therefore, was more natural than to subject the properties of the latter with the taxes from which the first were exempted. In this way was established between them a species of equalisation. There was likewise another impost, called *anúduva*, which consisted in personally assisting in the construction or repair of castles and royal buildings within their walls. The same causes which had originated the previous tributes brought on the imposition of *anúduvas*. In the system of warfare pursued in those rude epochs, sharp raids or incursions, with the object of ravaging fields and taking prisoners, were more common than invasions in large numbers in order to reduce a territory to submission.

This system predominated in the two rival races: if raids were unexpected and continuous on the part of the Leonese, the *ghaswats* of the Saracens were no less sudden and repeated. It is well known from whence the name of the two provinces on the Spanish frontiers was

derived which extended for a length of time along the Christian States. Castille owes its denomination to the large number of castles placed to defend the adjoining towns from the sudden entries of the infidels. This same means of defence, this construction of military asylums for the population of villages and homesteads, was employed in the territories of Portugal not only against the Saracens, but likewise against the Leonese. Hence the impost of *anúduva*, or trench tax, became the contribution in labour, which included the greater number of individuals of all the popular classes. The duty of the rural knight summoned to the erection or labour in castles and royal residences within was no more than that of presenting himself on horseback, armed with a staff, at the stated place, and directing the labourers. Should he not make an appearance, he incurred a certain fine, excepting when the substitution of a *morabitino de maio* was admitted. The substitution, however, if it exempted him from keeping a horse, did not always save him from personal service, not only in public works, but in the *milicia* or *hoste* in many districts.

A third species of farmholders belonging to the class of rural knights is distinguished from the two above mentioned by duties which bear the nature of singular imposts established especially, rather than general tributes. Besides the taxes common to the others, there are some variously imposed, and which at times include the most menial personal offices. The effective cavalry of this species, situated like the former one, principally to the south of the Douro, had, as a rule, the obligation of giving *luctuosa*, a kind of feud commonly paid by the families of colonists to the lord of the manor when their chief died. This circumstance is an important fact, because it leads us to find the origin of similar properties. These were evidently of a diverse nature to the *presurias* and patrimonial properties of the private Mosarabes. When raids became more frequent, or through the accession of provinces newly acquired, there was need to reconstruct castles perchance ruined during combats, and erect new ones; and in proportion as the families of former conquerors obtained exemption of serving in exchange for a permanent tribute, it was easy to resort to the distribution of public lands by single contracts with freedmen, including in the obligations imposed on these their services as horsemen in raids, as also in *anúduvas*.

We have, therefore, the order of rural knights, which we may properly style the aristocracy of the people, divided into three groups,

but constituting in relation to property and fiscal government two distinct species. The first is composed of the holders of land, taxed by a system of imposts general to the class; the second those whose farms are, so to say, engrafted in that of the free colonist, to which is associated the tribute and the dues of agrarian imposts, these imposts being more or less heavy and varied according to the fertility of the soil, the custom of the district, or any other local circumstance.

The properties which were tributary to the military dues were generally vast tracts of land at the time when population was scarce, and when these had arisen from primitive conquests, and in course of time passed through inevitable transformations. Inheritances brought on, in three or four generations, divisions and subdivisions of land in allodial territories, as well as in tributary and in Crown colonies. Besides this, the right of freely alienating the farms which were due to the victors and private individuals and their heirs or representatives, and the right of colonists to transfer their useful dominion, or part of it, gradually brought on a great variation in the manner of holding tributary lands. In relation, however, to the estate and tribute we discover a law or principle, although an unwritten one, but which, in a certain manner, renders it fiscally indifferent the division of property freely held or otherwise. This principle, which became reproduced in the history of the simple colonist, we find actuating in the organisation of the properties held by rural knights. This principle consisted in considering the farms of these, across all divisions and transformations, as indivisible. Whether the farmstead was curtailed or alienated partially, if the owner was a freedman, and held it as a freehold, it was considered indivisible in the solution of tribute; and if it was a colony subject to military imposts, it was held likewise in the same light in regard to tributes and prestation.

Let us imagine that some citizen victors of the ninth or tenth century had come to establish themselves on an inhabited tract of land, or in a former Gothic village which had been deserted and ruined, and that on raising new habitations, assisted by members of their respective families, had cultivated a certain portion of land. The wastes around are vast, the herds pasture together in the solitary plains, while cultivation occupies a portion of land around the homestead. Every spring these men go forth on horseback, at the call of the warrior magistrates, traversing twenty, thirty, and even a larger number of leagues, carrying devastation and death into the bordering Saracen

frontiers. At the end of a few weeks they return, oftentimes laden with spoils, which enables them to live a more easy existence, and to extend the circuit of their rural labours. The families of these intermarry and form new families, and their children and successors multiply their dwellings until the waste lands disappear, and they become, in their turn, further circumscribed by lands of inferior quality. The rustic citizens at length join the Crown colony, the dominions of the noble, the territories of the Church, with the patrimonial lands, which, despite every revolution, have been preserved in a state of cultivation and inhabited. Then this population, which grew up and marched from valley to valley, from field to field, now turns back to itself; and this increase of population and death of the heads of families induce the need of division of homesteads and land, and agriculture becomes more methodical, by obtaining from smaller portions of land a larger amount of profit, and, as a consequence, demand from the cultivator his best efforts and his personal supervision. On the other hand, these annual raids become more difficult to continue, owing to distance, and warfare begins to lose daily the character of incursions to conquer or to take permanent possession of places, meanwhile that the spoils ceased to compensate for the losses suffered by the proprietor, when for many weeks he abandoned his estates and the cultivation of the land to proceed to the annual expeditions. Hence, at first, while the succession of generations did not necessitate the division of farm-lands, it was only natural that each new landowner should proceed to the wars, with his horses and arms, and join his military chief; but later on this charge began to be held binding on the property, and not on the individual or family, although the property might be divided among several, until at length, as we have seen, this personal service, in progress of time and circumstances, became exchanged or substituted for an annual sum either in money or goods. This condition of progress induced analogous situations in the three groups, and the dues and imposts of rural knight, and townsman, and colonist became charged on the original holder, and nearly always in the line of primogeniture. One individual alone presents himself with his steed for the raid, pays the tribute, and, if necessary, gives his life, while the rest contribute in proportion to the expenses for these expeditions. A part of the ancient Roman system of imposts comes into action; the union of many holders or *possessors* under one, the tributary *caput*, the imaginary entity created by fiscal science, rises up.

The fact and name are ancient. Was it a casual phenomenon? Was it a tradition, never to be put aside? This is a question which we confess to be insoluble.

There is a fact in the history of the Crown colonies which appears at first sight incredible. This is the large number of simple *reguengos*, or royal farms, which still existed at the end of the thirteenth century, and which continued far into the following one. How was it that although constantly converted into tributary inheritance, a conversion which no less interested the colonists than the King, and notwithstanding the providences of 1265, the complex of which must have powerfully influenced this conversion, so many of these simple royal farms continued to exist? This question leads us to state some particulars relative to the origin of public property, and which will afford the reader some idea of the diverse position of the colonists.

The origin of colonies in their principle we have already fully stated. In the provinces to the south of the Mondego and of the Tagus, the theatre of sanguinary wars during the twelfth and thirteenth centuries, there existed the same differences between rural knights, yeomen, royal farm-holders (*reguengos*), and between their respective properties, as in the provinces of the North. But in these the population was far more spare, and municipal circumscription embraced the greater portion of the territory. The Leonese system of organisation, the adscription to the glebe, did not formerly exist in them, because no fixed institution could prevail, even of those which the Mosarabes had preserved under the Saracen yoke. All important towns before and after the conquest were strongholds and fortified places. Around these were lands which were annually invaded, and therefore it was necessary to cultivate these lands by the dwellers themselves, and not by holders of farms isolated and defenceless.

The royal farms (*reguengo*) could not, therefore, spring from the conversion of the serf (*adscriptum glebe*) into freedmen, and constitute the inheritance of the Crown transmitted across centuries: it must have been, so to say, a royal acquisition, a part portioned off by the King for himself when reducing to submission any of these invaded districts, and after bestowing on the nobles, the churches, the military orders, and to councils the larger portion of lands recently acquired, but the value of which, owing to the deficiency of population, was small in comparison with that of the north. This fact is manifested in various documents. For instance, Alfonso I. endows the order of Calatrava as follows:

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"All properties and vineyards, orchards, and fig plantations, which I *took for myself* in the neighbourhood of Evora," &c.

This economic and social fact, which was carried out only on the south of the kingdom, and was the most recent and unimportant in itself, has been considered by our historians and jurisconsults as the primitive origin of the royal farms (*reguengos*), an error which, if admitted, would render it impossible to comprehend the initial situation of the Crown colonies or of the King. Nevertheless, this source of public property existed; and although it might not be the principal one, it was nevertheless the origin of the great number which subsisted during the first epoch of the monarchy. In the southern provinces, therefore, on account of the sparse population, it was only very slowly that *reguengos* could be converted into tributary hereditary farmsteads. The great causes, however, of their multiplication, and which constantly worked to neutralise the tendencies to establish a system of inheritance in families of the labouring classes, were these: At an epoch when the duties imposed on lands were most hard, and at the same time nothing was easier to the labourer than to find one to supply a farm to cultivate, when leaving the one he had occupied or possessed, the tribute-payer would naturally be remiss in fulfilling his duties to the fiscal, which produced a forfeit, or the property devolved to the Crown. On the other hand, weakness of public authority to prevent crimes, oftentimes the extortions practised on the poor and humble classes, the barbarity of customs, and many other circumstances produced crimes, among which peculation was not the smallest. These crimes brought on confiscation (*cautum* or *incautum*) of the goods of the criminal, these being added to the bulk of *reguengos*, which increased so long as they were not newly let out. Hence, even after being turned into manors, the ancient glebe of the serfs often reverted to the absolute dominion of the Crown.

Such was the position of *reguengos* and their holders, such the principal causes for the continuance on a large scale of this species of public property, held and cultivated in diverse manners. Now we will proceed to examine what these farms or lands of farms were, and the social condition of the colonists who possessed them.

The common idea of the word *jugada*, and its origin from the end of the fifteenth century, given by historians and jurisconsults, is very inexact. According to them, *jugada* was one of those royal dues, a species of census, or tax, established on certain portions of land taken from the Moors, which the King distributed to the people as patri-

monies, while he retained for himself others with full dominion, and these latter constituted initially the *reguengos*, or royal farms. It is, therefore, the same especial and secondary fact converted into a fundamental and generic one—always the one idea of conquest, of the absolute substitution of one race for another, society for society, which induces these inexact and incomplete definitions. According to the generally admitted opinion, in order to assess the taxation of the *jugada*, the *jugos*, or yokes of oxen which each farmer employed in the cultivation of each farm, was taken as the basis or measure of the tribute, and from this arose the name of the tax which exclusively characterised lands of this nature. Hence these two categories of properties, distinct from each other, co-existed since the occupation by the conquerors, and were never confounded. The holder of these, like the rural knight and colonist, is a royal ratepayer, although a labourer, and, like him, a landowner, but one who has bought his inheritance by the solution of certain services and prestimonies, and by the voluntary adhesion to the glebe; while the other purchased it by analogous duties and military service in wars and *anúduvas*, a service which served to ennoble him. The *jugada* is a purely material condition imposed on the heritage, and binds the colonist to it by a species of co-proprietorship, and not a tribute, but the symbol of a free civil contract, being a charge imposed conditionally on the free colonist by the King as proprietor, or rather as administrator of public property, and not as supreme magistrate and lawgiver.

The nobles, also the clergy and private individuals, received from their yeomen this tax. This was practised on free lands and possessions transferred from hand to hand, because personal freedom was overcoming all obstacles and becoming admitted on all sides. The *jugada* was paid in kind, as many documents of transfer prove to us, this being bread, poultry, wine, game, &c., besides money.

The tax of *jugada*, which took a yoke of oxen as the basis for assessment, although it might be considered a reminiscence of the Roman tributary system called the *jugatio*, appears constituted as a species or restriction of the generic value of the word. Two facts seem to prove this—the first, because we find generally the tribute, established on this system, constituted councils, levied on labourers and municipal taxpayers; secondly, the employment of this same system of taxation on lands immediate and singularly properties of the Crown for cultivation in the districts south of the Douro, while to the north of this river

the *jugada* appears, in the greatest number of cases, assessed regardless of this system. Councils were transformations of a former state, and the organisation of properties and of inferior classes in the northern districts of the kingdom naturally preceded that of the central and southern ones, since the conquest of these was later and more gradual. We have monuments still existing to prove that at the commencement of the twelfth century there existed two varieties of *jugada*, the *old* and the *new*. When giving charters to Viseu, D. Theresa establishes the new system for the *jugadeiros*, or labourers, who had come to populate the place. Hence the distinction between the two formulas of the same system dates as far back as that epoch, and this double existence we believe to be an indubitable fact.

This tribute of *jugada*, or yoke of oxen, is characterised by a certain uniformity. As a rule, at least to the south of the Douro, this tax was paid by a fixed quantity of bread, but its payment in wine and flax was not so fixed, although generally it was a tenth part. When, owing to the smallness of the estate or poverty of the land or deficiency of means, the land tenant employed for cultivation only an ox and a cow, or two cows, or sometimes an ox alone, this tax was proportionally diminished.

Colonists of voluntary adhesion were likewise styled *farmers* or *inheritors* of the King. Both these denominations, although sufficiently vague, were undoubtedly applicable similarly to the rural knights or esquires of both descriptions; they were subject to a *foro*, or tax, an expression in the Portuguese language which is most undeterminate as to its judicial and economic sense, because in its many and complex acceptations it signified generally only tribute, census, or prestimony belonging to the fiscal order. Like the rural knight-colonists, they were inheritors by virtue of the co-proprietorship with the Crown lands, and for that reason the direct dominion of the glebe lands lay with the King, the expression of *herdadores d'elrei* perfectly designating the fact.

We said before that these farmers could alienate their lands when the purchaser was in a position to reside on the farm or inheritance. This condition, which followed as a consequence of the fiscal system, was not only understood in the contract made, but also stated in writing. Ancient registers constantly prove this, especially from the middle of the thirteenth century. Practically, this principle, in relation to churches, monasteries, and charitable institutions, suffered evasions owing to the

influence of the clergy. The freedom of alienating property, as we learn from a number of contracts, was restricted by a formula which varied in phrase, but was always in the sense of excluding nobles, ecclesiastics, and their *men*—that is to say, their farmers and household. In this the Crown did no more than repeat what the nobles and the clergy practised in the concessions of colonies which excluded from their own lands the King's *men*, and mutually those of each other.

We have up to a certain point considered the inferior population as annexed to the soil. The analysis of the position of the citizen classes, and their distinguishing characteristics, would be well-nigh impossible without describing the history of proprietorship. At an epoch and in a country essentially agricultural the idea of labourer and farmer is almost synonymous; hence, even when forced annexation to the glebe no longer existed as a right, and, moreover, was considered repugnant and criminal, the common language retained phrases which were reminiscences of barbarian times and servitude, and the idea of the individual is confused with that of the glebe he cultivated. It was so small a matter to associate the idea of a rural head of a family with that of the agriculturist, that at first sight it is not comprehensible how outside the municipalities any individual of that sphere, and placed in this position, could support himself and family without belonging to one of the groups of proprietors or rural colonists, although other professions or trades might exist from whence they could derive a subsistence. Nevertheless, out of this association of ideas and progress of liberty there arose a new state, the most humble of the inferior classes, those of daily labourers and paid farm servants, which formed the last degree in the scale of freedmen, and became, as it were, the transition state between these and Saracen slaves.

And in effect, from the moment when families annexed to the soil could release themselves, they separately and personally sought other means of individuality. The natural increase of population, the impossibility that the glebe, originally sufficient for supporting a small family, should be sufficient to support all his descendants, the inequality of talents and degrees of activity among men, as well as many other causes, induced the separation of individuals, and forced them to resort to the labour market, since the landowners could no longer compel them to serve, nor were they any longer interested in providing for them. This crowd, whose position is undetermined, and who spring from a class not absolutely new, since it represents the free serfs of the Visigoths, and

up to a certain point the freedmen retained by law under the patronage of the owner, nevertheless hold a new position, though changing from epoch to epoch in proportion to the progress of human culture and the gradual revolution which it worked during the space of five centuries. A law of Alfonso II., promulgated at the commencement of the thirteenth century, clearly proves that the number of proletaries was sufficiently large to demand severe providences being taken against the violent passions of men to whom the revolution which was then taking place was affording a double weapon, useful, yet deadly, of freedom of will and action, privileges unknown in former times among the lower classes. The society which afforded them this weapon had also the right to constrain its use against the common weal. The proletary was free to choose a profession or trade, and to serve whomsoever he wished, but nevertheless the nation had to, and must, repel or punish the evils or crimes which might result therefrom, by compelling him to work. To these resolutions, which establish the general principle of compulsion to labour, follow others respecting the most grave question which at the present day is agitating Europe—the organisation of public labour. It is evident that in those epochs when fabrile industry did not exist, and there were not the complications which in our day render this terrible question one almost impossible to solve, the legal rules laid down in respect to labour must necessarily be limited to the cardinal point of fixing a rate of payment, especially the wages of rural work. Such is the character of the rules found in a species of tariff established in 1253 for the exchange and selling of merchandise in the more populous districts of the kingdom, those of Alemdouro, and with various modifications, no doubt, were extended to other districts of the country. In this tariff we find stated the cost of making various articles of apparel, while in respect to other objects of ordinary use the prices are fixed of the material and making. But what more directly interests our work is the assignment of the wages of *mancebos*,* or farm servants. Here we find all the humble gradations which at the present day distinguish the persons employed on an important estate rising up before us as existing in the thirteenth century. For each of them the law established a tariff of annual salaries, for payment in money, goods, and dress. It is evident that such individuals who followed these humble trades were persons who, although not holding any properties, were nevertheless perfectly

* *Mancebo.* This is the designation of inferior servants, and is evidently a derivation from *mancipium.*

free, since the law regulates the contracts for services and barterings with the proprietors and agriculturists. In the preceding centuries, when servitude was the bond of the labouring classes, and ruled labour, the rules decreed in the code of 1253 would practically be useless, and perchance incomprehensible.

After descending to the last grade of the social scale, wherein we find the various popular groups placed, if we consider the cause of these gradations we shall find that, as the predominant fact among the inferior classes, the progress of freedom in the working man characterising history during the course of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. From Christianity, from the Germanic invasions, from the especial organisation of barbarian monarchies, the development and modifications which they passed through in the midst of the strifes with the Saracens prove the restoration of municipal society under new conditions, while from the direct or indirect influence of them arose in the Peninsula the emancipation of the working man and of the labourer.

Some of these causes were from their nature transitory, while others were permanent and lasting. Other causes rose up in the shape of invasions, and their consequent reaction inducing disturbances, long and sanguinary wars, migrations, and confusion of customs and laws constituted a motive force which disunited, agitated, and dispersed to join again the social atoms called the *family*, and by its constant movement facilitated new combinations. Religion, which equalises all men before God, the monarchy, the representative and instrument of social unity, and the municipality, the grand means of spontaneous cohesion of families, the only bulwark of the humble and the weak against the powerful and strong, were, on the contrary, positive and perpetual causes of political organisation, and therefore of the progressive development of personal liberty. Meanwhile that the Visigothic monarchy, and later on the Leonese, concealed in its bosom the type of popular simplicity in the courts and ministry, in the inheritors of rural knights, the municipality restored, and with new life infused by favour of the Kings, arranged and strengthened these to resist an unlimited power, and the extortions unmercifully effected by nobles, warriors, and the powerful. Christianity, with its admirable system, promoted the liberation of the servile classes, and effecting on the spirit the grand idea of the moral dignity of the Christian, enlightened him to see his former rudeness, and induce him to acquire purer and more gentle

customs, the most efficacious means for opposing the abuses of power and wealth. The association of these elements brought on in the decline of the Middle Ages a new idea, and one of immense fruitfulness. Human liberty became the universal principle, servitude an exceptional fact. Towards the end of the thirteenth century it might be affirmed, without fear of contradiction, that personal slavery only existed in an insignificant number of labourers, working men or Saracen captives of war who had as yet not attained to be ransomed. Their co-religionists, who, by reason of spontaneous conventions, had become incorporated into Portuguese society, were personally free.

As we have said, it was at the decline of the Middle Ages that personal liberty became converted into a universal principle. And, in truth, the civilised world only then knew of it as an exception. But in order to view it in the former societies of cultured Europe, it is necessary to place ourselves in the false light from which they regarded it. The republics of Greece and Rome were barely illustrious oligarchies. What does it matter to us whether the Roman crowd in a tumult governed the field, or crouched down and swept before the most brutal and senseless of tyrannies, that of a chief of mercenary soldiers? What does it concern us if those oppressors styled Roman citizens subsisted on two *asses* * per day, stretched on the straw all the day long beneath the shadow of a portico or a tree, or whether they spent thousands of *sesterces* † daily in extravagances and luxury? They barely form two groups of oligarchies of diverse species. What does it matter whether, wisely or otherwise, in the midst of knowledge, the Roman jurisconsult or the Roman laws tell us that the serf is a man, though not a person? The serfs of societies of other times, whether of republics or empires, were the men who worked, and therefore were the majority, since they supported themselves as well as the idle ones, the citizen and the free, by the sweat of their brows. Antiquity, by debasing labour, perverted ideas, called liberty a privilege, and its exception the rule. If, however, in the brilliant republics of Europe polytheism had ruled the absolute negation of personal freedom in the labouring classes, in the rude monarchies sprung from the Asturian reaction and Christianity, this brutal negation, inherited from the Roman empire, tottered on its

* *Asses.* A Roman coin, in value about twopence sterling.

† *Sesterces.* A Roman coin or denomination of money, in value the fourth of a denarius. The *Sestertium pondus* was two pounds and a half, or 250 denarii, about seven pounds sterling.

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foundations, and in less than five centuries fell in ruins, falling to ruins in proportion as municipalities became established and spread throughout the territory under the influence of the Sceptre and the Cross, and resisting against the tyrannical impetus of the powerful, with that force which is given by union, offering within their centre a shelter to the oppressed serf, and thus teaching, or rather compelling, the privileged man to respect the working man as his own fellow-being. In this way did the Middle Ages, that troublous epoch of bloodshed and of darkness, wherein at first sight civilisation appeared to be extinguished, become in truth a period of progress. It was with the elements, political and social, bequeathed by them to the ages which followed, that modern nations were able to develop. Emancipating, and therefore morally ennobling labour in an atmosphere of liberty, the powers of intelligence and of the body worked together daily with greater energy, and with singular rapidity restored the almost defunct civilisation, until within five centuries they enabled modern arts and industries to far surpass the bounds of ancient civilisation in arts and sciences.

But, let us repeat it, in the twelfth century this progress was essentially of the moral order and in part hidden. Supposing that the *adscriptus* or their families continued to dwell voluntarily on the Crown lands, their position did not always, and perchance rarely improved, whether they remained as simple farm-holders (*reguengueiros*) or under their new title of feeholders or tributaries. Rations, tithes, and taxes, grievous and varied, diverse and multiplied services, personally weighed upon them as formerly, or with small difference. Notwithstanding that these imposts might devolve on the glebe, and despite that these could evade them by forsaking the land, oftentimes this entailed a greater sacrifice than all the grievances to which they were subjected. The revolution did not pass, could not suddenly sweep over and produce the well-being of the multitude, because, similarly to all revolutions destined to last, it proceeded from the interior towards the exterior, from ideas to facts. Hence, in studying the position of the inferior classes during the first period of our history, we have limited ourselves to the examination of the personal conditions of each one. In its other phase, that of their material state, we have viewed it in the analysis of tributes. This analysis, which constitutes the most interesting part of the history of public administration, is at the same time the complement to the sketch of the social and economic condition of the people. Yet it behoves us to witness its organisation in the municipalities, where taxation still

weighs on them, although in a less hard manner. It is only afterwards that the nature of the royal power, the action of government, and, as a consequence, the fiscal system, can be properly valued. Then will it be proper for us to say we have comprehended, as far as the distance of the times allows us, the primitive character of Portuguese society.

END OF SEVENTH BOOK AND OF VOL. I.

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THE

HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

VOLUME II.

FROM THE

REIGN OF D. DINIZ

TO THE

REIGN OF D. ALFONSO V.

1279–1481.

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(COMPILED FROM PORTUGUESE HISTORIES.)

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

VOLUME II.

INTRODUCTION.

THE DAWN OF A GLORIOUS REIGN.

The Portuguese nation was entering the last quarter of the thirteenth century, and to all appearances its independence had become fully established. The Mussalman hosts had been repulsed far beyond the frontiers; the border lines of Leon and Castille acknowledged and respected its now uncontested autonomy. In the interior, however, the three great powers which ruled the State—the King, the Clergy, and the Nobility—were greatly divided among themselves, and the former strife for predominance was rekindled, dragging down into rival bands nobles and plebeians, and disseminating throughout the whole country nought but intrigues, jealousies, rapine, and perchance ruin.

The Pontificate, which, although already in the decadence as regards the civil power it exercised, was still powerful, and had fulminated over the head of Alfonso III. excommunications, releasing all Portuguese subjects from their duties of loyalty and obedience to the King.

For eleven years had the aged monarch, freed from foreign war, continued, with a tact and perseverance admirable at that epoch, the great civilising work of organising finance, promoting the increase of population, developing agriculture, and, by national works, raised the position of the inferior classes, and strengthened the institution of Councils by admitting them to take a part in the political assemblies of the nation; in a word, he administrated and governed this new and small kingdom in the highest signification of the word—this kingdom which was destined, with its maritime genius, to inscribe one of the most glorious pages in the history of the human race.

But the social reforms of Alfonso III., as they deeply affected the privileges and extraordinary abuses of the nobility, and more especially of the clergy, brought upon him the odium of the Episcopacy, and raised the pontifical sword over his head, and a fearful storm burst around him.

When the year 1279 commenced, it became impossible, for the preservation of peace and public prosperity, that Alfonso should continue on the throne of Portugal. The monarch found himself surrounded by circumstances almost identical with those of his brother, Sancho II., when he, a simple Infante and Count of Boulogne, assisted by his present enemies, easily drove from the throne the brave soldier, and plucked from him the crown.

But on this occasion nature was more careful of the nation. The King, if not advanced in years, was broken down by trials and sorrows, and, moreover, in ill-health. He perceived, as we have seen in the first volume, that in order to bequeath the sceptre to his son, it was necessary to effect a treaty with his adversaries—to promise and to affirm, and induce and compel Diniz to promise also, and to pledge his word to all they should demand, almost to the point of abdicating royal power at the feet of the Episcopacy. Yet what he considered most important was to preserve to the legitimate heir the crown and the kingship; the rest depended on the future. He had sworn to the Treaty of Paris, yet knew, later on, how to withdraw altogether. Hence he left to his son the crown and a deep lesson.

But whether it was this mental reservation proper to his duplicity of character and shrewdness, or the fear of canonical censures and the terrors of death, which moved Alfonso III. to reconcile himself with the clergy before his death, is a subject which, besides its difficulty to solve, does not belong to us here to examine. The fact was this—that both pledged their obedience to the Roman bulls exacted by the Pontificate, and that three weeks later the monarch expired. The public peace had been re-established, and the crown passed to his first-born without any serious contestation, and even with almost unanimous assent.

None of the systems of government which exist and rule at the present time the civilised world governed Portugal in those days. There existed, by tacit agreement, the general right of an hereditary monarchy, but it was neither absolute nor representative. The government was of a mixed character, in which predominated diverse

powerful elements. It was theocratic, because all its powers, more or less, were subjected by the national clergy and the great power of the Holy See, to which the kingdom from its foundation had constituted itself tributary—an idea which was declining, but which still existed, and because in the canon right consisted, in many points, the only legislation in vigour, partaking of feudalism, because the *ricos-homens*, the cathedrals, the monasteries, and the military orders divided among themselves a great part of the kingdom, and in their lands exercised plenary jurisdiction, with an almost complete independence of the central power, commenced, although incipiently, to become popular and democratic, by reason of the importance which the municipalities daily acquired, and due also to the growing power of the Cortes, which in a short time assumed a notable importance. It was monarchical and hereditary, because from the Count D. Henry royal power had been transmitted by inheritance to one only individual, whom all acknowledged as the supreme administrative, judiciary, political, and, above all, military chief of the nation.

Royalty enjoyed in itself the glorious traditions of nearly two centuries of victories, during which it always stood at the head of nobles (fidalgos), the popular classes conquering, inch by inch, the territory from the hands of the infidels, and defending it from the ambitious pretensions of Castille and Leon; it was the power anointed and blessed by the Papacy, it constituted the unity of the nation, and represented it before the Cortes and foreign princes. Hence, despite the internal weakness of the royal power, the King was an entity in whom the people of that time, ignorant and semi-barbarian, placed all their hopes, and from whence so much of the future of the kingdom depended.

In order, therefore, to continue the history of the kingdom, it becomes necessary to describe the King himself; both shall be done simultaneously.

D. Diniz was born in Lisbon, on the 9th October, 1261, a city for which, from his earliest infancy, he ever manifested a singular affection. He received the name of Diniz, hitherto unused in any of his predecessors of the monarchy, or even among his parentage, from the fact that he first saw the light on the day when the Catholic Church commemorates the feast of Saint Denis the Areopagite, and Saint Denis the Apostle of Gallias, Bishop of Paris and martyr. Taking the latter saint as his celestial patron, he dedicated to him,

besides other churches, the sumptuous monastery of Odivellas, which he elected for his sepulchre—characteristic traits of that epoch of ardent religious devotion.

Alfonso III. was a prince enlightened for that age and for the country he belonged to. He had travelled and resided for a length of time in France, a country that in those days rivalled Italy in the first dawn of cultured civilisation; and later on when directing the public affairs of the State, he felt the need of giving the future king a culture both spiritual and scientific. Hence he endeavoured to afford his future heir the highest possible education.

Scarcely had the Infante attained a proper age, than he appointed as his tutor Lourenço Gonçalves Magro, an enlightened, lofty spirit, who possessed in himself the most glorious traditions of the charge, since he was the third grandson of Egas Moniz, the celebrated and legendary tutor of Alfonso Henry. He likewise appointed for the royal pupil Nuno Martins de Chacim, a member of the first nobility, erudite and experienced in the art of governing. He had also as professors, ecclesiastics distinguished in letters, whom Alfonso III. sent for to France, nominating a Portuguese called Domingos Jardo, a student of the celebrated University of Paris, of whom we shall have occasion to speak further on; and Aymeric d'Ebrard, a native of Aquitania, a deep student, and probably a lover of Provençal poetry.*

Such were the preceptors and masters of the Prince who was to govern Portugal for forty-six years, of the only erudite king-lover of letters of the Alfonsine dynasty, of the most illustrious monarch of the few who, among the Portuguese, knew how to unite to the arid and difficult office of governing, the sentiment of the culture and beauty of poetry.

The advantages which the monarch and the nation gathered relatively from this elevated education, besides being proved amply by history, proves likewise to us the nation's gratitude which has preserved the remembrance for ages of the names of the perceptors, and the recognition of their services that Diniz himself manifested to them when he ascended the throne.

* D'Ebrard was the son of the Lord of Saint Sulpice in Quercy, and belonged to a noble family of Cahors. He was a great lover of his country, and in it he erected a monastery in the valley of Paradis d'Espagne, where he desired to be buried. "Even to this day," says Fr. Diniz in 1846, "is seen the Church of the Convent and the simple tomb of the preceptor of the Poet-King of Portugal, over whose spirit he exercised so great an influence."

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To the descendant of Egas Moniz he gave the town of Arega, a donation he expressly confirmed later on, when revoking all the donations unofficially made during the first years of his reign. Chacim he appointed as his *Major-domo-mor*, the highest office in the Royal household and in the administration of the kingdom, and later on raised him to *Frontiero-mor* of the best districts or provinces of Portugal. Ebrard was elevated to the important bishopric of Coimbra, and Domingos Jardo to that of Lisbon.

The education of princes ought to be one of the gravest cares of hereditary monarchies, because by their birth they inherit the mission of directing the nations; hence it is indispensable that the refinement of intellectual culture should enable them to discharge that office. It is imperative that knowledge of letters, of history, and a general idea of the sciences, and, above all, love of the country, and of progress and justice, be instilled into them. In a word, it is necessary to instruct, form, and invigorate their character.

Nothing of this was wanting to D. Diniz. In his intelligent and well-disposed nature the sound seed of education germinated as far as the few years during which his education lasted and the rudeness of the times permitted. Behold the reason why he became a notable monarch in the annals of the country. But very quickly, perhaps prematurely, did political circumstances initiate him in the practice of governing.

As it belongs to the history of his father, we shall repeat in passing, that it was in the name of Diniz, when yet in his cradle, that Alfonso III., in order to obtain peace and dominion, although conditionally and limited, of the Algarve, constituted this kingdom with the obligation of assisting Castille with fifty lances in the event of war. The Infante remained, in respect to that portion of his future states, subject to the suzerainship of his maternal grandfather, Alfonso X.

And ere a few years had passed, this treaty of feudal obligation was called into action. The Mussalmans of Spain rose up against Castille, and it was feared that their co-religionists of Africa would make a supreme attempt to succour them and recover their former empire on this side of the Strait.

The Pope aided Alfonso X. with what means he had at command. He allowed him for this holy war one-tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues, not only of Leon and Castille, but even of Portugal. In order to avoid contentions, and deliver the kingdom from an invasion of

collectors of the pontifical imposts, and perchance to deliver himself from the suzerainship of the Algarve, Alfonso III. sent Diniz to the King of Castille with numerous reinforcements by land and sea.

As we said before, the Infante was about four or five years of age. In Seville he was received by his grandfather with all affection, and as the dreaded tempest had become dispelled, and aid was not required, the royal infant manifested such charms, and pleaded with such grace, and his tears were so moving that the grandfather dispensed his grandchild from the fee of fifty lances, and thus the Algarve remained since then fully and exclusively united to the Portuguese nation.

It would be puerile to ascribe the good result of this grave affair to the intelligence of so tender a child, but that he certainly showed an aptitude for governing appears manifested by other acts.

He was little more than sixteen years of age when his father associated him to the administration of the kingdom. All affairs were transacted in the name of the aged monarch, but it was the Infante who effected the general business with the Ministers of State, and who presided at the resolutions of affairs.

To enable him to be surrounded with greater splendour, and perchance, as some suppose, in order to further develope his superior education, Alfonso III. on the 20th June, 1278, assigned to him a separate palace for his residence, and constituted a numerous court of dignitaries and servitors, chosen among the noblest fidalgos of the kingdom, and allowed him, besides properties and endowments, a rental of forty thousand pounds per annum. Soon after this event the Infante departed from Lisbon to visit the kingdom and manifest himself to the people.

These facts, exceptional as regards the heir to the throne, nevertheless had a great aim in the deep, far-seeing spirit of Alfonso III. He was ambitious of power, not alone for himself, but also for his direct posterity. He had gained the crown at a great price, and had enlarged it at the cost of many vexations and labours; and at the approach of death he felt it totter on his brow, and foresaw the possibility that his beloved son might lose it also. As we have seen, this very power he had wrenched seemed now to be slipping from him.

Stricken down by sickness, for years he had been on the bed of suffering, and for political convenience he exaggerated the evil in order to deceive his adversaries.

D. Diniz possessed a precocious intellect, affable, and courteous, and he had as yet no evil adversaries. Hence Alfonso was educating him to wield the glorious, yet difficult inheritance he was bequeathing to him, by laying a part of the affairs of government on his shoulders, since he was no longer able to support the whole weight; and, above all, accustom the Portuguese to consider his eldest son their future king by right, and actually accept him as such, thus destroying all possible reluctance, and smoothing, with the amiable candour of the Infante, the odiums and oppositions of his personal adversaries—all these reasons were ruling the heart of the father, and acting on his spirit as an ambitious king, and almost the founder of the collateral dynasty. In all public documents Alfonso III. declared D. Diniz his eldest son and heir to the throne, a fact which had not previously been done with any Infante. In order to further this scheme, both father and son pledged oaths of obedience to the exigencies of the Church, thus entering into a treaty of peace with their obstinate adversaries.

By this act the aged but shrewd monarch dispelled from over the head of his successor the fearful storm which, during his latter days, had hovered and swept around the couch of his terrible sufferings and death agony.

Alfonso III. died on 16th February, 1279. On that same day D. Diniz, who scarcely numbered eighteen summers, was proclaimed, with all the traditional solemnities of the act, King of Portugal.

It was the day-dawn of youth lifting up the dark shadows of the past which surrounded the iron crown of Alfonso Henry, and was the presage to the country of the inauguration of a long period of peace and civilisation.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FIRST.

1279—1325.

THE REIGN OF D. DINIZ.

First acts of the new Government—Marriage of D. Diniz—Discords arise with his brother—Relations of Portugal with Castille during the reigns of Alfonso X. and Sancho the Brave—Position of the Church in regard to the civil power—First and second Concordats—Public instruction—Foundation of the University—Literature—Last two Concordats—Relations between Portugal and Castille during the minority of Ferdinand IV.—The sons of the Infante D. Alfonso are rendered legitimate—Treaty of Alcanizes—Relations with Castille and Aragon—The nobility—Orders of chivalry—The Templars—The Order of Christ—Santiago—The administration—Population—State of agriculture—Mining—Commerce—Various industries—The navy—Civil war—Death of D. Diniz—Syntheses.

THE solicitude manifested by Alfonso III. to consolidate the throne for his son, D. Diniz, was fully justified by the events which followed. The aged monarch had, for the time being, overcome the obstacles by the means already mentioned, and was, moreover, assisted by the fact that, happily, there did not exist any individual in the kingdom of sufficient importance or power to come forward to contend with the youthful king.

At first, it is true, the acclamation of D. Diniz as king gave rise to some murmurs, but these were so weak and unimportant that they did not check the course of public affairs. It was said that in France there lived a son of Alfonso III. by his first consort, Mathilde of Boulogne, called Robert. It was also affirmed that in Portugal there actually existed another son, called Alfonso Diniz, and that both were legitimate sons of the deceased king, and older than the Infante who had been elevated to the throne, and therefore to them the crown belonged.

Time and the investigation of the question dispelled these reports. Count Robert, who succeeded to the State of Boulogne, was the son of

an aunt of Mathilde, and therefore a cousin, and not her son, since she had no children by Alfonso III., and Robert had received the countship through collateral succession. Alfonso Diniz was a natural son of the late king, and not legitimate, and he acknowledged his inferior position by always preserving a submissive friendship with his reigning brother. A more serious opposition was offered later, as we shall see further in our history, by the Infante D. Alfonso, the second son of the Queen D. Beatriz. But at the time he was barely sixteen years of age, and, unlike his brother, was not dowered with premature gifts of intelligence; hence his pretended rights to the crown did not meet with a response from the country during the first days of the new reign. Nevertheless, the precaution was taken of confirming, by consulting the jurisconsults and judges of canon law, the right of succession of D. Diniz. But this was useless, because he had in his favour the supreme political reason of all times—the possession by general assent, tacit wishes, almost unanimous, of the nation; therefore the king was able from the beginning to enter into the exercise of royal power, and administrate the affairs of the kingdom.

At the time all grave affairs of State were decided in the Curia, or Junta of ministers, prelates, ricos-homens, residents in the capital, all these usually signing the more important documents.

D. Diniz, taking in hand the reins of government, accepted with but few modifications the ministers and dignitaries of the court of the king his father. History has preserved their names—viz., the Bishop of Evora, D. Durão Päes, who was Prebendary of the See of Seville, and had become illustrious in Castille, and served for a length of time as priest of Alfonso III. in the discharge of public affairs; D. João d'Aboim, a great privy minister of the deceased king, one of the most wealthy fidalgos of the kingdom, founder of the town of Portel, and much esteemed in the court as poet and *trovodor*; Fr. Affonso Pires Farinha, Prior of the Hospitallers, a great traveller and well versed in the science of governing.

During the first epochs of his reign, owing to his youth and inexperience, and probably, as the chroniclers assert, because he was over-liberal, his mother, the Queen D. Beatriz, assisted either personally or represented by her lieutenant, Ruy Gomes, at the councils of government. In her name and that of the King were sent out ordinances, and both signed public acts. The Queen exercised a species of tutorship in regard to her son, or at least took a part in the

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government, which was justifiable owing to the youth of the King. But the young King did not long allow this, either from jealousy and impatience of governing alone, or because the spirit of the Queen yielded overmuch towards the policy of her father Alfonso of Castille, to the prejudice of the country, but within a few short months he freed himself of this species of co-governing by taking advantage of the first pretext which arose to withdraw the Queen, and himself departed for the provinces with his ministers to administrate justice to the country, leaving his mother alone in Lisbon. As a fact, we find him on the twenty-fifth of April of the same year that he ascended the throne in Evora, occupied without D. Beatriz in affairs of the State.

The assertions of many writers appear to us to be true and natural when they state that D. Beatriz was offended and grieved at her exclusion from public affairs; but it is nevertheless a doubtful fact that the King of Castille endeavoured to effect a reconciliation between his daughter and the Prince. Duarte Nunes of Leon affirms this when narrating the coming of the Castillian to Badajoz to beseech D. Diniz to proceed to Elvas to meet him on the frontier, and adds that the Portuguese monarch acceded to the first part of his demands. He received at Elvas the Infantes of Castille, Manuel the brother of the King, Sancho the heir of the throne, and his brothers Pedro and Jayme; that D. Diniz kept his uncles three days, and then dismissed them, saying that he would soon follow to see the King. The aged Alfonso awaited the arrival of his grandson with great trepidation when he was informed that he had departed from Elvas to proceed to the interior of the kingdom, thinking it a lesser grievance to avoid the conference than to refuse the petition of his grandfather. The Castillian did not insist, seeing that D. Diniz had acted with such deliberate intention, and he returned to Seville disappointed and grieved.

Ruy de Pina omits all the incident of the assistance given by the Queen in the government of the country, while Fr. Brandão admitted, or rather, if not confirming the first part, doubts the second, of the interference of the King of Castille, while alleging facts which do not altogether refute them. We cannot at the present day evidence the event, but documents prove as a certain fact the appearance of the Queen at public government, and it is probable that in order that she should continue doing so, the King of Castille may have endeavoured to use his influence. These interventions of States in the exclusive affairs of each other was the rule of that epoch, and to Alfonso X.,

whose predominance throughout the Peninsula was acknowledged, this spirit of rude scheming so artfully manifested by a youth ere he had scarcely ascended the throne must have deeply wounded him; moreover, it was of great moment to the King of Castille, as facts will shortly prove, to have in Portugal a secure aid for his policy, and this pledge only rested in the filial affection of Beatriz of Guilhen, whom, from an illegitimate cradle, he had raised to the throne. It appears to us, therefore, most probable that he should employ every effort and means to effect this, and it is certain, however, that he did not succeed, and that the Queen D. Beatriz, although she later on withdrew to Castille, nevertheless was completely removed from the government of the State.

Fortunately, these misunderstandings between mother and son were maintained within prudent reserve, and no public perturbation took place, nor was there any rupture in their outward affectionate behaviour, D. Diniz ever manifesting to the Queen the filial homage due to her, and favouring her *protégés* by valuable honours. We see that in October, 1279, the King made a donation of the patronage of the Church of Aurega to the See of Tuy, whose bishop was D. Fernando Arcas, a favourite of the Queen, and assigning as a motive for so doing the services which this prelate had rendered him and his mother: *Pro multo servicio quod mihi et D. Beatrici matri mea impendit.*

The exclusion of D. Beatriz from the administration of public affairs and from the councils of the King did not, however, sever the traditions and the beneficent influence of the wise government of D. Alfonso III. Notwithstanding that in external policy D. Diniz followed a diverse path from that of his father, since he was more prudent than he, more elevated and fortunate; in all respecting the internal administration of the kingdom, the son trod almost faithfully in the footsteps of his progenitor, and the differences which we find very extensive between the two reigns proceed principally from the diversity of times, from the higher intellectual culture of the country, and, above all, from the King himself, and not from any change of fundamental principles in the policy and direction of public affairs. These were maintained in almost the same state for many long years. This state of affairs was mainly due to the fact that the above-mentioned ministers, Durando Paes, João d'Aboim, and the Prior of the Hospital were of the party of the widowed Queen, had been

ardent helpers in the work of Alfonso III., and they ever remained firm adherents to his system of policy and government.

Hence the first acts of D. Diniz were directed towards maintaining the peace made with the clergy which Alfonso had initiated. The lengthened strife between the State and the Church, which had commenced with the early days of the monarchy, and had so perturbed the country, grieved all its monarchs, dethroned Sancho II., and embittered the last days of Alfonso III., was about to enter a new phase, and assume a character altogether different. Commencing by the triumphant ovation of the Church, it terminated by the decisive victory of the civil power in the laws of mortmain, which Diniz alone could turn into a reality with the royal *placet* established by Peter the Severe.

At first it was thought to carry out the fulfilment of the bulls of the Curia, since obedience had been pledged, to summon the exiled Portuguese prelates in Rome to the kingdom, to satisfy the cathedrals and monasteries with favours and promises, to entrust these high ecclesiastical dignitaries in union with the representatives of the State, to work out and establish a good understanding with the country, at the time when all seemed in good faith to desire it. Later on the general administration of the kingdom was attended to, which, owing to the ecclesiastical perturbations between Church and State, had been somewhat neglected.

In those days it was not the practice, as it became later on, for the monarchs of Portugal to establish any one important city as their particular residence, and from thence legislate the country. On the contrary, they would travel from town to town, administrating personally justice among the people, and examining for themselves all public wants and grievances, redressing evils, and applying a direct remedy to them.

In order to carry out this truly great service, there was in Portugal, as throughout Spain, an especial tribute, paid by lands either in kind or coin, for the maintenance of the monarch and his suite. This tribute or tax was styled *jantar d'el rei* (the King's dinner).*

* *Jantar d'el rei.* When kings undertook these journeys, each town gave them the cost of the sustenance of the suite that accompanied them. This was, however, only when they visited these towns to administer justice to the inhabitants, and it was only in that case that the tribute was paid, called the *King's dinner.* In the *Torre do Tombo*, in Lisbon, there exists a book wherein

This system of administration was continued until the multiplied affairs of navigation and conquests beyond seas, the enervation of court customs, and the usages of material comforts induced the establishment of the seat of government in Lisbon, and for princes not to quit it except on special occasions.

As we said, Alfonso III., in his latter years, discontinued this former salutary practice, and remained for a long time in Lisbon, and left it but once to attend the Session of the Cortes in Santarem. D. Diniz, however, as soon as he took part in the administration of the kingdom with his father, commenced his visitation of the provinces, and renewed them nearly every year with singular perseverance until his death.

On the previous year he had visited the north of the kingdom, which, being more populous and wealthy, was better suited for the scheme of the paternal policy. After being acclaimed King, and ere the earliest signs of spring had appeared, he departed for Alemtejo, a province which became the objective predilection of his great activity. He visited nearly all the towns of that vast district, residing for whole weeks in the most important ones, receiving affably the people, and judging with his ministers and councillors the suits of appeals, dispensing favours and acquiring practical and prudent notions for the long administration he was inaugurating. As the first result of his labours he confirmed on 25th April to the inhabitants of the town of Alcaçovas the rights which had been given in 1259 by the Bishop of Evora, D. Martinho, and the Cathedral Chapter, and continued the

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are taxed the *jantares* of all cities, towns, monasteries, chapters, and military orders. That these tributes were to be paid on occasions when kings proceeded to administer the law, is declared by our King D. Diniz in one of the manifestoes published by him against his son, the Infante D. Alfonso, when the latter rose against him, and usurped this tribute. "This being," says the King, "only exacted for the dinner of the King when he passes through his lands to do justice."

This was also a general custom at that time among the kings of Spain, and we see it practised in Castille in the same form. The King Alfonso the Wise in the year 1283 gave to the Portuguese Queen, D. Brites, his daughter, the towns Serpa, Moura, Noudar, and Mourão, and reserved for himself the *jantar* of them. In privilege of the city of Segovia, which Diogo de Colmenares transcribed in his history of this city, the King D. Alfonso removed many impositions and reserved the *jantar* they gave him. The inhabitants of Palencia greatly marvelled that the Infante Don Juan, his son, when he pretended to the succession of the kingdom, should demand 1,000 *maravedis* as *jantar*, when the Cortes of Valladolid had assessed only 30 to the King. Hence the *jantar* was among us a certain imposition of maintenance for the house and person of the King when he distributed justice throughout the kingdom.

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predilection of his father for this healthy and fertile town, whose seigniority the cunning monarch, by an arbitrary sentence, had acquired for the Crown, and traced out rampart walls, designing to raise a royal palace within its ancient castle.

During the summer D. Diniz departed from Alemtejo, and proceeded to the Beiras, where he remained some months, employing his time in vigilant attention to affairs, leaving everywhere traces of his goodwill and justice, assigning to agriculturists, whenever he could do so, the uncultivated lands belonging to the Crown, confirming the rights and privileges of the councils, and repairing ramparts and castles. He quitted Coimbra at the beginning of November, remained a few days at Leiria with his mother, the Queen; then went to Santarem for Christmas, and returned to Lisbon. Scarcely had the summer of 1280 commenced than his active character induced him to visit the remainder of the kingdom, which he had not yet visited after his accession to the throne. D. Diniz, when visiting the north, manifested himself even more solicitous, liberal, and provident than he had been to the south; experience and practice appeared to be invigorating and perfecting his governing faculties. He continued in the north until the end of the autumn, and when he terminated the general visitation of the kingdom, the new monarch had captivated the almost unanimous sympathies of the nation. Nobles and clergy praised his courtesy, his instruction and liberality, the people his prudence, justice, and thoughtfulness in all public affairs.

The popularity which continued throughout his life had been laid, and the renown of his name among the people subsisted for ages.

However, amid all these excellent dispositions for governing, which had been so prematurely developed, other natural qualities began to be noticed in Diniz, which were a source of anxiety to his august mother, the ministers and councillors, and in truth which later on gave rise to serious perturbations that tore up the kingdom, and embittered the last years of the monarch's life. Diniz was gifted with a vivid, ardent character that not only inspired a taste for poetry and love of the beautiful, but also impelled him to be dominated by amorous and sensual passions. In order to avoid any scandals, and secure a direct heir to the throne, the Queen D. Beatriz, the ministers, the prelates, and nobility urged him to seek a consort.

Among the princesses of the various courts of Europe there was one greatly distinguished by beauty, proverbial virtue, and modesty, in

the person of D. Isabel, the dearly loved daughter of Pedro III., King of Aragon, and of D. Constancia of Naples, daughter of Manfred, King of the Two Sicilies, and granddaughter of Frederick, Emperor of Germany. Besides the virtues and rank of this princess, policy indicated her as the most appropriate wife for the youthful King, because although close blood relationship united the Portuguese royal family to that of Castille, nevertheless this country was a neighbour that in those epochs of warfare and revolution it was convenient to guard against by strengthening national elements of defence by foreign alliances to counterbalance and keep down its power. The kingdom of Aragon being extensive, formed a part of the Spanish peninsula, and being a border province of Castille, had identical interests with Portugal, and it was likewise expedient for her to form an alliance with Portugal. These and such-like reasons, which in those times constantly existed, and were always considered by all Governments, assumed at the moment a more imperative character on account of the divisions that existed in Castille between Alfonso X. and his son Sancho, which threatened to involve other States of the Peninsula, and the secret designs that occupied the spirit of the Aragonese monarch.

Hence, in view of existing circumstances, D. Isabel was chosen for D. Diniz, and so early as the year 1280 the Portuguese Court sent to Aragon three of the principal nobles, to request the hand of the Infanta and arrange the marriage.

Ancient writers, unanimous panegyrists of this princess, tell us that, besides other pretenders to her hand refused by her father, who did not wish to separate himself from her charms and graces, she was solicited at that juncture by the heirs of the crowns of France and England, and that Constantine, the Emperor of the East, sent, although too late, an ambassador to Aragon, to ask her hand for his eldest son. It is a fact, however, that the Aragonese king, although grieving to part from his daughter, did not offer any difficulties when bestowing his daughter in marriage to D. Diniz. His future son-in-law was already a reigning prince; he had commenced his reign under happy auguries, and he stood at the head of a nation with whom it was his interest to favour an alliance. Pedro was a prudent, far-seeing character and a daring spirit, and he already sighed ardently to possess the crown of Sicily, which he, later on, so successfully conquered; therefore it was indispensable to his scheme, in order to carry out this perilous undertaking, to possess the

friendship of all the Spanish monarchs who surrounded Aragon. Besides this, by the marriage contract he was not obliged to dower his daughter, but, on the contrary, she was to receive from her husband rich gifts.

Fr. Francisco Brandão says that, in the documents relating to this marriage, he did not find any clause which mentioned a dowry given to the Queen D. Isabel; and it was discovered that she had brought none in the time of Alfonso IV., when the union was projected between his daughter D. Leonor and the King of Aragon, D. Pedro.

The dowry, however, was proved by authentic documents. We transcribe an epitome of the first, which affords us a clear idea of the royal donations so frequent at that age, and runs as follows:—

"Let it be known to all that Diniz, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and the Algarve, dowers and confers, *propter nuptias*, to you, Dona Isabel, daughter of the illustrious King Dom Pedro, by the grace of God, King of Aragon, and of the Queen D. Constancia, whom we receive to wife, in conformity to the law of our Lord Jesus Christ, these our towns, to wit—Obidos, Abrantes, and Oporto of Moz. These towns we desire and concede to be held by you, and possess all revenues and profits for all your life, whether in our company or apart, or whether we have issue or not. And as a security of your possession of these aforesaid towns, with all rights and dues, we deliver this present letter, and we confess to hold them from this time forward in your name, and we desire that all fruits derived from them from this day forward should belong to you, &c. . . . And we pledge in good faith and declare on the four Holy Gospels that we make this donation freely, and that we have the power to do so as above declared. We reserve, however, the presentation of judges and churches, and concede to you, to place in the Almoxarifes, procurators and officers as may be required in those places, and as is the custom of our kingdom. But for a greater security and strength of the aforesaid bequest, we assign as dowry to you, Dona Isabel, our best twelve castles, according to the usages of Portugal hitherto observed. Their names are as follows: Villa-viçosa, Montforte, Sintra, Ourem, Feira, Gaya, Lamosis, Anofrica, Santo Estevão de Chaves, Montforte do rio livre, Portel, and Monte-alegre. And those who hold these various castles to offer homage to us and to you, in order that, according to the custom of Portugal, they should obey you in the defence of your rights, as is the usage in Portugal as regards castles.

"Given in Vide, on the twenty-fourth of April, by command of the King. 1319."

But this important donation appeared to the King to be small, since it was restricted to the lifetime of the Queen, and on that same day he gave her, with the privilege of willing it, £10,000, which could be drawn after her death from revenues of the bestowed towns.

On the 11th February, 1282, the marriage was solemnised by procuration in Barcelona. The Queen was conducted by her own people, with great solemnity, to Braganza, on the border of Portugal, where the brother of the King, D. Alfonso, awaited her, with many prelates and nobles, and from thence conducted her to Trancoso. On beholding his youthful bride, D. Diniz bestowed upon her a further donation of this town of "Trancoso, with all its villages, *termos*, and belongings, and all rents, exports, fruits, and profits." This decree of donation bears date 26th June, 1320.

The wedding was celebrated, the royal couple receiving the nuptial blessing in August, 1282, in those same fruitful lands, amid sumptuous feasts and the most lively demonstrations of joy. All that was noble and opulent hastened to attend, and around the circular rampart walls of the town were erected buildings and tents to house the multitudes that flocked in such numbers that it really seemed as though around Trancoso had suddenly arisen a populous city of varied and singular aspect.

This marriage merits an especial mention, because the diplomacy of the time held the unions of princes as the principal means of action; and this particular union was considered politically of great advantage, since it brought a Queen to Portugal who, on several occasions, was able to prevent torrents of Portuguese blood from flowing during civic strifes.

In these rude ages of violent ambitions, characterised by the elevated classes in individualities and deep selfishness, the bonds of the most intimate blood relationship and tenderest family ties were but weak barriers to the fierceness of covetous passions. Among reigning houses, most especially, contentions between parents and sons and brothers became general, and of daily occurrence and interminable. On expelling the Moors, and the prize conquered, they disputed the possession one with another, and to tear it up became the almost exclusive occupation of princes and kings. The narrative of these internecine family strifes constitutes the political history of Christian

States up to the fourteenth century throughout the whole of the Peninsula. This fact, repugnant and sanguinary, was common in Portugal as in the rest of Spain, and forms the dark part of the otherwise splendid reign of D. Diniz.

The events, simple in themselves, with which we open the narrative of the present volume possess an importance, as they form the preludes of an inglorious unfraternal strife which for years was fought between the two eldest sons of the Count of Boulogne.

In the year 1281 the Infante D. Alfonso attained his eighteenth year. His father in 1270, some years previous to his death, had largely endowed him with the towns of Portalegre, Marvão, Arroches, and Vide—the three first were very important on account of their population, agricultural wealth, and fortifications. The Infante in his fourteenth year wedded D. Violante, daughter of D. Manuel, brother to Alfonso X., King of Castille and Leon, and this marriage united him to the most powerful and noblest houses of the neighbouring kingdoms, and he commenced to manifest to them his restless proud character.

These circumstances, which would alone render him a troublesome neighbour to any monarchy, were aggravated by his pretensions to the crown, whose supposed right he enunciated everywhere without reserve.

D. Diniz was the issue of the second nuptials of Alfonso III. while D. Mathilde his first wife was still living, and the second marriage had not yet been legitimized by the Pontifical powers. The birth of D. Diniz took place after the death of the Countess of Boulogne, and some days subsequent to the arrival of the bull of legitimation to Portugal.

D. Alfonso, taking these facts as his plea, accused the King, his brother, of being an illegitimate son, and therefore unfit to succeed to the throne, advancing that it rightly belonged to him, since he was an elder son and legitimate.

It was objected that the Pope's bull expressedly pronounced all children of Alfonso III. legitimate who were born by D. Beatriz de Guilhen, hence D. Diniz, who was born after the receiving of the bull, and should the date of legitimation commence only with the issue of the bull, he, the Infante, could not be legitimate, since his birth took place long before the date of the bull. But notwithstanding these arguments, conclusive as regards the Canons of Jurisprudence, which in those days

ruled the affair, the Infante insisted in affirming loudly his pretended rights.

To a king of those times, young and ardent as was D. Diniz, nothing else was wanting to warrant acts of violence and authority; nevertheless, as far as things went, it did not exceed words, and the successor to Alfonso III. was able to repress himself within bounds. Towards the latter days of the winter of 1281, it came to his knowledge that his brother was turning Vide into a theatre of war, opening moats and surrounding the town with rampart walls. Vide was a town on the extreme of the Alemtejo, which then belonged to the territory of Marvão, and up to that time was an open place, solely defended by a small tower.

Diniz became agitated on learning this, and wrath rose up within him, as he saw in this act—perchance an indifferent one in the Infante, who only wished to fortify his lands—a proof of veritable rebellion. He at once summoned all his subjects, the military orders, the *ricos-homens*, the contingents which the cities and towns were bound to send, Lisbon being the city which furnished the greater number; and at the beginning of April he departed from Santarem with a large force, determined upon reducing his brother by force of arms to obedience. But the Infante D. Alfonso, on being advised, retired from Portugal to Seville, leaving the path open to him, offering no resistance, and allowing him to enter freely into Vide. There was no spilling of blood on this occasion, but discord was declared between the two brothers.

It was about this time that, fortunately, the two ambassadors of Pedro III. of Aragon arrived in Portugal to ratify the treaty of marriage with D. Diniz. These ambassadors were persons of note—one was a dignitary of the See of Tarragona, the other an admiral related to the Queen D. Constancia, and favourite of the Aragonese monarch. These personages represented to the King the inexpedience of manifesting hostilities against a brother whose disobedience was not proved, at a moment when an alliance was in treaty, and a matrimonial union was being arranged which all desired should be prosperous and happy. It also appears that Sancho of Castille, son of Alfonso the Wise, had likewise interceded for the Infante. With such influential mediators, in a short time a reconciliation was effected between the two brothers.

The Infante pledged himself to demolish, within a fixed period, what had been newly erected on the tower and walls of Vide, and to be

knighted at the hands of D. Diniz, thus constituting himself *his vassal* for life, excepting in the event of acquiring a foreign kingdom or county, and even for its acceptance it would be necessary to have the royal permission. In compensation, Diniz increased his income by adding £35,000 annually, part payable in coin, another in land revenues, and a third in cloth. A fine of £50,000 was imposed upon whichever should violate the treaty, which was duly celebrated and signed in Estremoz, on the 11th February, 1282.

Thus terminated the first discords between the two disputant sons of Alfonso III., only to burst out later on more violently, and be sealed with Portuguese blood. But at that moment harmony appeared completely established; the Infante took his position at the court, and a few months later, as we have seen, he went to Braganza to await the youthful Queen, and accompany her to Trancoso.

Yet at the marriage feasts one of the most important individuals of the royal family was absent—the Queen-mother D. Beatriz—because an affair very different from the wedding of her son was lacerating her heart and inducing many anxieties. Her father, Alfonso X. of Castille, was labouring under a painful and difficult position. He, a potentate who for long years had won the goodwill, and even the admiration of the European princes, beheld himself forsaken and distrusted by all. This king of vast and numerous states was now reduced almost to the one province of Andalucia, or rather to scarcely more than the city of Seville. He, the parent of a numerous family, beheld all his sons ranged in armed rebellion, to expel him from the throne and wrest from him the kingdom.

It was a just punishment for the preference and inhumanity with which to one—the very one who most warred against him—he sacrificed the right and life of other princes, his relatives. D. Fernando de la Cerda, the eldest, had died, leaving two sons still in the cradle, the elder being the heir to the throne. However, Alfonso, desirous of acceding to the pleadings of his son Sancho, who greatly distinguished himself for activity and bravery during the wars against the Infidels, induced the Cortes of Segovia in 1276 to acknowledge him the successor and heir to the throne. The despoiled Infantes, his grandchildren, found protection with the grandfather, who, with them, had taken refuge in Aragon, fearing some violence. The monarch supposed that this flight, which might so greatly foil his designs, was done under the protection of his brother D. Fradique and Simão Ruiz,

the Lord of Cameros; and therefore bade Sancho take them prisoners and slay them.

The future King hastened to execute the order, and, without instituting any trial, he had his uncle drowned in Treviño, and Simão Ruiz burnt to death in Logroño.

To these cruel acts, which left a long and sanguinary memory, he added later on such a series of misguided acts that this monarch, surnamed the Wise, completely alienated the goodwill of the people, the nobles, and his own children, in such a manner that when, in the Cortes of Seville of 1280 he attempted to indemnify his grandchildren, bestowing to the elder the kingdom of Jaen, Sancho opposed him rudely, and inciting against him nearly all the nation, and was able, in the following year, to induce D. Manuel, the son of the aged Alfonso, confirmed by the Cortes which he convened in Valladolid, to deprive his father of the royal authority, be deposed from the throne, and the government delivered to himself, the Infante, with the title of King.

Meanwhile Sancho confederated with the Moorish King of Granada, and proposed to his uncle, D. Pedro de Aragon, to abstain from the contention, because, as we said before, the Aragonese King desired, at all hazards, to have allies in Spain, and he was always partial to his nephew; hence he easily acceded to unite himself to D. Diniz, because, as the chronicles say, it appeared to the Portuguese Prince far more advantageous a policy to join the uncle, who was youthful and likely to live for years, than to the grandfather, who, at his old age, could not long exist.

But the affectionate filial devotion of the Queen, D. Beatriz, did not assent to this contingency. Seeing that she could not move the son to assist his father, she determined to aid him with her own means and vassals, and share personally his misfortunes.

To this policy, somewhat double, D. Diniz did not attempt any opposition. War was uncertain; and it did not suit him to entirely indispose himself with any of the contenders.

The Queen collected together all the money she was able, and even sold part of her jewels; then summoned the nobles of her party and dependants, and those who were at enmity with the King; raised troops in the towns belonging to her, and in order to dispose them in her favour she confirmed former rights and privileges, and also bestowed new ones.

In this way she collected together some hundreds of good lances and soldiers. At the head of these was distinguished D. Vasco Martins Pimentel, a brave *fidalgo*, or chief officer of the whole kingdom, who supplied at his expense 250 horsemen, and who perished in these inglorious strifes of Castille; and also Martins Vasques da Cunha, the adventurous Alcaide of the Castle of Celorico de Basto, who likewise distinguished himself.

But whether the difficulties which surrounded the aged monarch of Castille were great, or else in order to disguise the effect which the expedition might occasion, so much at variance with the usual official proceedings of the King—but it appears D. Beatriz sent these forces to Seville in proportion as they became organised.

The aged monarch assembled in the public square the Royal Council, the Court, and people of Seville, and ascending a platform erected for the occasion, read the decree which deprived Sancho of the succession to the throne and crown, explaining his motive for this resolution, and moreover invoked over the head of his son the curse of God as being an impious rebel, a parricide, and disloyal.

Alfonso solicited aid from Pope Martin IV., who at once sent a brief ordering the prelates, barons, and councils of the kingdon to submit to the aged king, and enjoining the monarchs of England and France to assist him also. But the commands, the pleadings, and the pontifical anathemas did not produce any effect. Sancho decreed pain of death against all bearers of pontifical letters, and appealed to God, to the future pope, and to the first council which should be celebrated.

D. Alfonso was reduced to the last extremity, his followers were becoming few, and his means were exhausted. In vain did he beseech the aid of all the Christian princes; not one stretched out a protecting hand. He then had recourse to a singular and strange means. He sent his crown to the Emperor of Fez and Morocco in order to raise money upon it for necessary things. The Mussalman behaved generously; he sent him sixty thousand *doubras* of gold, and offered to proceed personally to aid him to recover his kingdom. He accepted the offer, and an army of Moors crossed the Strait. And the two princes, father and son, each joined the infidel monarch to prosecute the campaign against the other.

We must, however, in truth state that in this parricidal and impious war, Sancho did not manifest his usual activity, and he always avoided to meet his father in open contest against him. This system,

enunciated more openly than policy demanded, was fast occasioning his loss by inducing among his partisans despondency and hopelessness.

It was probably about this time (1283) that D. Beatriz entered into Seville with a numerous escort, and bringing with her, it appears, her daughter, the Infanta D. Branca, who, besides being patroness of various lands in Portugal, possessed the Convent of Lorvão, and became later on owner of the sumptuous monastery of Huelgas de Burgos in Spain.

If the direct and material aid offered by D. Beatriz to her father, which has been so lauded by Portuguese writers, and so meanly referred to by the Spanish ones, was not in truth very great in relation to the forces of the four belligerent monarchs, nevertheless the appearance in Seville of his daughter, the Queen of Portugal, was to the persecuted and unfortunate Alfonso a source of great comfort in his old age, and became a salutary example to many of the revolutionists of Castille and Leon.

The effects of this noteworthy fact were keenly felt, assisted by the unexpected indifference of Sancho in the war, by the recollection of his cruelties and errors of government, by the representations made by all prudent and just spirits, and by the generous gratitude of Alfonso for the aid afforded by his daughter.

D. Pedro, D. Jayme, and D. José forsook the rebel standard of their brother, and submitted themselves humbly to obedience to the King. This proceeding of the Infantes was followed by many ricos-homens, and no less by the cities and towns.

Notwithstanding that the Mussalman allies of Alfonso had retired to Africa disgusted with the campaign, the cause of the aged monarch took such a great impetus, that Sancho, despite the opposition of his followers, to whom the reconciliation of the princes was not favourable, agreed that his wife, D. Maria de Molina, and the Queen D. Beatriz should prepare the terms for the arrangement of the affair. Both contenders then quitted the scene of war. But an event, natural, yet well-nigh unexpected, arose to give a diverse direction to the political affairs of Spain.

Before this, however, Alfonso rewarded the services of his daughter. The tender affection of a father's heart impelled him to acknowledge the aid so promptly afforded, and which the extremity of the circumstances naturally exaggerated the importance; he was also probably instigated by the idea that the reward with which he recompensed this favour might induce, as it certainly did, his sons and subjects to afford

him aid likewise. Hence D. Alfonso manifested himself generous and even prodigal in rewarding the Queen of Portugal.

On the 4th March, 1283, he made over to her the towns of Serpa, Moura, Noudar, and Mourão, with their castles, *termos*, rents, and rights for her use during her lifetime, these donations to revert after her death to whomsoever should inherit the kingdom of Seville.

These towns, otherwise Portuguese, in those days belonged to the Castillian monarchy, and it was not until years later that, with the exception of Noudar, they returned to the kingdom of Portugal, as we shall see further on. But as these places which he had bestowed on his daughter belonged to the Knight Hospitallers, Alfonso compensated them by giving them other lands and rents.

On that same day he also gave to his daughter under similar conditions the kingdom of Niebla, with its towns of Gibralcon, Huelva, Saltes, Alamonte, Alfaiar de Pena, and Alfaiar de Lete.

Such ample generosity, which favoured, as we said, the cause of Alfonso, linked anew his name to the history of Portugal, which had already been enhanced by the donation of the Algarve.

But broken down by bitter grief and an agitated existence, the aged king, notwithstanding the favourable turn which his affairs had taken, did not attain to see his son and the States reduced to obedience. Little more than a year after signing these decrees of donations to Beatriz, he died in the arms of his daughter, naming her, with others, his executrix, and declaring that he forgave the rebellion of Sancho and all his partisans.

It was in April of 1284 that this monarch, as hapless in his government as he was renowned as a legislator and lover of science and letters throughout the Peninsula, expired. As such, he exercised a large influence in the kingdom of Portugal as well as in all Spain.

During his reign he established in his vast states unity of right with the royal *fuero* of Spain, an interesting legislative collection of immediate application; he finished and published the celebrated *codice* of the *Sete Partidas*, which D. Diniz ordered to be translated into Portuguese, and stands, in jurisprudence, the grandest monument of the Middle Ages. He was a philosopher, and to him is attributed the book entitled the *Tesoro*, much esteemed at that epoch. An historian likewise, for he wrote the *Cronica General de España*, considered by Spaniards as one of their literary glories. A mathematician, he ordered the *Astronomical Tables* to be drawn up, entitled *Alfonsinas*,

and which he himself collaborated. Lastly, he was a poet, being one of the most erudite and elegant poetasters of the age, and wrote the *Cantigas* and *Querellas*. His death was greatly felt in the Court of Lisbon, and the King celebrated pompous exequies.

By his death was terminated the first act of the wars of succession which desolated Castille during the reign of D. Diniz—wars in which, more or less, as we shall see, Portugal was always involved. The death of Alfonso X. naturally filled the spirit of the Portuguese monarch with cares and forebodings.

A few months before his death, the aged monarch had declared his grandchildren heirs to the crown of Castille and Leon, the Infantes de la Cerda, while he left the kingdoms of Seville and Badajoz to his son D. Juan, and that of Murcia to D. Jaime; by this form excluding D. Sancho from the throne, although, as a fact, it was he who really governed. And, in effect, he was very soon after solemnly acknowledged and sworn king in Toledo; and not only his followers, but the most important of the loyal partisans of his father hastened to salute him as their legitimate sovereign. Nevertheless, the germ of disorder and of civil war existed in the testament of Alfonso the Wise, in the rights which each pretender attributed to himself, and, above all, in the character of the princes and barons of the time. Besides this, Sancho IV. was daring, turbulent, ambitious, and little versed in restraining the excesses of his favourites, and still less his own. Hence such a neighbour was badly calculated to afford Portugal any security for the tranquillity of the country.

Diniz, therefore, continued to follow his shrewd, deep policy. He sent ambassadors to Seville to take letters of condolence to the Queen-mother, and sent others to Toledo to congratulate his uncle, the new king, and to ratify his former friendship and alliance. But Sancho did not duly acknowledge this act of courtesy and past favours. Founding his right of seigniority of the Algarve upon that held by his father, notwithstanding the donation effected to the grandson D. Diniz, Sancho not only took the title in the same way, but even ordered the name to be placed of D. Bartholomew, the Bishop of Silves, who was not in Castille, among the prelates who confirmed his royal decrees, with the only end of signifying that the diocese of the kingdom of Algarve was dependent on him.

During the early ages of the modern Christian monarchies of Spain, in authentic documents, as well as in treaties of peace and other

governing acts of greatest importance, royal letters of donation, authorisation of rights and others, not only as at the present day was the signature of the reigning prince affixed as well as the respective ministers, but likewise the signatures of Infantes, the prelates of every category, members of councils, *ricos-homens*, and even the knights who were at the court. And oftentimes the names of the principal magnates of the kingdom were inscribed even when these were not present.

These signatures of the more important lords of the country, ecclesiastical and civil, invested Government acts with greater solemnity; it was the pledge that those who signed had thought over and approved the act, and naturally increased the probability of the nation's acquiescence.

Those who signed received an honour by placing their signature beside that of the monarch, and with this understanding did the illustrious foreigners present at the Court inscribe their name to the act; but this act signified for the absent natives that the territory of their jurisdiction belonged to the monarch who issued the decree, and that those mentioned were subject to him.

For this reason did Sancho order the name of the Bishop of Algarve to be inscribed as confirming the decree. Diniz, however, became perturbed by this act of the new king, which was not only ungrateful, but unjust, and he hastened to draw from the ancient records such documents as proved the obedience and acknowledgments offered by the prelates and chapter of Silves to Alfonso III., declaring null all titles which the late monarch of Castille had authorised: from all the decrees which affirmed the seigniority and possession of the Portuguese crown in the kingdom of Algarve.

This contention was, however, followed by no serious results. But Sancho, notwithstanding the majority of the *ricos-homens* and the cities who had acclaimed him king, wearied out by the civil wars through which they had just issued, found himself compelled to proceed to visit all his kingdom, in order to subject his barons and the people who hesitated in accepting him against the expressed determination of the testament of Alfonso X., and to whom his rude, disloyal system of government was repellent. One of the first acts of the new king was to annul the privileges and letters given to many towns which had aided him, when still an Infante, to conquer the crown. Little by little he was able to re-establish apparently order by punishing the malcontents with death, exile, and sequestration of goods.

Knowing that the best way to pacify and summon to his side the turbulent nobility from their states was to take them to war against the Moors, he put this idea in practice during the year 1285.

But, notwithstanding his natural rudeness, Lopo de Haro, the Lord of Biscay, took possession of his spirit. From the king he obtained the title of count, with all its ancient functions and privileges; the appointment of chief majordomo, assured by the possession of all the fortresses of Castille, and the key to the royal treasury. Besides this, he was the father-in-law of the Infante D. João, and his brother Diogo held the hereditary government of the frontier. Therefore Lopo de Haro, when in possession, and with his own partisans holding the highest positions in the civil and military government of the kingdom, very quickly dominated all the court, and by his haughtiness affronted the whole nobility of the kingdom, even to the degree of endeavouring to annul the marriage of the King with the Queen, in spite that she was his sister-in-law, in order to wed him to his niece, who was more obedient to his behests.

For this reason D. Maria de Molina took dislike to the favourite, while a great number of fidalgos, who viewed him with envy, now commenced to rise up against him and against Sancho, assisted by the towns which had been despoiled of their rights.

These contentions reached to the very frontiers of Portugal, and without ostensibly involving D. Diniz, many Portuguese brandished their swords in the strifes of Castille.

Badajoz and Albuquerque, two neighbouring towns of Alemtejo, rose up in bands and fiercely made war. The lord of the last town was D. João Affonso d'Albuquerque, grandson of D. Theresa Sanches, the daughter of the Portuguese king Sancho I., and an individual so greatly beloved by D. Diniz that later on he made him Count of Barcellos, chief majordomo, and gave his natural son Alfonso Sanches in marriage to the daughter and heiress of that nobleman.

The Lord of Albuquerque rose up against the King of Castille, and beneath his standard many Portuguese fought. It could not be possible that, in view of the affectionate relations existing between the chieftain and his king, these Portuguese should be fighting against the will of the King of Portugal. But at length João Affonso, driven by the forces of the Castillian monarch, was compelled to fly to Galicia, where he was treacherously taken prisoner by the orders of the King, and

would have been beheaded had not the Queen D. Maria de Molina interceded for him.

D. Alvaro Nunes Lara, an illustrious individual, was compelled, owing to these contentions, to emigrate to Portugal in 1286, whose father had followed, two years previously, the party of Alfonso X. when, besieged by Sancho in the city of Alborafim, he was vanquished and deprived of his dominions.

D. Alvaro was a fearless warrior and most venturesome, and placing himself at the head of a numerous party of Castillians and Portuguese, effected frequent incursions throughout the territories of Riba de Coa, carrying into the states of the conqueror of his father desolation and ruin.

At that time the governorship of the districts of Guarda was held by the Infante D. Alfonso, brother to D. Diniz. He won the affection of Lara, and in this way the ranks were increased by the people of his dominions, whose district governors facilitated their departure. To that spot hastened the troops of the King of Castille, and fierce, angry encounters took place, which cost the blood and lives of many brave Portuguese knights of the house of the Infante.

At length this contention so involved Alfonso, that he resorted to the extreme of compelling the inhabitants of the city and district of Guarda to take up arms in order to enter into a campaign against Castille.

Such proportions did the affair assume, that Diniz was constrained to take it in hand. He proceeded to Guarda in the summer of 1287, accompanied by a numerous retinue of prelates, courtiers, and men-at-arms, and endeavoured gently to calm his brother and Alvaro de Lara. He despoiled Alfonso of the government of that district, but in compensation gave him the lieutenancy of Lamego, Vizeu, and Tras-os-Montes.

Lara, however, very soon continued his perturbations. He effected various entries into the kingdoms of Galicia and Leon, and joining the Portuguese Infante, who had retired to his towns in the Alemtejo, prosecuted continual raids into the lands of Castille. But Sancho the Brave could no longer endure such excesses. To the messages which he addressed on this subject to D. Diniz, he asked leave to come personally to Portugal to punish his enemies, and without awaiting an answer, he approached our frontiers. Diniz saw that the moment had arrived for repressing at once the demands of his brother and Alvaro

de Lara, unless he wished to enter into an open war against Castille, which up to a certain point he had authorised, since he had placed no further obstacles than words and gentleness, and even had assisted by affording aid to João Alfonso d'Albuquerque. We saw, at the commencement of this book, the reason for the proceeding of the Portuguese prince, and that it was his scheme to weaken so dangerous a neighbour by intestine strifes. But at the present juncture, in view of the attitude taken by Sancho, this system of policy was becoming rather dangerous; besides which, Alfonso continued to declare himself the legitimate heir to the crown, and at the same time urged Diniz to legitimize his sons, in order to inherit his important dominions, to which he found a serious and just reluctance, and finally the house of the Infante became the centre of the adventurous malcontents of Portugal and Castille, whose numbers daily increased, and assumed serious proportions.

D. Diniz summoned then all the military forces of the country, and in September he quitted Guarda, and slowly proceeded to the Alemtejo, collecting together on his way the people he had summoned. On the sixth of November, accompanied by a great multitude, he besieged Arronches, where D. Alfonso was at the time, and placed troops of observation opposite the strongholds of Marvão and Portalegre, which were held by the turbulent Infante.

Very speedily did the King of Castille join the people of Leon and Galicia, and the Mestre de Alcantara, D. Fernão Peres, a Portuguese, and the Knights of the Order, the favourite Lopo de Haro, and probably the Queen D. Maria de Molina, who usually accompanied her husband in all his campaigns.

Arronches, however, was a stronghold which, military speaking, was well situated, defended by castle, ramparts, and entrenchments, and garrisoned on that occasion by the picked men of the Infante, and by a numerous party of the bravest knights of the Peninsula. Arronches resisted the first assaults of the besiegers, who for several weeks fought around the walls, performing many brilliant feats of arms and numerous skirmishes, but without any decided victory. Nevertheless, it was clear that the stronghold could not hold out very long against the powers collected by the two monarchs of Castille and Portugal.

As this strife became a family one, the ladies of the various families at length took part in it. The mother of Diniz and Alfonso, who was in Burgos, came with the Infanta D. Branca to Badajoz—the revenues

of which her father, D. Alfonso X., had bequeathed to her in his will —and from thence they were aided by the pleadings of D. Maria de Molina and the Queen D. Isabel of Portugal. But an event took place which determined the treaty. The Infante, on being apprised of the arrival to Badajoz of his mother and sister, and being able (probably with the aid of the princes who were in the camp) to elude the royal scouts, quitted Arronches, and placed himself under the protection of D. Beatriz. A suspension of arms followed, and a council was held to arrange a treaty of peace. All the princes gathered together in Badajoz and agreed to the treaty, which was signed on the thirteenth of December, to the joy of the people, who saw in this act an end to the war, inglorious, profitless, and ruinous, between brothers.

Alfonso delivered Arronches over to the King, receiving in exchange Armamar, in the territory of Lamego. Later on he yielded up all the strongholds he possessed on the frontier in exchange for others situated in the interior of the kingdom, where he could not easily disturb the tranquillity of Castille, nor be dangerous to Portugal.

For the time being Marvão and Portalegre were delivered up in good faith to the knights of the Infante of acknowledged national loyalty, who pledged their homage to D. Diniz in presence of Alfonso. But during the time that the monarchs of Castille and Portugal were together, other treaties, although secret ones, were discussed, of greater importance than the public ones of more demonstrative consequences.

Diniz was shrewd, persuasive, and eloquent, and all these gifts he employed to determine on a difficult point—the hitherto undecided spirit of the sovereign of Castille. It was sought, at the request of D. Maria de Molina, to oppose the intentions of Lopo de Haro respecting the annulment of the King's marriage, and lessen the influence of his favourite over the spirit of Sancho.

The son of Alfonso III. triumphed, and not only induced on the mind of his uncle a greater estimation of the virtues of the Queen, which in truth existed, and proved the validity of the marriage, which was not difficult to do since Sancho loved his consort, but what is more, he completely destroyed the influence Lopo exercised, and proved to the King of Castille how dangerous it was for him to be under the yoke of a vassal who united to overmuch power the audacity of endeavouring to repudiate the Queen, and regulate the succession of the crown according to his views. He also placed before him the

nobility of birth, the loftiness of spirit, and the numerous partisans of D. Alvaro Nunes de Lara, which counterbalanced the gifts of the former, and that once admitted to his friendship, he pledged himself as a loyal servitor.

The monarch of Castille followed the insinuations of D. Diniz, and at once admitted Lara to his intimate friendship, by this act arousing jealousy and odium in the heart of Lopo. "With this act," says the erudite Chronicler of Alcobaça, "the King D. Diniz did no more than exchange with the King D. Sancho one rebel for another, yet leaving him his debtor, and the Queen of Castille and the new minister both in his favour."

Alvaro de Lara survived but a short time, and did not live to acquire the preponderance of favour of his adversary Lopo, since he, even as an enemy, exercised such influence that he inspired in the monarch serious and well-justified fears. On resolving to get rid of him, Sancho had to use craftiness, by manifesting towards him, for some months, marks of esteem, until he found an opportune occasion for carrying out his intention.

On the following year, 1288, grave contentions arose between the King and the party of Haro respecting the convenience of a French or Aragonese alliance with Castille, which took the form of almost open hostility, and ended in the selection of the latter against the opinion of the Queen and ,the Archbishop of Toledo who counselled her, and towards which Sancho inclined.

It was agreed upon to convene the Cortes in Alfaro, so that all should meet to decide the suit. When the assembly were gathered together to debate the affair, Sancho quitted it on the plea of urgent business, declaring that he would speedily return to learn their decision. When the King perceived that his own guards at the door were more numerous than those which accompanied Haro, he immediately returned to the Session Chamber, and addressing Lopo and the Infante D. João, informed them that he retained them his prisoners until they should deliver up to him the castles and governments they possessed. On hearing this, the haughty nobleman called his own guards, and advanced towards the King, brandishing a dagger over him. Two of the knights of Sancho advanced and struck at his arm, cutting it off, and then slew him. Meanwhile the King struck repeatedly his brother Diogo Lopes, leaving him to all appearances dead. The same fate would have befallen the Infante D. João, who,

sword in hand, was defending the Haros, had not the Queen D. Maria de Molina intervened and saved his life.

This barbarous scene was followed by a civil war which spread through the whole of Spain.

The family of Haro, instigated by the Countess D. Joanna de Molina, the widow of the assassinated man, the Viscount de Bearne, the whole of Biscay, and part of Old Castille, in union with the monarch of Aragon, proclaimed Alfonso de la Cerda king, and rose up in war against D. Sancho. And although he brought to bear against them all his activity and valour, and continued to besiege and capture the enemy's castles, nevertheless the insurrection increased, and the very King of Aragon openly declared himself against Castille, and joined his army to the revolutionists.

Then did Sancho summon all the forces of the military orders, the *ricos-homens*, and the towns who had continued faithful, and besought aid from D. Diniz of Portugal for this perilous warfare, the result in part of the advice which the successor of Alfonso III. gave him in Arronches.

The Portuguese monarch did not withhold his aid, and in the spring of 1289 he sent the best men he was able to collect together from the communes and the garrison of the fortresses, with the most distinguished chieftains and bravest *fidalgos*. With these forces and the army of Castille, Sancho was able to repress the King of Aragon. But in other respects the captains were defeated and slain. In consequence of some petty local question which arose between the two bands that divided the Bejaranos and the Portuguese, Badajoz, the capital of Estremadura, also lifted up the standard of rebellion in favour of Alfonso de la Cerda.

Sancho sent against the city the Masters of all the military orders. These promised the revolutionists pardon in the name of the King if they submitted, and on this understanding they surrendered. The monarch, however, did not fulfil the promise made through his delegates, but actually had over four thousand citizens of the revolutionary band of Bejaranos put to death.

He practised similar cruelties in Toledo, Talavera, Avila, and many other places. It was in this wise, by sowing ruin, terror, and death, that the son of Alfonso the Wise pacified his vast monarchy.

It was this crowned monster that D. Diniz, in hostility with Alfonso III., King of Aragon, aided with the blood of thousands of Portuguese, which was spilt in numerous dark, inglorious encounters

during a period of two years of incessant strife. This intervention did not afford Portugal any advantage, although she paid for it so dearly. We cannot even advance as an advantage gained that of the treaty of marriage which was entered into on the Portuguese frontiers by the two monarchs in 1294, between the Infante D. Ferdinand, successor to the crown of Castille, scarcely six years of age, with the Infanta D. Constancia, the daughter of D. Diniz, who was only a few months old. The realisation of this union, which was effected long after that date, did not even then bring with it any real advantage to the country, but, on the contrary, produced very diverse events, and caused a fresh spilling of blood. Another marriage, contracted in that same year previous to the death of Alfonso III. of Aragon, as a fact, terminated the war. This union was between the eldest daughter of Sancho IV. with the new Aragonese King D. Jaime II., the brother of the deceased King. The pretender, Alfonso de la Cerda, and others of his confederates, on losing their powerful support, were obliged to be satisfied with very little, and through an intermediary in the person of D. Diniz, obtained for the Infante D. João release from his imprisonment since the affair of Alfaro, and to be reinstated in the good graces of his brother.

But this prince, however, was dowered, like Sancho, with a restless, ferocious, and disloyal character.

For the space of two years Castille sustained a successful and glorious war against the Mussalmans, and captured Tarifa, in the siege of which the King and the Infante, who fought together, greatly distinguished themselves. At length discords arose between them, and D. João rebelled, was persecuted, and had to take refuge in Portugal. From thence, joining with João Alfonso d'Albuquerque and other exiles, they effected much damage to Castille. Sancho sent to the Infante as emissary John Nunes de Lara, brother to the deceased D. Alvaro, but D. João arrested him, and only released him at the request of D. Diniz.

At length, on the formal requisition of the Castillian monarch, the Infante was compelled to quit Portugal and pass over to Tangiers. But as later on Diniz joined this prince in the only military expedition which he personally undertook outside the kingdom, we shall mention an act of D. João which caused a profound sensation throughout Christendom.

When in Africa the Infante offered his services to Yussuf, the King of Morocco, to re-conquer Tarifa, which on the previous year he had

helped to take. The Moor assigned him an army, and the Castillian Infante speedily laid siege to the stronghold. This place was defended by a brave knight called Alfonso Peres de Gusman, who later on was surnamed the *Good*, on account of the event we are about to narrate, and with his skill and intelligence was able to repulse for a great length of time the desperate efforts of the infidel captains. D. João, finding it impossible to fulfil by loyal means the promise made to the Mussalman Emir, resorted to base means.

He had with him a child, the son of the Governor of Tarifa, and under pretext of delivering him up to the parent, in order better to captivate the favour of the King of Castille, he was taken from the palace of D. Diniz, where children of the highest nobles were educated. D. João conducted the child to the rampart walls, and declared to Alfonso de Gusman that he would slay the child unless he delivered up the stronghold. The brave knight did not allow his paternal feelings to influence his loyalty and his duty and sense of honour as a soldier, entrusted as he was with the governorship of the castle. He drew the dagger from his belt and flung it into the camp, saying that they might assassinate his child, but surrender he would not.

To this heroic reply the Infante was base enough to retort by ordering the dagger to be picked up and with it pierced the child's heart through, and then raised the siege of Tarifa. This event took place in 1294.

But the princes of Castille who possessed such brutal characters were not long-lived.

On the following April, when only thirty-five years old, D. Sancho died, leaving as heir to the throne, the Infante Ferdinand IV., still an infant, he who later on became the husband of the Portuguese Infanta D. Constancia.

Before proceeding with the political and military history of the country, it will be expedient to study, under its various aspects, the great evolution through which Portuguese society was passing.

One of the principal which offers itself to our view is the strife between the clergy and the empire, the Church and the civil power —an old question, as old as the monarchy, but which, in the reign of D. Diniz, rose up with redoubled force.

We have seen in the former reign that Alfonso III. on his deathbed had promised with Diniz complete obedience to the decrees of Gregory X., and that when the new king ascended the throne he

endeavoured to find a means to arrive at an understanding with the clergy.

With this intention both contending parties sent emissaries to Rome to arrange the suit. But on the 22nd of August, 1280, Pope Nicholas III. died, leaving the affair undecided.

The prelates then met together in Guarda with some of the ricos-homens and principal persons named by the king—the prelates were Fr. Tello the Archbishop of Braga, Vincent the Bishop of Oporto, Aymeric of Coimbra, Fr. João of Guarda, Duran of Evora, and Ferdinand of Tuy. The affair was discussed with much heat for some three weeks.

It was then arranged that the King should fulfil all the articles contained in the bull of Gregory X., and compelling his subjects to keep them faithfully, and this concordat to be sent to the Pope, soliciting his confirmation. The reigning Pontiff was Martin IV., who had ascended the papal throne on the 22nd of February, 1281. But previous to doing this, it was necessary to have the personal and direct consent of the monarch, to obtain which the prelates departed from Guarda and proceeded to the south of the kingdom to meet the King.

D. Diniz was then in the Algarve, but on being apprised of this resolution and of the journey of the prelates, who were the highest dignitaries of the Church, he, with the object of captivating their good-will, hastened to come to Evora to save them the no small inconvenience of the journey, and received them most affectionately.

Such was the acknowledgment of the prelates for this courteous behaviour, that when later on they proceeded to Rome they spoke to the Pope of his conduct as an example of kingly courtesy.

The articles of the Concordat were then discussed anew and sent to the Roman Curia. Both contending parties sent to Rome their procurators and wrote to Pope Martin IV. In this letter they stated the great evils which had been caused to the country by the interdict of Gregory X. against Alfonso III., by which the towns and people had been deprived of the sacraments and consolations of the Church, the country cast into a miserable state and deep perturbation in religious and civil circles. Further, that they made known to him their good desires for peace and concord, relating to him all the efforts made to effect this, and in laying at his feet the concordat they had drawn up, besought his apostolic sanction in testimony of their constant fealty.

D. Diniz, however, in courteous language, led Martin IV. to understand that, on his part, he did not accept the Pontiff as the supreme judge in this suit, and scarcely admitted him as a mediator in the contention.

This proceeding of D. Diniz and of the Portuguese clergy did not please Rome, which was accustomed to decide all causes of this kind at its good pleasure. Hence the terms of the concordat did not meet with the favour of the Curia, and Pope Martin IV. declared that he would confirm it only under certain important alterations, which he proposed to the King for acceptance at the Cortes. The Bishop of Leon, the Dean and Archdeacon of Ledesma, and others were delegated by the Pope as his commissioners in this affair.

These conditions were not accepted by D. Diniz, and the dispute was prolonged for years, with no definite results, throughout the pontificate of Honorius IV., who was elected in April, 1285, and was only terminated during the pontificate of Nicholas IV., when the concordat was signed on the 7th March, 1289.

The King yielded and bent to the necessities of the times; therefore he was anxious to procure peace, and with that object in view he promised to do all that the prelates wished, but at the same time solemnly denied the guilt of what he had been accused of by the prelates—that he had taken the rents of the churches of Braga, Coimbra, Vizeu, and Lamego, and nominated an alcaide in Braga, when this nomination belonged to the archbishop; of taking a great number of parishes, with their revenues; of instituting inquiries concerning the goods of the clergy; of placing extraordinary imposts on the churches of his patronage; of compelling the clergy to pay tributes; of threatening with death the archbishop and bishops, and so forth.

But of what use to continue the enumeration of the complaints of the clergy? They are the same as were always repeated in the contentions with the Crown. Whether these complaints were true or not, we cannot decide; the King denied them all, but promised to watch, in order that the Portuguese church should have no further foundation for future complaints. It was seen that D. Diniz only desired to deliver himself from a war with the clergy, and for that reason was ready to make every concession, tacitly reserving the right of modifying them.

Then was the interdict which weighed over the country raised on

the last day of June, 1290, the term of which had been decreed by former bulls.

When this suit had been concluded between the civil power and the clergy in this same year of 1290, Pope Nicholas IV. judged proper to yield to a former petition of the Portuguese clergy, and which was also greatly desired by the King D. Diniz. The interference of the Pontiff in this affair is an act characteristic of the epoch which is impossible in our day to comprehend as existing between the national church and the Crown, but which then both solicited. We refer to the bull confirming the *general studies*, or of the university.

Before proceeding to relate the manner of establishing it, let us see what was the state of instruction of the country.

During the first periods of the monarchy, the small education which was followed was almost exclusively possessed by the ecclesiastical orders, and even among these were found presbyters with church appointments who scarcely knew how to read. In other social classes, even in the most elevated, the smallest intellectual culture was rare to find. The enlightened minds which existed were nearly all either foreigners or Portuguese, who had been educated in Italy, or more frequently in France.

Nevertheless, although few and badly organised, there existed in Portugal some establishments of instruction, and in them, as well as throughout all cultured Europe during the Middle Ages, the study of Latin, theology, canon law, and scholastic philosophy predominated. This system of philosophy continued in Portugal until nearly the end of the eighteenth century, and was only abolished when the Jesuits were expelled and the reformation of studies took place in the University, effected by the great statesman, the Marquis of Pombal, therefore it behoves us to understand its history and aim.

Scholastic philosophy, held in our day as obsolete, if not despised, was nevertheless, in regard to modern philosophy, what the Middle Ages were to modern times—its birth during the long and obscure period of its foundation. A superior fundamental idea governed the Middle Ages—theocracy, the predominance of the ecclesiastical power over all other social powers.

This principle influenced Portugal more greatly than in most European countries. Alfonso Henry, in order to secure the independence of the territories he inherited from his parents, and those which he conquered from the Moors, as well as to guard against the

covetousness of the sovereigns of Castille and Leon, rendered his own kingdom feudatory or tributary to the Holy See; hence, owing to this fact, the Roman Pontiffs arrogated to themselves in regard to Portugal certain rights which they either never exercised over other countries, or continued to hold for a longer period than elsewhere.

During the Middle Ages, theocracy took up as its instruments all human knowledge, all the civil powers and institutions.

It arose when the Middle Ages took an especial feature, and was the expression of its scientific theory. Scarcely had Charlemagne the Great, the personification of this cycle, assured to Europe the invasions of the North and South, of the barbarians of the North and the Arabs of the South which he had conquered in the material order, than he endeavoured to found society, and with that object had recourse to the Church as the only existent moral authority; and with the object of consolidating the empire in the spirits of the masses, he elevated to omnipotence the supremacy of the Roman pontificate, and induced the Pope to crown him Emperor of the West. For this same object it was Charlemagne who first opened public schools, and summoned to them the most learned men of Europe. Hence these schools being in the intellectual order the greatest novelty of the age, the science taught in these schools was called scholastic philosophy.

These schools became established in France, Spain, Portugal, and throughout all countries in places where peace, order, and tranquillity reigned, and which was only found in cathedrals and great monasteries: this circumstance giving to the philosophy of these institutions a character almost exclusively ecclesiastic and catholic. Scholastic philosophy was no more, so to say, than the form of theology which was its foundation. Theology, once its anti-scientific bases were accepted, of faith and tradition, with its possession of the Old and New Testament, the long and glorious martyrology of its first proselytes, and the books of the Holy Fathers, especially of St. Augustine, constituted for those times a system of doctrine which was complete and grand. Philosophy, however, had for its almost sole stock the *Organum* of Aristoteles. Hence for that reason its foundation was grand, but its form poor and incomplete.

Yet in course of time, and in proportion as the Church began to lose its predominance over civil society and to relax its hold on the human spirit, so did philosophy, by filling its place, commence to gain an elevated position in primary science, until it at length attained to

lay its fundamental principles of free examen and freedom of thought. This lengthened evolution was carried on through Central Europe, from Alcuin, the master and friend of Charlemagne in the eighth century, to Descartes and Bacon, the revolutionary modern philosophers of the seventeenth century; and in Portugal, as we have said, down to the reform of Pombal, a century later.

Likewise among us the appearance of the schools and of *scholastic* science dates some centuries later than that event in France. The establishment of the first school known in Portugal was at the end of the eleventh century. It was founded about the year 1082, in Coimbra, by the bishop D. Paterno, close to the cathedral, and with the consent of the reigning Count D. Sesnando. It was composed of a college, or seminary, contiguous to the church, with its endowment, wherein the collegiates lived in community under, or rather following, the rule of Saint Augustine, and where they learnt grammar, Latin, and theology, thus educating themselves for the reception of holy orders and for holding appointments in the chapter of the Episcopal See. Under this organisation the college subsisted until 1130, when the canons ceased to live together, with the exception of three, who persevered in the institution, and founded in that year the celebrated monastery of Sancta Cruz, and then commenced the order of regular canons of Saint Augustine.

It was in this convent, always greatly favoured by royal power, that there existed from the beginning, as a continuation of the college of D. Paterno, renowned schools for the study of those human sciences which were officially accepted. Soon after was established the good practice of sending the most intelligent individuals to France to study science and letters. We find that so early as September, 1192, Sancho I. was endowing the monastery of Sancta Cruz in 400 morabitinos, for the maintenance in France of the canons who went to be instructed.

Portugal was commencing to become great and to increase in wealth, taking possession of whole provinces, and the State powers therefore could now occupy themselves in peace with the administration of the country and public instruction. Hence to send to other nations where letters were commencing to flourish individuals who could later on return to teach in the kingdom, or occupy the highest appointments of the republic, was the best and only expedient to adopt.

It was about this time that D. Mendo Dias studied theology and

medicine in Paris, he who later on became renowned in Coimbra as professor of medicine in the monastery of Sancta Cruz.

About this epoch, in harmony with the injunctions of Innocent III., the Archbishops of Braga founded schools in the metropolitan church for the immediate instruction of the clergy. Later on, in other cathedrals, renowned colleges, and monasteries, it appears this example was also followed, and small libraries were established for public studies. The ancient dignity of *mestre-schola* of the chapters is a proof of these institutions.

During the reign of Sancho II. the Pope was asked that the first vacant prebendaryship in the College of Guimarães be given to a priest to teach grammar. However, of acknowledged existence there were only, besides the above-mentioned, the schools of theology of the convents of the Orders of Saint Dominic and Saint Francis, which were held in great repute at the latter half of the thirteenth century, and in 1269, during the reign of Alfonso III., in the opulent monastery of the congregation of Santa Maria of Alcobaça, was followed the public studies of grammar, logic, and theology.

Under the peace which was established almost completely in Portugal, and with the culture introduced by the suite of the French prince, the knowledge brought by many of the Crusaders and ecclesiastics who had studied in Paris or had lived in Rome, instruction commenced to take a notable impulse, and to quit the infantile state in which it had subsisted since the institute of D. Paterno before the foundation of the monarchy. Then commenced the development of the taste for the study of the sciences and letters, and then rose up theologians, doctors, jurists, and distinguished poets.

This powerful germ of civilisation which had been sown by Alfonso III. on an almost virgin soil, but fruitful and ardent, burst forth in this reign, opening a brilliant cycle of intellectual work, which forms a true glory for Portugal, and which at the present day is exciting the interest, if not the admiration of cultured Europe.

Two great literary establishments date from this epoch. One of the preceptors and masters of D. Diniz, D. Domingos Annes Jardo, a few years after the elevation to the throne of the king, founded in the city of Lisbon and in the parish of Saint Bartholomew, the college or study house of Saints Paul, Eloy, and Clement for ten chaplains, twenty mercenaries, and six scholars for Latin, theology, canons, and, as some authors affirm, for medicine and Greek.

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Domingos Jardo was at the time Bishop of Evora, pious, honourable, well instructed, and a lover of glory. He was much esteemed by Alfonso III., and by his son, who appointed him Chancellor, and later on conferred on him the episcopal mitre of Lisbon. Wishing to institute a perpetual suffrage for the souls of both monarchs and his own, and leave a testimony of their charitable, elevated ideas, he founded, under the name of Hospital or *Hospicio*, this college in one of the houses belonging to him.

The priests were bound to offer daily the suffrages he indicated, and the scholars to give themselves up to study beneath the shadow and tranquillity of the cloisters. With the object of endowing this institution, he obtained from D. Diniz on the 27th of August, 1284, the necessary permission to purchase the property which was forbidden to the clergy, and later on the illustrious prelate perfected his work by giving them statutes (1291), and privileges to the clergy and scholars educated in this college (1293).

The number of students had greatly increased, and the institution flourished for some centuries, when it was turned into the Convent of the Good Men of Villar. This college was patronised by the rich and most powerful monastic order in the country, the monks of Alcobaça, to whom the founder bequeathed its administration, and which, although it was contested for a long time by the rector, and denied by Clement V., nevertheless was always more or less accepted by the students. The college enjoyed good rentals, but it was an especial institute, almost exclusively destined for the religious life, and did not satisfy the daily need of a large, comprehensive establishment for public and general instruction outside the retirement of the cloister, wherein the State could rarely intervene, and where war was constantly waged against civil society.

With the enkindling of love for the study of science and letters throughout Europe, which took place during the last quarter of the thirteenth century, the foundation of universities became of great moment, and one of the principal desires of cultured spirits.

France possessed the one of Paris, definitely founded in 1200; that of Tolosa, in 1229; the one of Montpellier was then in treaty, and created in 1289. Italy had one in Salerno ever since the end of the eleventh century; of Bologna, in 1158; that of Naples, in 1224; another in Padua, in 1228; and that of Rome, in 1245. England already possessed the celebrated universities of Oxford and Cambridge—

the first was established in 1206, and the second in 1229. And lastly, Spain held the one of Valencia, created in 1209; and that of Salamanca, in 1239.

All these four regions were intimately united with Portugal—France on account of her instruction, Italy by reason of its pontificate and navy, England through her commerce, and Spain due to her policy and the proximity of the diverse kingdoms within her. In the imagination of a youthful king, lover of letters and literary fame, and in the hearts of many active spirits, some of which had been educated in these great foreign institutions, and others in the traditions of their importance, there rose up a vivid desire to found in Portugal a university similar to those they had frequented, or had heard of their renown, and of their great utility to the nations possessing them.

The work of Domingos Jardo was commencing to bear fruit, and this no doubt acted as an incentive to the realisation of this idea, for we find that, in the year 1288, a decisive step was taken for its establishment, which, although not the first, was the most important, because, besides actually formulating the desire, erected the necessary rents for the new foundation.

Impelled by this idea, and to gratify D. Diniz, a meeting of ecclesiastics and laity was held in Monte-Mor-o-Novo, in the month of November, wherein assisted the Abbot of Alcobaça, D. Domingos; D. Lourenço Pires, tenth prior of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra; the Prior of S. Vincent of Lisbon, and over twenty rectors and various priors, to discuss fully the affair; and on the 12th of the same month they addressed a petition to the Pope to confirm the assignment of a part of the revenues of their convents and churches, with the assent of the King as patron, to be yielded up for the maintenance of professors and foundation of a *general study* in the kingdom.

The most wealthy landed properties of the country were in the possession of the clergy; hence, in order to endow the new institution, it was necessary to have recourse to them; and although given with a good heart, this subvention, in order to render it effective and legal, required the authorisation of the Roman Pontiff, this being the ideas of the time and the rules of the canon laws. Besides this, the fact of ennobling the new foundation with the sanction of the Pope was, on one hand, to win the goodwill of the clergy, and on the other prove the means of enriching it with privileges and raising it in public esteem.

The fact stands that the said representation was made to Rome,

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and at the present day constitutes the first document known of the establishment of our university. This document, on account of its historic value, we judge proper to give a summary of, and runs as follows:—

"To our holiest Father and Lord, by the Divine Providence Supreme Pontiff of the Most Holy Church of Rome. We, your devoted children, the Abbot of Alcobaça, the Prior of Sancta Cruz of Coimbra, the Priors of St. Vincent of Lisbon, Santa Maria de Guimarães, Santa Maria of Alcaçova de Santarem, and the Rectors of the following Churches of St. Leonard of Atouguia, St. Julian, St. Nicholas, St. Eyria, St. Stephen of Santarem, St. Clement of Loule, Santa Maria de Faro, St. Michael, Santa Maria of Cintra, St. Stephen of Alemquer, and others, devoutly kiss your holy feet. As it behoves the regal State to be ornamented, not only with arms, but likewise with laws, in order that the Republic be properly governed in times of war and peace, because the earth is enlightend by science, and the lives of the saints more fully instructed to obey God and his ministers and masters, faith becomes strengthened, the Church is exalted and defended against heretical teaching by means of enlightened ecclesiastics, we desire, in the name of the abovesaid prelates, priests, and laity of the kingdoms of Portugal and the Algarve, to say that, after mature deliberation, we judge it of common utility, and convenient in our kingdom and to its inhabitants, to possess a general study of sciences, for the want of which many clergy, as well as the laity, have to proceed, at a great expense and risk of life, to other foreign countries and remote lands to pursue these said studies. For these causes and many others, we pray, with our most excellent King D. Diniz, to allow and order a general Study to be erected in our noblest city of Lisbon, for the greater honour of God and honour of the martyr St. Vincent, whose sepulchre, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, was given in this same city of Lisbon. Our King, having listened to our petition and admitted its importance, has given his consent, after mature deliberation, as patron of the above-mentioned monasteries and churches, that the salaries of teachers and doctors be defrayed from the rents of the said monasteries and churches, a tax being assigned to each, reserving the collected maintenance. We therefore pray and implore your Holiness humbly to grant our petition by confirming this pious work, laudably intended for the service of God, the honour of the country, and the general and

particular advantage of all. Given in Monte-Mor-o-Novo on November 2nd, in the year 1326."

This date corresponds in the vulgar computation to 12th November, 1288.

It appears that later on the superiors of other monastic ordres, notably of St. Benedict, likewise assented to this petition.

At the time the principal bishops of the kingdom must have been at Rome engaged in the contention respecting the civil power explained above, and therefore was the probable reason why they did not add their signatures to the petition addressed to the Pontiff, nor take any direct part, as far as in our day has been proved, in the foundation of the university; nor at the same time is there any direct proof that they induced the petition to be deferred, as it really was, for a length of time, perchance because the higher clergy retired from this affair, foreseeing that the new institute, with its brilliant light, would throw into the shade the schools attached to their cathedrals.

D. Diniz insisted in Rome, through his commissioners, for the good issue of the petition; but whether he was certain of its confirmation, or whether he did not judge it to be needful for the carrying out of the scheme, but he ordered the work to be commenced before the arrival of the pontifical authorisation.

The parish of Alfama, in the city of Lisbon, was selected for its site, close to the spot where later on, in the reign of D. Ferdinand, was erected the Gate of the Cross (Porta da Cruz), where the foundations were laid for the establishment of new schools.

The best masters were selected, and classes for grammar, logic, laws (Roman canons), and medicine were established, and speedily drew to Lisbon students from the various parts of the kingdom.

When on August 13th, 1290, Pope Nicholas IV. expedited the bull in deference to the representation of the clergy, it was addressed to the *University of Masters and Students of Lisbon.*

We see, therefore, that this bull did not erect the University, since it was already established; but it confirmed and rendered valid all that had been done in the matter, and besought the civil powers that the letting of the houses to the students be done with prudence, in order that they be not imposed upon by the proprietors. He permitted the prelates and priors who had offered their services to assign part of their rentals for the support of the masters, and that these, without exercising their sacred functions, might receive the revenues of their

charges and prebendaries. He authorised to the professors, students, and their servants the privilege of ecclesiastical dues. He directed that the degrees of licentiate be conferred by the diocesan prelate of Lisbon, and that the masters approved by him could teach in any place.

Patronised and endowed by the clergy, confirmed by the Pontifical bull with the privileged revenues of the Church, and subject to the episcopal authority for its degrees and examinations, the University took a decided ecclesiastical character, which it maintained for ages, and crippling its development and good effects.

Theology was excluded at first from the University schools, not because this discipline was considered unworthy of the *general studies*, but because, on the contrary, this science was considered so lofty and divine that for the time being it was confined to the cathedrals and cloisters, especially to the celebrated schools of the two then modern orders in Portugal of St. Francis and St. Dominic, which were held in high repute. But in spite of the narrowness of its organism, the scanty number of professorial chairs, the restrictions imposed by the rudeness of the age, and the clerical spirit which surrounded it, this new institution was in all respects a grand progress, and one of the most glorious acts of the reign of D. Diniz, for it formed the basis of a national scientific education, it was the germ which in future was to develop largely, and its fruits be garnered.

It appears that D. Diniz had a full apprehension of the lofty importance of his work. This is proved by the watchfulness he ever exercised over all its administrative acts; because, if at first at the institution of the University the royal action can scarcely be deduced, nevertheless in later times the governing providences issued for the University become important and numerous.

But the multiplication of students in Lisbon gave rise speedily to quarrels and disorders between them and the inhabitants, which manifested that a populous commercial city was not the best adapted for an establishment full of youths enjoying privileges and exemptions of all kinds, and where the spirit of class, similarly to other universities, was becoming developed from the beginning. Besides this, Lisbon being a seaport, the busy life and the amusements which were constantly going on were continual hindrances to the quietude necessary for study in schools.

To avoid all these inconveniences it was decided upon to transfer

the University to Coimbra. It was a more central point for the whole kingdom, dowered with healthy surroundings and good air, well provisioned, rich in vegetation, and a lovely scenery already poetised by glorious historic traditions.

D. Diniz solicited from Pope Clement V. an authorisation for its transfer; but in the same way as the University was founded previous to the pontifical grant, so also was the transfer effected long before the bulls arrived from Rome. Two bulls were sent, both dated from Poitiers, on February 26th, 1308, when the University had been already transferred to Coimbra, as we find a royal letter of January 27th, 1307, confirming the constitutions of the *Studies of Coimbra*, hence we must suppose that the change was effected the previous year.

The first bull authorised the Archbishop of Braga and the Bishop of Coimbra to transfer to this last city, should they judge it expedient, the *General Study of Lisbon*, as the King desired it, and confirmed the privileges granted to the schools by Nicholas IV.

The second bull was addressed to the monarch D. Diniz, and permitted him to annex six churches under royal patronage for defraying the expenses of the University.

"It is possible," says Fr. Francisco Brandão, "that with the transfer of the University to Coimbra, the abbots and rectors who in 1288 had promised in Monte-Mor-o-Novo to give a part of their rentals for the maintenance of the University of Lisbon should consider themselves exonerated from their promise, and for this reason, therefore, it became necessary to create other means of revenue."

It is known that the two highly endowed Churches of Pombal and Soure, which D. Diniz possessed after the Templars were extinct, were annexed to the University, and that to the latter there were never wanting the necessary rents for its expenses.

The *constitutions* which were approved by royal letters of 27th January, 1307, were scarcely more than a small regulation in the political, fiscal, and economic order, made by the University itself. But two years later, on the 15th February, 1309, royal munificence completed it. In a document written in Latin, D. Diniz granted to the University a series of privileges and immunities, which rendered it one of the most favoured and important of corporations in the country.

He declared *irrevocably* established in Coimbra the *General Study* with the teaching of canon law, civil or *cesarian*, medicine, dialectics, and grammar. He took under his royal protection the students, their

families and goods. He ordered, under grave penalties, for the justices of the kingdom to defend them from every vexation. He assigned to them as their only judges, both civil and criminal, the bishop, his vicar, or the schoolmaster. He conferred on the students the right of electing the rectors, councillors, beadle, and other officials, and to draw up their own statutes. He granted to the University a common coffer and seal. He ordered that two citizens be elected annually, of the highest classes, and two students, for them to assess and hire the houses for the students when these should not agree with the proprietors, and not permit, so long as they paid the rents, to be turned away, unless the owners should wish to reside in their houses, sell, or bestow them in marriage to their sons or descendants. He exempted from all expenses in the royal treasury, the privileges and freedom of the University. He forbade strictly all courtiers, soldiers, or buffoons to lodge in the houses of students, to beg or extort from them anything. He exempted from all rates of transit throughout the kingdom all students, their servants, horses, books, and luggage, when these said students were going or returning from their college. He permitted them to take free of duty to Coimbra all articles of food, whatever be the custom or local statute existing to the contrary. Finally, he established that two honourable citizens be chosen to fulfil the charge of *conservadores*, in order to preserve intact all the privileges of the University, to be jealous for the honour and the interests of the schools and students, and to apprise the King of what they thought needful for the institution.

These privileges were confirmed later on, established and amplified by a series of governing providencies which rivalled each other in devotion and watchfulness for the University.

The schools and the apartments of the students were situated in Coimbra from the Gate of Almedina upwards. At first the lessons were read in the various private houses; in this there was no difficulty, since each faculty had barely one professorial chair. But by degrees the schools became united in a building contiguous to the royal palaces, and where, in the sixteenth century, the college of St. Paul was erected.

Subsequently to 1309, there was established in the University the school of music; for in the highly devotional and poetic spirit of that age, the study of music and culture of the divine art was indispensable. Perchance an important document on this subject, the last of this reign, dated 18th of January, 1323, throws some light on the rental of the University. At the request of the Master of the new Military Order

of Christ, the King yielded up to the Order the two churches of Pombal and Soure, under condition that the revenue be assigned for the appointments of the Study, and a salary be given of £600 to the Master of Laws; to the one of Canons, £500; of Physics or Medicine, £200; to the Professor of Grammar, £200; to that of Logic, £100; of Music, £65; and £40 to each of the *Conservatoires*—these moneys being payable at Christmas and Midsummer.

It is impossible to say whether these payments corresponded in value to the coin of the present day, since money then had a much greater purchasing power than now.

The system of teaching was in those days in our University, as in all preceding ones, based on the narrow principles of scholastic philosophy. This was the principal cause why, notwithstanding its resources and privileges, our University prospered but little. Besides this, it fell into the exaggerated cultus of the imperial Roman laws, which fearfully concurred to the annulment of the councils and the increase of absolute royal power.

The university continued in Coimbra until the following reign. It was the first, and for a great length of time the only establishment of superior secular instruction in Portugal, and, in spite of all its primitive grave defects, was the best endowed, the most lasting and beneficial of the monuments which D. Diniz bequeathed to future generations.

The visitor who in our day enters into the wide court of Coimbra, and beholds on one side the *via latina*, on another the *escada de Minerva*, names which still record the dogmatic science of past ages, and considers the many generations of illustrious men who have trodden that ancient pile, cannot do less than bless the memory of D. Diniz, who, at a period when all studies were enclosed within the precincts of monasteries and cathedrals, gave to science a greater liberty and amplitude, by founding a university and laying the basis of an institution which was in future ages to cast back over Portugal such brilliant rays of glory and honour.

We have seen the conditions of intellectual culture which the State offered the nation; now let us study what the nation possessed, the result of that culture, the sentiment of nationality, its traditions and the mercantile influence and contact; of its military, political, and literary standing in comparison to other countries.

This study we can only appreciate and examine by the written

monuments of those remote ages. But in our day the research has been such, and the wealth of political lore and the information gained by consulting the archives of the Peninsula and of the Romans so great, that this book, in its circumscribed limits, could barely afford us space to give to the matter a small and summary idea.

Poetry is one of the first manifestations of the human soul. To speak and to sing are natural faculties; they are the manifestations of thought and feeling, of the ideas which are conceived in the spirit, and the impressions which the spirit receives from the external world.

As soon as a people become constituted, it at once initiates its poetry, either native or imitated, and oftentimes both—native, when sprung from its originality and power; imitated, when the country holds relations with some more cultured people than itself, and which it admires, studies, and endeavours to equal in its poetic productions.

Both these styles of literature are possessed by Portugal, and to both we must direct our attention at the period we are describing.

Before the Portuguese nationality became constituted, Galicia belonged to the new monarchy of Leon, and extended from north to south through the greater portion of the territory which later on was denominated Portugal, forming a vast region, in which was spoken only one language—the Galician. When D. Henry received, with the hand of D. Theresa, the government of that part of the province which lay between the rivers Minho and Tagus, and laid the first foundations of the monarchy which his son constituted definitely, the Galician language by degrees became transformed into the Portuguese language, and developed with the increase of the political life of the new independent State; meanwhile that the language of Galicia remained stationary, and did not pass beyond an intermediate dialect between the Spanish and the Portuguese, in the same way as Galicia, which, from its origin and character, is a part of Portugal, yet politically belongs to Spain.

Two classes, both indigenous of the Visigothic race, composed our nationality. The peaceful class, numerous and dedicated to productive labours, occupied the land previous to the conquest, having accepted quietly the tolerant dominion of the Arabs, which during that epoch had identified itself with their civilisation; the warrior class, conquerors and victorious, was composed of the nobles and soldiers—Asturian-Leonese—who from the Guadalete resisted the Saracens, and retired to

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the north of the Peninsula, returning later on, reconquering step by step Spain, and followed the husband of D. Theresa, and helped D. Alfonso to expel the Mussalmans.

The first class are denominated *Mosarabes*, which then constituted the larger portion of the people, and the second formed the *Nobility*.

The Mosarabes, which, previous to the Mussalman invasion, belonged generally to the inferior classes of society, and who were less in contact with the ancient Roman authorities and their old Latin civilisation, preserved for a great length of time superstitious ideas, traditions, juridical and domestic customs, and above all the poetry of the primitive Germanic life, although sufficiently modified by contact with the splendid civilisation of the Arabs.

The Visigothic nobility preserved throughout the Middle Ages its Germanic individuality, which produced feudalism, but lost its nature and nearly all else with its imitation of the Latin race and the influence of Catholicism; losing first, in literature and poetry, its originality; then, in jurisprudence and customs, its vigour and character, descending to the low servilism of courtiers in respect to the monarchic and Byzantine absolutism of the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries, until it altogether disappeared in this actual period, absorbed by the people, and extinguished by the successive conquests of modern democracy.

To the energetic Visigothic-Portuguese race, though reanimated, in one class by the incessant warfare of many generations of heroes, and in the other by useful work and the intellectual culture and civil liberty authorised by the Arabs, yet there was wanting a sufficiently powerful foundation of native traditions to elevate the spirit and afford it an original and typical character. These became reduced to the primitive traditions of Germania, rendered colourless by time and Arab assimilation, but which formed the bases of the primitive Galician and Portuguese poetry—the warrior deeds of the nobles respecting the recent conquest, and which in a small part were national, and the ideas and Christian legends of the vast poem of the Bible, which were more Oriental than Peninsularian.

The Galician, which had become stationary, possessed nevertheless, in the Peninsula, a literary importance: in this dialect was composed the first popular poems, which in Portuguese territory, transmitted by word of mouth from generation to generation, became adapted to the new language; and in this same dialect were the first Provençal

imitations written, in this wise was the dialect preserved until the nineteenth century in the various courts on this side of the Pyrenees as an artificial language, but much esteemed for lyric and sentimental poetry of the troubadour throughout Spain.

The Portuguese language, however, commenced, as we said, from the time of the arrival of the Count of Burgundy to acquire a distinct feature from the Galician dialect.

In the territory where the Count established himself many warriors and French ecclesiastics who had accompanied him also settled, and these received, in the new State, lands and important Government posts. Transcribers also came to write the Gospels in French letter, in fulfilment of the decrees issued by the Council of Leon in 1090. The Portuguese youths who wished to follow the ecclesiastical profession or showed a greater intelligence, proceeded to France to learn letters and sciences and receive a higher instruction. All these individuals, accustomed to the use of the French language, introduced into the Galician dialect a great number of polished terms and otherwise improved its phraseology.

This influence was increased further by the establishment of French colonies, which were commenced in the time of Alfonso Henry; by the lengthened residence of the French Crusaders who entered the Portuguese ports when proceeding to Palestine, and by the extensive emigration of Portuguese nobles and clergy which, in the reign of King Sancho II., took refuge in France, and from thence returned victorious with Alfonso III.

When Diniz ascended the throne the Portuguese language, enriched so greatly by contact with foreign dialects, became entirely distinct from the Galician, which no longer was spoken in Portugal, and only employed by some erudite writers when, for singularity's sake, they wrote some poems.

During the previous reign Portuguese began to be written, and as is generally the case, its first manifestation was in poetry.

Celtic traditions, especially the Germanic, which were but little altered by contact with the Romans, which scarcely reached the inferior circles of society, became expanded beneath the tolerant rule of the Mussalman conquerors; and, incited by the use of metre, music, singing, and dancing, which the Arabs constantly practised and invigorated by the independence of the new nationality and the progressive organisation of the municipalities, produced small anonymous

poems, Peninsularian rhapsodies which became, with the songs of the feasts and pilgrimages of social life, the primitive poetry of the Portuguese masses.

These small poems were at first called *aravias*, because their exterior forms were Arabic, the music which accompanied them, and the style of intoning. But at heart they preserved purely the Celtic and Visigothic character founded on the expansive sentimentality of the Peninsula. In them is observed the vestiges of the primitive myths and beliefs of the Indo-Germanic races, and the symbols, the usages, the penal jurisprudence of the Visigoths, which the same Mosarabe class inserted in their *foros*.

The Mosarabe population was more especially concentrated in the Algarve and Beiras than in any other part of Portugal, and it is in these places where, even to this day, is found traditionally these primitive poems in their most complete and purest form.*

These productions, otherwise admirable, composed in the uncultured language of the inferior classes, and which preserved throughout generations their archaisms and rudeness, lost their name of *aravias* and were called *romances* by the nobles and the learned, because the common language was styled generally, up to the fifteenth century, *romance*. It appears that it was only in this century that the people adopted this name for their poems, and it was only likewise in the fifteenth century that these poems acquired their greater development, enriched with the national traditions of the war of independence and our discoveries and conquests.

The *romanceiros*, or collections of these poems, gathered from oral traditions, and recently published, offer us rich fountains of tradition, of popular life, of originality and true poetry which charms and commands our admiration, and are the veritable literary and historic monuments of the first ages of Portuguese society.

Of the productions known at the present day, however, there are rarely found any that preserve the genuineness, the purity, or the form of the original *aravias;* they are mostly recompositions, some learned, others popular, of the primitive poems, made subsequently to the latter half of the fourteenth century, altering the language, the

* It is in the Island of Madeira, and principally in the Azores, that, after the provinces of Algarve and Beira, we find the richest mines of these poems brought by the first Portuguese who occupied these territories. In the Azores these poems still retain the name of *aravias*, which has become obsolete for a long time in the Peninsula.

metre, and the name of the personages, and where is solely preserved the fundamental idea of the legend.

In the chronological order this period was the first known in our literary history, and one of the richest, fully meriting our attention and study. Let us see what was the state of poetry in its most erudite and intellectual position.

In this order the epoch under consideration was extremely fertile. A short time since—to the shame of all Portuguese—an Italian published the most extensive collection of songs known, a work which has been much admired, but few have seen. The work is entitled *Il Canzoniere Portoghese della Biblioteca Vaticana*, by Ernesto Monaci (1875), and contains some 1,205 productions, embracing over a hundred poets of the Dionisian age.

We have thus the proof that in the second quarter of the century under consideration, there already existed this treasure of poetry, and the poetic enthusiasm which animated Portugal during the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries; and the recent publication of Monaci of the Vatican codices in their integrity comes at length to cast light over a period in the history of Portugal considered in our days so brilliant, but which a few years since was enveloped in obscurity.

It was not the King alone, as it was thought, who, either induced by his masters or his grandfather Alfonso the Wise, wrote in "metre and rhyme in imitation of the bards of Provence." It was, so to say, an entire nation, impelled by enthusiasm for a charming foreign fashion, followed by the monarch, and invigorated by national and popular desire, which adopted this particular style of amorous, sentimental poetry, and so became relatively more cultured by acquaintance with the elegance of language, metre, and rhyme with which it was adorned. The King, Infantes, the highest dignitaries of the kingdom, knights, ecclesiastics, jesters, the popular classes—in a word, all who approached the Court or frequented the dwellings of *ricos-homens*, the ecclesiastical and secular schools—all became poets; and these compositions, preserved amid the priceless treasures of the Vatican, affords us a grand insight into the most intimate sentiments, language, customs, and ruling passions of that distinguished epoch.

We find that Provençal poetry commenced among the Portuguese after the year 1245, when the Infante Count of Boulogne returned from France at the head of prelates and nobles who had emigrated, accompanied by learned French ecclesiastics. Among this numerous

retinue, brave and victorious, came native and foreign spirits, who were enthusiastic for the poetry which from the South of France had reached to Paris and had worked its way into Portugal, bringing some influence from Galicia received from Aquitania, and rapidly spread in all Latin races of the West of Europe, and even reached Germany and England.

However, when this style of poetry reached Portugal, it had been in existence more than a century from its birth in the most fertile zone of France, which extends from the north of the Loire to the Lake of Geneva, comprehending Aquitania, Auvergne, Rhodes, Tolosa, Provence, and Vienna, where the Gaulic traditions had been preserved more purely and vividly, and with them the popular songs; but the nobility and clergy held these in contempt, and kept them, as it were, in subjection during the epoch of the Middle Ages.

The Crusades, which commenced at the end of the eleventh century relieved the South of France of these two dominating classes. Fathers and nobles departed for Asia, carried away by frenzied piety for the conquest of Jerusalem.

The popular element, on feeling the weight of this yoke diminished, began to raise its head; municipal organisation to gain a powerful increase; commerce, industries, agriculture, arts, all the manifestations of the people; and as a consequence, poetry acquired with liberty a strange vigour, and the ancient songs of Gaul, up to then uncultured, despised, and persecuted, took a written form, became perfected, and in a short time rose to a brilliant literature, which at length enthralled cultured spirits and the elevated classes.

Throughout the South of France the number of troubadours was infinite; their songs, although the principal subject was love, and at times would become lost in the abstraction of an exaggerated sentimentality, nevertheless implanted in the public spirit the independence of the municipalities, elevating the dignity and conscience of the masses, by making them feel that they could command the love and esteem of the highest, and be themselves loved by means of loyalty, bravery, and talent.

When the powerful municipal organisation, and almost democratic, of the South of France became crushed by the feudalism of the Franks under the fanatical pretext of extirpating the heresy of the Albigenses, Provençal poetry withered away very considerably, and later on fell into a complete ruin when the Crusades ended in 1291, and the clergy

and nobles remaining in the country regained in part their former predominance.

The troubadours then spread themselves throughout Europe, especially the republican cities of Italy, and became a powerful element, as they had been in their own land, for the elevation of the popular classes and the municipal life.

In Portugal, the literature of Provence began to acquire vigour and reached its brilliant period when it was already in its decadence in Provence.

When Alfonso III. beheld himself firmly seated on the throne, and with heirs, he thought of educating his eldest son in such a manner as would render him worthy of the crown he was bequeathing to him, by giving him, as we have seen, the best masters, among them Aymeric d'Ebrard of Aquitania, a lover, and probably a teacher of the poetry of his land; and it was also about that time the state of health of D. Alfonso was such that it compelled him to lead a sedentary life, fixing his residence in the capital, and for whole years either was confined to his bed, or to the seclusion of his chamber.

In order to divert the active spirit of the King during the lengthened hours of his protracted seclusion the nobles cultivated poetry, the taste for which had been acquired during emigration.

Hence D. Diniz was educated in this atmosphere, and with masters who were decidedly lovers of this kind of literature. When his father assigned him a residence, some of the fidalgos appointed for his household were poets, and with these and others he held frequent epigrammatic combats, then in vogue in all Latin nations.

When he ascended the throne, notwithstanding the cares of government, which were laborious and agitated, Diniz not only continued an assiduous cultivator of poetry, but attained to become the first poet of his time, and to instil a love for it among all the cultured classes of the country. Around the King there soon mustered a brilliant circle of bards and rhymesters which cast its light over the dark shadows of the Middle Ages, and across the pages of the songster of the Vatican. Some of his sons became poets, and more greatly captivated his affection in proportion as they became distinguished among the versifiers of the time.

Provençal poetry, however, was foreign; for its basis it had foreign traditions; as its constant subject, lovemaking forbidden by social inequalities and mysteries. Nothing of this could take root in

Portugal, because it was not native to the soil, but it subsisted for a longer period than could have been expected, and acquired new vigour and a certain Portuguese originality that distinguished it from the Provençal literature of other Latin nations.

By this enthusiastic and almost general cultivation of versification, the Portuguese language rapidly improved, and acquired a relative perfection. Portuguese began to be employed in Government acts and law writings, which up to then had been written in Latin.

D. Diniz, following the general regard which letters were receiving throughout Europe—since this was the epoch of the first renaissance—had celebrated works translated into the common language, which greatly concurred to establish its grammar and widen useful knowledge. Among these, the translation from the Spanish of the *Chronica geral de Hespanha*, and the *Leis das Partidas*, which he adapted for Portugal from the Arabic, by Gil Pires; the works of Moo Rasis, Chronicler of Cordova, and various religious works from the Latin. Finally, in Portuguese was written the *Livro velho das Linhagens e Nobilario do Conde D. Pedro*, and which, it is said, afforded the primitive sketch of the first novel in prose, called *Amadis da Gaula*, that became later on so renowned throughout the world.

The literary nation had become constituted, the adherents of Alfonso III. were the first to start the work, and D. Diniz to complete the labours of organisation, and became, amid the circle of troubadours, the greatest poet of the epoch, and had the historic felicity of giving his name to this glorious cycle.

Scarcely had two years passed since the second concordat celebrated between the civil powers and the church, than new complaints arose among the prelates, more particularly in respect to D. Vincent, the Bishop of Oporto, and disturbed the spirit of D. Diniz, but ere this complaint reached Rome, the monarch proceeded to Oporto, on August 23rd, 1292, to discuss the matter, and drew up a third accord with the clergy, represented by the Bishops of that city, Guarda, and Vizeu. After this concordat there was a better understanding, and it was only seventeen years later, in 1309, that the complaints of the clergy became renewed.

It was then decided and arranged all laws of mortmain in its juridical, political, economic, and social formula. All else which was done in this affair, in the sense of progress and liberty, with the exception of the extinction of religious orders, was no more than a confirmation

or regulation of the laws decreed by D. Diniz, and which, during the regency of the Infante D. Pedro, were inserted integrally in the *Ordenações Affonsinas.*

Returning to external policy, we continue the narrative of its history.

D. Diniz was at Lisbon in April, 1295, when he received intelligence that the King of Castille lay in imminent peril of his life. Being well acquainted with the state of affairs and of the temper of the neighbouring monarchy, he knew the death of Sancho would open a long period of perturbations and weakness, due to the minority of his successor, and that it behoved him to profit by it.

Portugal was enjoying internally a season of peace as complete as could be expected in those periods of power and violence. Population was increasing; the nobility numerous enough, and brought up in the warlike traditions of former reigns, aspired ardently for the glorious adventures of war; the councils were full of daring youths, elevated by the recent popular liberty, and desirous of distinguishing themselves. Productive labour in all its branches was increasing, developing, and prospering. The royal treasury was, relatively, more opulent than that of any other monarchy of the Peninsula. Hence, as the country possessed all these conditions of wealth and strength, and not over-scrupulous in the means employed to realise this idea, the son of Alfonso III. perceived that the moment which he had so ardently desired had arrived for enlarging his states.

With the object of observing more closely what might occur in Castille, and be ready to take any resolution, D. Diniz departed from Lisbon, and proceeded to visit Coimbra, Vizeu, Lamego, Trancoso, until on the 27th of June he took up his residence in Guarda, a city of Portugal nearest to the frontier, and the line in those days of the principal communications with the neighbouring kingdom.

On the road the monarch received the news of the death of Sancho, and of the acclamation in Toledo of his son Ferdinand IV. as King, being then nine years and four months of age, but who should be chosen tutor and regent of Castille was still undetermined.

The previsions of D. Diniz were soon realised. Directly after the oath of obedience to the new King was taken, there arose on all sides pretenders to the crown placed on the brow of a weak child, and those who coveted the power flocked around to assert their claim to the regency. Allied one with the other, amid an interminable crowd of

intriguers and disloyal ones, powerful magnates, entire orders of chivalry, important cities—in a word, all the adjoining nations were surging around to tear up the extensive Castillian monarchy, and make it the scene of their mutual hostilities, and principally of their rapine.

To all these evils, aggravated by famine and the plague, Castille could only offer in opposition two remedies—a mother's love and the patriotism of the people; but these proved sufficient to save her.

The Queen, D. Maria de Molinos, mother of Ferdinand IV., calmly resolute, strong, and heroic, by abolishing the recent vexatious imposts of excise, and by granting some local privileges to the people, was able, with the powerful and living elements of the communes, to sustain on the throne her son, and prevent the kingdom from being completely cut up and subdivided by rebels and foreigners.

The first who rose up against the King was his uncle D. John, he whom the Queen had saved from death in Alfaro, and who had assassinated the son of Alfonso Peres de Gusman, opposite the rampart walls on the previous year. From his residence in Granada, in union with the Saracens, the Infante proclaimed himself King of Leon and Castille, and very quickly invaded Andalusia, aided by an army of Moors.

Diogo de Haro, brother to Lopo who was assassinated in Alfaro, returned from Aragon, where he had fled, took possession of Byscaia, a seigniority of the family, and devastated the neighbouring towns of Castille by continual raids.

The Laras, to whose loyalty Sancho had entrusted his son at his last moments, and later on the master of Calatrava, and other nobles sent by the Queen to combat Diogo, leagued with him, putting forward their haughty pretensions, and compelled the new Government to give him Byscaia, acknowledging its almost complete independence.

Besides these, another Infante of Castille, D. Henry, uncle to Sancho, and who had some months previously returned to the country after being a captive for twenty-six years, having been taken prisoner by Charles of Anjou in the wars of Sicily, declared himself apparently protector of the new King; but he so intrigued with the people, and so alarmed them, attributing to D. Maria the vexatious intentions of despoiling him under the heaviest imposts, that in the Cortes of Valladolid he attained to be named tutor of D. Ferdinand, and defender of the kingdom, dividing the government with the Queen, who retained exclusively the bringing up and the education of her son.

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After sacking the lands adjoining Andalusia, the Moors returned to Granada, forsaking the Infante D. João. With a few followers, this restless, discredited prince presented himself at several cities. Alcantara and Coria surrendered, but Seville closed its gates upon him, and Badajoz repulsed him. He then resolved to seek aid from his nephew D. Diniz, and for this object came to Guarda, where he was received by the Portuguese King with every mark of affection. Being completely deficient of means, the Infante obtained them by the sale of the castle and city of Coria to the son of Alfonso III. for 345,000 Leonese maravedis.

D. João also laid before him his pretended rights to the throne of Castille. By the death of Sancho, the second son of Alfonso X., the crown could not, he advanced, revert to its former pretenders, the Infantes de la Cerda, the sons of the eldest born, because these had been excluded by the Cortes, who had declared the late king successor to the throne. Sancho had left no legitimate issue in view that the Papacy had not given a dispensation for his marriage with D. Maria de Molina, who was related to him by the third degree of consanguinity; hence the crown belonged to him as brother to the deceased king, and therefore his nearest legitimate relative.

Against this supposed illegitimacy of the marriage of Sancho, which was the principal basis of the argument advanced by the Infante, D. Diniz had argued with the King of Castille when he was his ally in the siege of Arronches; besides this, the new monarch was his relative; Sancho confirmed this promise in his will; and lastly he was bound by fealty to the treaties celebrated with his father, to be friendly with the youthful King, whose rights to the crown he was one of the first to acknowledge.

But the successor of the Count of Boulogne had an end in view towards which he worked without any scruple as to the means to be employed, being impelled by ambition and self-interest, feelings which in many spirits destroy all logical or just reasoning.

D. Diniz summoned a council composed of the ministers, the principal prelates, and noblemen of the kingdom, and laid before them the question of legitimacy of the Infante to the crown of Leon and Castille.

Without attending to the manifest incompetency of the tribunal, the council decided the cause. They judged by the said indications that D. John, who had several time invaded his country, and made

war at the head of the Mussalman armies, had, by right of succession, the inheritance to the neighbouring monarchy.

This singular sentence was proclaimed by D. Diniz to the border counties of Leon, exhorting them to receive the Infante as their King, and promising to aid them to the full extent of his power.

As a sequel to this proceeding, D. Diniz on the 1st August, 1295, declared war to Castille, and issued a general call on the military forces of the kingdom, which then, with few exceptions, constituted all the able-bodied men of the country.

When the army was gathered together, the King D. Diniz sent, as was usual in that epoch of chivalry, a cartel of defiance to the youthful monarch of Castille, its prelates, *ricos-homens*, military orders, and people. The bearers of this message were Joanne Annes Redondo and Mem Rodrigues Rebotim. The attempt could not be more propitious to the aims of the Portuguese monarch.

These messengers were received in fear and terror by the Cortes of Valladolid. Castille was hesitating between the civil war of Byscaia, the various divisions among the nobles, and the insidious intrigues of D. Henry with the procurators of the councils. It was then acknowledged by all that at the moment it was impossible to offer the necessary resistance to the King of Portugal in collusion with the Infante D. John.

The envoys were dismissed without an answer, but later on they sent to Guarda the Infante D. Henry to treat with the King D. Diniz, he who had been just elected by the Cortes to fill the post of tutor and govern the State during the minority of the young King.

The son of Alfonso III. received him with his usual affability and courtesy. The two soon came to terms. D. Diniz, instigated by ambition, nevertheless maintained the prudent, plausible spirit which ruled his character. D. Henry was constrained by necessity and the difficult position in which Castille lay under; besides which, not being actuated by patriotism or lofty sentiments, he was ready to give away what was not his own.

On the 6th of September, D. Henry was already signing the obligations which, as far as Castille was concerned, he had undertaken in the arranged treaty.

The towns of Moura and Serpa, with their bounds and castles, would be delivered up to D. Diniz, and Aroche and Aracena in eighteen months' time. Besides this, the Government of Castille pledged itself,

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within a determinate term, to assign with Portuguese delegates the demarcations of the two kingdoms on all those points where D. Diniz judged he had been curtailed, and had claimed redress from D. Sancho, but never obtained it.

On his part the King of Portugal pledged himself to be a friend and ally of the youthful Ferdinand IV. The concessions which the Portuguese obtained were not few; but we can affirm that these concessions were only just. The four towns mentioned possessed ancient claims, having been conquered from the Moors by the Portuguese—the two first by Sancho the Bald, and the latter by the Count of Boulogne. The King, Alfonso X. of Castille, took possession of them, on account of his power, and probably of the civic and clerical divisions which had so weakened Portugal. Therefore the King of Portugal was only, and even with better reason, following the example given him by his grandfather, and profiting skilfully of the attempt to recover from the cousin what he had under similiar circumstances extorted from his father. The external policy of the time was almost circumscribed among princes to a continued series of marriages, robberies, and disloyalty. D. Henry very soon entered into a treaty with the Infante D. João, promising to replace him in his Leonese seignorities and submitting to the youthful king.

On the following month D. Diniz, accompanied by his Queen, the Court, and a large concourse of people, proceeded to Ciudad Rodrigo, where D. Maria de Molina, Ferdinand IV., D. Henry, and the Ministers of Castille awaited them, and where the treaty celebrated in Guarda was ratified on the 4th and 20th of October. Ferdinand yielded up the possession of the four towns, acknowledging that they had been allied to the Portuguese crown from the reign of his grandfather, and issued orders for the surrender of Moura and Serpa, which was effected within the stated term.

From Ciudad Rodrigo, D. Diniz went to Alemtejo to take possession of the two towns, and on December 9th gave to it, as well as to Noudar, a castellated place within the boundaries of Moura, the same charters as to the city of Evora.

It was about this time that in opposition to the Government of Castille, D. John Alfonso, Lord of Albuquerque, declared himself vassal to D. Diniz, entered his service, and soon became the chief mediator between the two nations, the Portuguese monarch elevating him to the first appointments of the kingdom.

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As soon as the King arrived at Lisbon, he appointed delegates to proceed with those of Castille to mark the boundaries of the frontiers, as had been arranged, one line being on the side of Beira from the Tagus to the mouth of the Coa, another from the latter up to Caminha, and comprehending the line of the two provinces of Tras-os-Montes and Entre Douro and Minho.

On the day fixed, January 20th, 1296, the Portuguese commissioners met together, some in Pinhel, others in Monforte de Riba Coa, and awaited the Castillian delegates. These latter, however, did not make an appearance. The Portuguese drew up competent protests, and went to Lisbon to render an account of their mission. Affronted by this discourtesy, and without waiting to investigate the cause of the absence of the delegates, D. Diniz resolved to take advantage of the occasion to compel by force of arms the complete execution of the agreement.

The period had arrived of the stormiest and most perilous times for the vacillating throne of the son of Sancho the Brave.

His perverse uncle, D. John, rebelled anew, and by low means and intrigues, and, moreover, skilfully profiting by the diverse circumstances which were agitating the neighbouring sovereigns, the Infante was enabled to form a most powerful party to support his aims.

James II. of Aragon, who was to espouse the tender sister of Ferdinand IV., now under plea that he could not obtain the pontifical dispensation for the marriage, owing to the close degree of consanguinity, but really because he desired to contract another marriage impelled by political interests, returned the Infanta to her mother, the Queen D. Maria, and became the principal element of alliance against Castille, to which the Kings of France, Navarre, and Granada speedily allied themselves. Surrounding their own ambitions with the colouring of justice and legitimacy, these princes leagued themselves to the two Castillian pretenders, Alfonso de la Cerda and D. John, and in the town of Ariza they all combined to divide among themselves the vast monarchy of Alfonso X. Castille, Toledo, and Andalusia were assigned to Alfonso de la Cerda; Leon, Galicia, and Asturias to D. John. In compensation for the expenses of the war, D. Alfonso ceded Murcia to the Aragonese monarch, and to his brother, the Infante D. Pedro, who commanded the invading army, was given the towns of Alarcon, Moya, and Cañete.

Apprised of this rising, and taking the infraction of Castille as a pretext for breaking the treaties made during the previous year,

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D. Diniz hastened to ally himself to the rebels, pledging himself to take part in the war in return for numerous strongholds promised him on the frontier.

The Aragonese army, increased by the rebel troops of the Infantes, left Ariza on 9th April, invaded Castille, and occupied the city of Leon, where D. John was proclaimed King of Leon, Galicia, and Seville. This army then advanced, took Sahagun, and then pledged oaths of allegiance to D. Alfonso de la Cerda, who was acclaimed King of Castille, Cordova, Jaen, and Toledo. Then proceeded on to the town of Mayorga, some five leagues farther on, and besieged it on meeting with resolute resistance. Meanwhile, Aragonese troops were taking possession of Alicante and Murcia. The French and Navarrese of Najera and the Saracens invaded Andalusia. Castille found herself driven to the direst extremity.

D. Diniz continued his preparations for invading likewise the neighbouring kingdom. But owing to the treaties effected the previous year, the idea of entering into war had been put away, the contingents of the *ricos-homens* and of the councils had returned to their respective localities, and the troops which remained in Guarda were insufficient to carry out the king's intention. It became necessary to raise a new conscription and arrange affairs for entering an enemy's country. But whether it was due to the magnitude of the undertaking and its preparations, or because the King hesitated to take this step, it was as a fact only after the middle of September that D. Diniz, at the head of the Portuguese army, crossed the frontier and entered Ciudad Rodrigo.

On reaching Saldanha he received intelligence of the death of D. Pedro of Aragon, on the 30th of August, and the withdrawal of the army which besieged Mayorga. This was a great disaster for the united forces.

Castille was fortunate in saving herself from the fearful storm which threatened her. D. Maria de Molina, on beholding the country invaded on all sides, invoked the patriotism and loyalty of the councils, whose representatives had met in the Cortes of Segovia; and, without losing courage, she proceeded to arrange all the forces which had remained faithful, and inspired such energy and fire into them that she was enabled to offer the invaders a terrible though passive resistance. She avoided pitched battles, and strengthened the garrisons of all fortified places in such a manner that generally throughout the monarchy the gates were closed upon the legions of the enemy.

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The Infante D. Henry—following a system opposed in the defence of Andalusia against the Emir of Granada—was defeated in an encounter, and would have lost all that kingdom had he not been saved by the intrepidity and intelligence of Alfonso Peres de Gusman.

Mayorga, where the Queen had sent some of her most loyal knights, heroically responded to the brave spirit of this valiant woman. For the space of four months Mayorga resisted all the efforts of the enemy, who, unable to conquer the stronghold, unceasingly devastated the adjoining lands. A terrible epidemic visited the besieging army and reducing it to a small number and the greatest misery, and the Infante D. Pedro, who commanded the forces, fell a victim. The Aragonese quickly raised the siege and retired, not like a fighting corps, but as a funeral *cortège*, taking with them hundreds of biers bearing their illustrious dead covered with palls which the Queen D. Maria, condoling with their losses, had sent them, and in a long melancholy procession quitted the spot.

Notwithstanding these deplorable events, D. Diniz continued to advance to Castille in the direction of Salamanca.

The position of the adverse Government was still a very difficult one; it found itself destitute of means to continue the war; the councils exacted new privileges; the tutor D. Henry and the principal nobles continued their intrigues and importunate demands for money and lands.

In Salamanca, D. Alfonso de la Cerda, at the head of the Castillians who followed his standard, and D. Pedro Cornel, the only *fidalgo* who continued with him, joined the Portuguese hosts.

A council was held, and it was resolved to march straight to Valladolid, where the Court resided, besiege the city and capture the Queen and the youthful King D. Ferdinand, and end the war by a decisive, daring blow.

The march proceeded, and the army crossed the Douro close to Tordesillas without meeting any opposition, reaching the town of Simancas, two leagues from Valladolid.

In the Castillian Court all counselled the Queen to retire from the city in order not to expose herself and the King to all the eventualities of war and horrors of a siege. D. Maria de Molina, however, firmly resolved to remain, and the ancient chroniclers of Castille tell us that she even rejected a proposal of adjustment sent to her by D. Diniz.

We believe that the repulse, if any did take place, was only apparent.

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and that secretly the two rulers promised one another to effect a treaty which would put an end to the war. The existence of these preliminary treaties is confirmed by the two Portuguese chroniclers; and always did the widow of Sancho manifest herself willing and ready to enter into an alliance with D. Diniz, to whose family she ever fondly wished to join her own, ever bearing in mind that the Portuguese monarch defended her in Arronches against the intrigues of Lopo de Haro.

In Simancas, D. Diniz learned the fact that the inconstant and restless Infante D. John had acknowledged his nephew D. Ferdinand legitimate King of Castille, and that some of the ricos-homens belonging to the alliance had refused to besiege the Queen and her son. In view of the fresh turn of affairs, and seeing that the winter was at hand, when it would be difficult to cross the Douro and his small forces be cut up in an enemy's land, deprived as he was of his allies and provisions, he resolved to retire to Portugal by Medina del Campo. D. Alfonso de la Cerda also retired to Aragon.

The Portuguese army, as it proceeded on its return home, devastated all it could, as was the custom of those times, and on this occasion with redoubled force, since it wished to take revenge for the raids which the Castillians were making in many points of the boundary-line of Portugal, which, unhappily, were marked by many cruelties practised on the prisoners by robberies and profanations of all kinds.

And although D. Diniz beheld his soldiers loaded with spoils and found the road free of enemies, yet he was ill satisfied with the result of his expedition. He had entered forty leagues into Castille, but had had no result with the tacit retirement of the Queen's government to fight any battle which could afford him glory, nor had he taken any important place by which to enlarge his own dominions. Besides this, he had been betrayed by some of his allies—a thorn which wounds the heart's core.

In this bitter state of mind, and probably meditating how to enter Portugal with more renown and profit than he had as yet acquired, did D. Diniz approach the land of his birth. He had already reached to the province of Estremadura, in the kingdom of Leon, and had only a few leagues still to traverse in the enemy's country ere he reached the Portuguese frontier. It was then that his political and acquisitive genius resolved upon a means of rendering memorable this military undertaking, which up to that point had been colourless

under all its aspects, and enlarge the nation over whose destinies he presided.

In front of the hosts of D. Diniz there extended along the frontier of Portugal a tract of land of some fifteen leagues in length and three or four in width. On the north it was separated from Portugal by the rapid currents of the Douro; to the south and west flowed the river Côa. This tract belonged to Leon, and was a dependence of the Crown of Castille; but in former times, however, during the monarchy of Alfonso Henry, alternately fluttered the banner of the Portuguese or the flag of Leon, or was substituted by the crescent of the Mussalman from the towers of their most important towns.

This tract was a district covered with villages and residences; seven towns well fortified and populous stood forward—Sabugal placed on the north, Alfaiates, Villar Maior (founded by the last King of Leon), Castelbom, Almeida, Castello Rodrigo, and Castello Melhor.

The ruggedness of the place was remarkable. Although mountainous, and in some parts, especially to the north, very sterile, neglected, and uncultivated; nevertheless, on the whole, it was rich in vegetation and well watered. Small pine woods, chestnut plantations, luxuriant oaks, olive, almond and plum trees encircled magnificent vineyards, and numberless acres of corn and maize—hence the inhabitants, wealthy with the products of the soil, did not require to import any of the necessaries of life from neighbouring places.

Besides their respective councils, there existed in this district various important seigniories. The knights of the Order of Alcantara, to which had been incorporated that of Pereiro at the beginning of the century, possessed in that place valuable properties. Almendra belonged, by an ancient donation of Alfonso the Wise, to the Count D. Martim Gil, chief ensign of the King D. Diniz. The Monastery of Santa Maria d'Aguiar, of the Cistercian Order, the only one in the district, and which was situated to the east of Castello Rodrigo, possessed part of the villages bounding this town, founded by Alfonso Henry. The greatest possessor, however, of Riba de Côa was D. Sancho de Ledesma, first cousin of the Kings of Portugal and Castille, who held the best towns and villages of the district, and who was still, it appears, under the tutelage of his mother, D. Margarida de Narbona.

Both Portuguese chroniclers affirm that the Lord of Ledesma at the commencement of the campaign presented himself to D. Diniz and declared himself his vassal, receiving in return large sums; after-

wards he entered the service of Ferdinand IV., and with the money received made war on the Portuguese, who, in order to avenge the treachery, and compensate himself for the sums given, D. Diniz, on returning from Castille, took possession of the lands of Riba de Côa, the greater portion of which belonged to D. Sancho.

The ancient chroniclers of Spain attribute the fault to D. Margarida, who entered into treaties and arrangements with the King of Portugal, and neglected to defend the inheritance of her son even in his infancy.

Both these hypotheses, besides being plausible, were perfectly in accord with the character of the epoch. Although Fr. Francisco Brandão contests this assertion, we have ample proofs that between the house of Ledesma and D. Diniz there existed understandings which afforded the pretext for the conquest, or else facilitated it, the youthful D. Sancho being innocent of them, since later on Castille indemnified him amply for what he had lost in Riba de Côa.

But the true reason for the conquest is clearly deduced from subsequent facts and the previous history of both kingdoms.

The son of Alfonso III., on returning to Portugal, beheld the line of territory which in part already appertained to the crown of his elders, and over which he had more or less a right, as his adversaries subsequently acknowledged; and afforded a means of compensation or a secure pledge for the future concessions of other strongholds which he claimed, but which the Government of Castille refused to accede for a long time: the land was covered with defences, and in the rebellions and divisions in which the country was cut up during the reign of Ferdinand IV., D. Diniz effected treaties with some of the owners of the district, which rendered it easy for him to take possession of it; and this possession was a moral and material indemnification to the country for the expense of lives and money which a war entailed with a foreign nation without a justifiable reason or necessity, and which could only be excused in the eyes of the people by some advantages being obtained.

These and other motives could not do otherwise than influence the spirit of D. Diniz, who was ambitious and restless, and he therefore did not hesitate a moment. He invaded the whole district up to the Coa, from the shores of Turões and the river Agueda, which became the limits of the Portuguese frontier.

The fortifications of the strongholds were unimportant, and their garrisons too small to resist the Portuguese army. Some of these

forts surrendered by treaty, others were taken in swift battles. The Government of the youthful Ferdinand for many reasons was weak, and it abandoned this small part of its vast monarchy on beholding the impossibility of defending it.

D. Diniz remained in Castille until the end of October, and this important conquest must have been effected either in that month or the first days of November, 1296.

D. Diniz, who was for his epoch a true statesman and consummate politician, after effecting the material possession of Riba de Coa, endeavoured to secure it by captivating the spirits of the people, and in every way winning the affections of his new subjects.

He increased existing fortifications, and raised others; he placed Portuguese garrisons in all the strongholds, and appointed governors chosen among his bravest and most loyal knights. He demonstrated by fair reasonings that the conquest properly belonged to Portugal, in order to convince his new subjects of its legitimacy. He granted the councils privileges and rents, and on November 8th confirmed the rights of Castello Rodrigo, Castello-Bom, and Almeida; on the 10th, those of Sabugal; and on the 27th, when in Coimbra, those of Villar-Maior. About this time, also, the Infante D. John of Castille ratified the sale of the city and castle of Coria, which had been effected, as we said, on the previous year.

While the royal army was thus occupied in Castille, the frontier troops of both kingdoms were making reciprocal entries along the border-line, levelling adjoining towns, and carrying desolation and death. During these incessant raids sanguinary battles were fought, with varied success, on both sides. Both Portuguese chroniclers affirm that the master and cavalry of Aviz were defeated by the large concourse of the soldiers of Andalusia close to the Guadiana, but the erudite Francisco Brandão doubts this fact.

Andalusia was not, on that occasion, in a fit state to gather together and array before Portugal sufficient forces to effect this. It was then invaded by the Moors, and placed in such a straitened position that Alfonso Perez de Gusman, its governor, after enduring great reverses, sought aid from the King of Aragon, who was his enemy, it is true, but a Christian and a Spaniard, to save and defend that portion of the Peninsula from the victorious Mussalman arms, which were aided by the disloyal efforts of the Infante D. Henry. On similar grounds does Brandão refute the narrative given by the two chroniclers

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respecting the great naval engagement won by the Portuguese admiral against the fleet of Seville, which, they said, had proceeded to the Tagus to challenge the Portuguese and take prizes. This event is not mentioned by the Spanish historian Lafuente, and therefore we are fain by these omissions to hold such information doubtful.

It is, however, certain that the members of the Councils or Communes of Elvas, wearied out by the presence of the Castillian garrison of Campo Maior, proceeded with their standard to assail the stronghold, which they captured, and then went on to do the same to the Castle of Alvalade, which was not far distant.

In recompense for the patriotic and heroic deeds effected by the people, D. Diniz assigned these two conquered strongholds as the landmarks of the Council of Elvas.

These strongholds, the towns of Moura Serpa and Mourão, the Castle of Noudar, and the fertile, populous district of Riba de Coa were the ample spoils which D. Diniz gathered from these two attempts against Castille.

But now followed the difficult matter of not only furthering but maintaining, with some show of result, the political craft, sustained for eighteen months, and the constant invasions, at all times perilous, into an enemy's country. Such was the state of the affairs of Portugal when the year 1296 closed.

The new year 1297, which proved one of the happiest of the reign of D. Diniz, opened, however, dark and foreboding as regards the internal and external affairs of Portugal.

It was improbable that the vast monarchies of Leon and Castille, although weakened by wars and divisions, should permit the alienation of so many towns and castles to take place without at least an attempt to regain them, or punish the affront. It was no less probable that D. Diniz, who was an ambitious politician, should not endeavour, after the successful result of his policy, to continue his warlike schemes, with the object of increasing, or consolidating by the sword, the conquests he had obtained. And as a fact, the Government was occupied during the month of January in repairing the strongholds, and making the necessary preparations for continuing the campaign.

But a former grave affair once more rose up to trouble D. Diniz. His brother D. Alfonso appeared resolved upon causing fresh agitation.

The Count of Boulogne had endowed his second son, as we said, with towns, villages, and lands, with the faculty of being able to

bequeath them to his legitimate descendants, but in the event of no such legitimate issue the whole to revert to the Crown.

The Infante had four sons by his relative, D. Violante of Castille, whom he had betrothed at a tender age. The marriage had not been solemnised, because the Roman Curia, in order not to acknowledge the marriage of Sancho, did not give any dispensation to near relations in collateral parentage. By this means the sons of the Infante were considered illegitimate, and incompetent to inherit the property of their father. With the object of evading the legal consequence of the primitive donation, the Infante Alfonso urged the King to declare them legitimate and heirs to the paternal inheritance.

This claim, prejudicial to the Crown and to the kingdom, was supported by the house of the Infante, and was a source of grave fears at the especial conjuncture in which the Peninsula found itself.

D. Alfonso, in possession of important strongholds situated on the frontiers, might easily league himself to Ferdinand IV. and introduce in them Castillian troops, and make war to Portugal in the interior of the kingdom.

D. Diniz had for a long time opposed the claim, but the Infante, knowing the position he could place the King, had reports circulated about his intentions and the manner he should act, and then renewed his request. The King hesitated. The Infante, who did not wish to have recourse to extreme measures, besought the Queen, D. Isabel, to move D. Diniz. Far from acceding to his request, the daughter of Peter the Great of Aragon opposed it radically, and issued solemnly a public protest against the pretensions of the Infante.

This document is of great historic importance, and throws a great light over the subject and the Government of the time, while it affords a singular trait, worthy of study, of the character of the princess whom the Church later on found fit to canonise.

Yet in spite of the protest of his consort and public interest, the resolutions of the King were diverse. Superior to all the considerations advanced by the Queen was the salvation of the people and of his crown. To complicate the war against Castille, which had been so successfully commenced, by a civil strife in the interior of the country would not only render future conquests hopeless, but would place the stability of the throne in peril. D. Diniz therefore decided to favour his brother by granting his petition, with the intention, undoubtedly treacherous and mean, of later on retracting his promise.

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In order, however, to appease the Queen and her private and most intimate counsellors, he assured them that in doing this it was on account of his fear lest the Infante should league himself with Castille in the approaching war, by which serious evils might result to the kingdom, but that at a future time he would not carry out his decree, since it was done under coercion of his will, and this alone would render it void. This he advanced some years after, when his nieces claimed the fulfilment of the concession.

The Infante, however, believed and trusted in the letter of concession, and not only agreed to it, but was grateful to the King for having overcome the opposition of the Queen and of the greater number of ministers in his favour. The phrases of the decree could not, in truth, be more precise and solemn.

This source of perturbation being allayed, and the Government delivered of the trouble which it might bring upon it, D. Diniz exclusively occupied himself in actively furthering preparations for continuing the war. Spring was approaching, and it became necessary to have all things ready in order to commence the campaign.

His secret aim was, however, totally diverse, and the political circumstances of Castille, which continued embarrassing, favoured his intentions.

D. John Alfonso, who, on the previous year, had taken part in the campaign and in the service of Portugal, finding himself on this occasion in Albuquerque on the limits of Castille, was entrusted with this delicate mission. It was projected to avoid the continuance of war between the two nations by a treaty of peace, which would render valid the facts consummated, and strengthen them by the marriage of the Portuguese Infanta D. Constancia with the youthful monarch of Castille, and his sister, D. Beatriz, with the heir to the Portuguese crown.

D. John Alfonso was intelligent and shrewd; he was related to D. Maria de Molina, and was esteemed by D. John Fernandes de Lima, son of the Dean, and afterwards Archbishop of Santiago, a great favourite at the Court of Castille. Besides this, he found assistance in D. John Fernandes de Souto Maior, Bishop of Tuy, first Chancellor of the Queen, and of Portuguese parentage by his mother's side, and was greatly assisted by the position in which the Government of the neighbouring kingdom found itself, and was therefore able to carry out the affair to a rapid and favourable conclusion.

Before the end of spring D. John Fernandes, as the mediator of

Castille, with the assent of the Queen D. Maria and the Cortes of Camora, signed, at the last conference in Albuquerque, the conditions of marriage and the treaty of peace. The news of this treaty was received with joy by both countries, and notably by the hero of Andalusia, D. Alfonso Perez de Gusman.

In acknowledgment of the happy issue of these negotiations, John Alfonso de Albuquerque was appointed Master of the Household, and later on elevated to the dignity of Count de Barcellos.

The treaty, however, between the two monarchies was only concluded in the month of September. It was agreed upon that both sovereigns should meet with their numerous courts in the town of Alcanises, on the frontiers of the kingdom of Leon, a short distance to the north of the Portuguese town of Miranda, in the province of Tras-os-Montes, and there to celebrate the betrothal of the Infantes, and sign the agreement of marriage, as also the necessary diplomas for securing peace and alliance between the two kingdoms.

D. Diniz arranged all things with the greatest splendour for this conference. He proceeded from Coimbra to Trancoso, where he left the Infante D. Alfonso heir to the throne, and proceeded to Miranda, and then to Alcanises, accompanied by the Queen D. Isabel, her daughter Constancia, his brother D. Alfonso, and a numerous suite of prelates, *ricos-homens*, courtiers, and men-at-arms.

When the Portuguese arrived, the Queen D. Maria de Molina, the youthful King Ferdinand IV., his tutor the Infante D. Henry, the Infanta D. Beatriz, and the numerous Court of Castille already awaited them.

The two royal *cortèges*, on traversing their respective countries, had been saluted by the people in the sincerest and most enthusiastic manner. The nation ardently yearned for peace, as the conclusion to the many devastations and labours they had undergone during the previous year. Their desire was amply fulfilled in the treaty of Alcanises. This affair was the most notable event of Portuguese diplomacy in Spain during the long reign of D. Diniz.

Then was definitely arranged the two desired marriages of the Infantes; and notwithstanding the tender age of the contracting parties, the bride of Ferdinand proceeded to Castille, and to Portugal the espoused of the future Alfonso IV.

Of the four contracting parties, the eldest was the King of Castille, whose age was eleven years and nine months. His betrothed,

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D. Constancia, had not yet completed her eighth year; her brother, D. Alfonso of Portugal, was barely seven, and his promised bride, D. Beatriz, was in her fourth year.

The policy of those times was such, that as the union of princes was the principal bases of all treaties between the nations, the children of kings were wedded even in their cradles. Diplomacy capriciously arranged and disposed of the hearts and the future of royal infants.

To the tender spouse of his son D. Diniz gave as her marriage dowry Evora, Villa Viçosa, Villa Real, Gouveia, and Villa Nova. The royal decree was issued on the 6th of October, 1297, when D. Diniz was in the town of Sabugal. Taking for its foundation the double union of the reigning families, the treaty of Alcanises was ample and without restrictions. The Castillian Government not only acknowledged all the conquests lately effected by Portugal, but likewise ceded to her Olivença, Ouguella, and S. Felizes dos Gallegos in exchange for its doubtful rights over Arronches, Aracena, Valença, Ferreira, Esparregal, and Ayamonte, whose conquest was more doubtful still.

The Infantes and principal members of Castille ratified, as was the custom, the treaty of peace, and offered homage and pledged themselves to D. Diniz to assist him against their own king, should he not fulfil his promised word.

In order that it should be seen by Castille that this treaty was not only of great utility for Portugal, and under the pretext of favouring D. Ferdinand against the rebellion of his uncle the Infante D. John, the King D. Diniz sent from Alcanises, with the youthful King, 300 Portuguese knights led by John Alfonso Albuquerque. To these joined Alfonso Peres de Gusman and John Fernandes with some troops. They invaded the lands which had risen up for the Infante, and persecuted him to the very gates of Leon, where he enclosed himself. In this way did the Portuguese for some time continue in the service of the crown of Castille.

Meanwhile D. Diniz returned to Portugal, where he was received with great demonstrations of joy throughout the principal cities he passed. The persevering monarch then resumed vigorously the administration of the kingdom.

He incorporated to the crown the Castle of Almada and its town, which was so valuable for the defence of the Tagus, compensating the Knights of Santiago, who held them, by giving them other places of less importance. This act was the last of the year 1297, and he commenced

the new year by confirming, on the 4th of January, the charter of Elvas and Olivença, and on the 5th those of Evora and Ouguella.

But in these peaceful labours D. Diniz was disturbed anew. Scarcely had the spring commenced, and the Court settled in Santarem, than two Castillian ambassadors came from the Queen D. Maria de Molina, the assembled Cortes in Valladolid, and the youthful betrothed couple, son-in-law and daughter of D. Diniz, to ask a fresh and more efficacious aid against the tribulations which at the time visited the monarchy of Castille.

The former league of the Infantes de la Cerda and D. John, John Nunes de Lara, and the King of Aragon was newly established, and, aided by a large number of malcontents, rekindled with greater fury the firebrand of civil war, carrying desolation to all parts of Spain which were loyal to Ferdinand IV.

The prudence and success of D. Diniz as a politician and commander were acknowledged throughout the Peninsula, and the partisans of D. Maria de Molina and the youthful King on beholding the Portuguese monarch allied to Castille, and bound to it by the marriage of his daughter, had recourse to him as their only supporter. These envoys were charged with most powerful recommendations to urge him not only to send Portuguese troops, but, above all, to personally assist them.

This message which the Leonese Cortes of Valladolid addressed to him is significative, and proves the importance which these national assemblies of *fidalgos*, clergy, and people possessed in Spain during the thirteenth century, since they not only had votes in the imposts and the forces which each Council should send, but which decided the legitimacy of the pretenders to the crown, drew up laws, took a part in all matters of government, and even assumed to treat directly with foreign monarchs. This last and extraordinary faculty is proved by the document addressed to D. Diniz from Valladolid in their name, bearing the date 12th March, 1298.

D. Diniz acceded to this request, and promised to be in Castille in June. And in order to reward his services, and likewise win the goodwill of the fidalgos of the adjoining kingdom, where he intended to militate, he elevated to the rank of Count, with the important town of Barcellos as his county, D. John Alfonso. After this act he quickly organised an army, which arrived at Guarda on the 25th of June.

D. Diniz advanced to Ciudad Rodrigo, where he was received by the

Queen, D. Ferdinand IV., and D. Constancia. Here he awaited the arrival of the forces which had remained in Portugal.

As the Queen D. Isabel had accompanied her consort to the frontiers, and remained in Sabugal to further the expedition, D. Maria de Molina approached the line as far as Fonte Ginaldo, where the Queens met. The conference lasted three days, and the chroniclers enlarge on this event, telling us that a great concourse of people flocked from Portugal and Castille to admire such august princesses as D. Isabel, who was renowned for her patience, modesty, and sanctity; the Castillian Queen, celebrated for her prudence, heroic spirit, and talent for governing; and D. Constancia, in whose countenance could already be perceived indications that she would be a worthy imitator of the virtues of her mother and the elevated qualities of her worthy mother-in-law.

After a week's delay in Ciudad Rodrigo, D. Diniz, who, from the moment he entered Castille, put away all haste, set out on the road, urged by D. Maria de Molina, and proceeded slowly to Salamanca. In this city he made a further delay of a week awaiting the Infante D. Henry, tutor to the King. This delay was due to other schemes which occupied D. Diniz—that of negotiating with his former allies rather than combating them with arms.

The rebel Infante D. John facilitated the carrying out of this intention. Acknowledging that it would be impossible for the allies to conquer Ferdinand if assisted by D. Diniz, he sent to the latter as his parliamentary a knight who possessed his intimate confidence.

The Infante was in possession of the kingdom of Galicia and of the city of Leon: in order to retain these dominions he was ready to marry his son and heir to one of the daughters of D. Alfonso, brother of the Portuguese sovereign, whereby a niece of his would divide the throne of the new State. He also proposed to surrender to D. Diniz all his rights over the provinces he held, acknowledging him as his king, so long as he allowed him to enjoy them during his lifetime.

These transactions were discussed in the councils of the Portuguese monarch. Many were in favour on account of the supposed advantages to be derived by diminishing in this way the power of Ferdinand, and weakening Castille, which they held as almost the only passive enemy to Portugal.

These arguments rendered the spirit of the son of Alfonso III. undecided, and induced him to delay negotiations, and as a consequence

military operations, to the deep dissatisfaction of the Castillians. At length, compelled to decide, Diniz, it appears, followed the only right and worthy course—he proceeded to aid his daughter and son-in-law, and declared he would continue to succour them; yet in his heart he firmly resolved not to league himself with the Infante.

He advanced to the city of Touro. On being urged by D. Maria de Molina to proceed to the enemy's lands, he declined under various pretexts, but offered to besiege the Castle of Matta, where he had heard from D. John that the royal family of Castille had gone to. The Queen accepted the proposal in order to remove from D. Diniz any further reasons for excuse. D. Diniz besieged it, yet continued the negotiations unmindful of the assaults. At length he declared for the Queen, inculcating the convenience of maintaining in Galicia D. John, and joining with him to overthrow the enemies of Ferdinand IV.

In this extremity Maria de Molina resorted to the people, the most faithful ally she found during her long government. She urged that as it was a question of change of rulers, the cause properly belonged to the councils, and it was for them to decide through their commissioners who were present in the camp. These met together in one of the tents, and D. Diniz laid before them the transactions desired, and which he urged and explained by long reasonings.

The good men of Galicia and Leon did not allow themselves to be conquered by the eloquence of the Poet-King; but following the Queen, and, perchance, not relishing the idea of having for their ruler and lord the most perverse of the Kings of the Peninsula, they persevered in their allegiance to Ferdinand IV., and firmly repulsed the name of John, and the separation of the kingdoms which was proposed to them.

Annoyed by this turn of affairs, D. Diniz took leave of the Queen, telling her that he could not make war against those he wished to favour, raised the siege, and returned to Portugal, where he arrived in September, having wasted over two months in this deplorable military and political expedition.

But a greater annoyance awaited him in the kingdom. His brother, the Infante D. Alfonso, ever envious and restless, being either vexed with D. Diniz for not promoting as efficiently as he wished the independence of Galicia, whose crown he desired to win for one of his daughters—or for some other reason unknown to us—he several times had differences with the King, and seeing that he was unprotected by

external alliances, practised such excesses within his dominions in the Alemtejo that the monarch was compelled to have recourse to arms, and to besiege him in Portalegre.

At the end of the winter of 1299 he departed for Santarem, in order to prepare all things for the campaign, and so greatly did this event influence his mind that before passing on to Alemtejo he made his will on the 8th and 17th of April, and arranged all things in case of an eventuality.

This document is noteworthy on account of some of its dispositions. He ordered for the salvation of his soul, besides great legacies to numerous churches, the sum of a thousand pounds to be given to a knight to join the Crusade which was then preached, and serve God in the Holy Land during the space of two years, and a thousand pounds to another to visit the Stations of Rome and remain there for two quarantines.

But piety did not obscure his faculties as ruler and statesman. He further ordered that D. Isabel, his wife, should be tutor not only of the heir to the throne, D. Alfonso, but even of D. Constancia, who, although Queen of Castille, as betrothed to Ferdinand IV., but owing to the marriage not having been consummated, and the want of harmony between the two countries, might be sent back to Portugal. He likewise appointed his wife regent during the minority of the Infante; he assigned to her as counsellors the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishops of Lisbon and Coimbra, the Abbot of Alcobaça, the confessor and the *meirinho-mor* of his house, and enjoined that the councils between the Tagus and Guadiana, Moura, and Serpa should choose a citizen from the city of Evora; those of Estremadura, one from Lisbon and one from Santarem; those of Entre Douro and the Mondego, one from Coimbra and the other from Guarda; and those of Entre Douro and Minho, one from Guimarães; and these, elected by the people, to form a portion of the councils of the regency, and treat upon all the affairs of State, receiving worthy appointments in the house of the Infante, in order that with proper means they should be able to reside in the Court.

The idea of introducing into the highest government of the kingdom a strong popular element, well informed of all the needs and interests of the municipalities, was probably engendered in the spirit of the King on beholding the great support which the delegates of the people of Leon and Castille had afforded D. Maria de Molina. Diniz

deserves much praise for having left in writing this idea, which was realised later on during one of the most glorious epochs of Portugal, at a period when the people, allied to the Master of Aviz, placed themselves against the disloyal nobility, and saved the country from the clutches of the foreigner.

On concluding the preparations for the campaign, D. Diniz went on to Alemtejo in the month of May, where civil war was raging, and on the 15th laid siege to Portalegre. Within its walls was D. Alfonso with his best troops, probably reinforced by brave knights from Castille and Leon.

The sanguinary episodes of that campaign are unknown, as are the details of its fratricidal drama; beyond that, notwithstanding its close siege, the town of Portalegre effectually resisted the attack.

The siege of Portalegre lasted five whole months. The Government of Castille, reprobating the procedure of D. Diniz, diverted his forces, disturbing his kingdom by repeated raids along the frontier. Besides this, after an obstinate resistance, he effected a treaty with the Infante, and delivered up Portalegre to his brother. But the contract or treaty of peace between the two was only concluded and signed in Lisbon on the 3rd of July, 1300.

The Infante ceded the towns of Marvão and Portalegre, and in compensation received those of Ourem and Cintra, whose revenues were double, but which, distant from the frontier of Castille, were less to be feared than those in the power of the prince.

This time the good understanding between the brothers was maintained. Alfonso never more took up arms against Diniz. Years after, in 1304, accompanying the King to Aragon, he left the country and passed on to the service of Ferdinand IV. He returned to Portugal, and died in Lisbon in 1312.

The siege of Portalegre being concluded, and harmony re-established with the Infante, D. Diniz set about to arrange with the Government of Castille. This did not offer any difficulties, since it was equally desired by D. Maria de Molina. Hostilities ceased between the two kingdoms. The Infante D. John, acknowledging that the King of Castille could now make war to him and revenge himself, at once submitted to Ferdinand IV. and joined his Court.

Castille being now at peace with this side of the Peninsula, D. Maria de Molina and D. Diniz endeavoured to quiet D. James II., who supporting with his arms the pretensions of D. Alfonso de la Cerda,

continued the war against the son of Sancho the *Brave*. With this aim they sent ambassadors to Aragon to treat for peace. Many objections, however, rose up on all sides from the effects of the intrigues and animosities existing between the two countries, and the negotiations fell to the ground.

About this time a most important event took place, which more firmly bound the relations between the royal families of Portugal and Castille, and afforded a great moral victory to D. Maria de Molina and to the rights, hitherto doubtful, of Ferdinand IV. to the throne of his grandfather.

The Roman Pontificate, represented by Pope Boniface VIII., legitimatised the children of Sancho, and gave the necessary dispensation for the celebration of the marriage of Ferdinand with the Portuguese Infanta D. Constancia, and that of Alfonso, son of D. Diniz, with D. Beatriz of Castille.

Soon after receiving from Rome the desired decree, D. Diniz sent to the Court of Castille John Alfonso de Albuquerque, Count of Barcellos, to urge the conclusion of the marriage with his daughter and Ferdinand, since she had attained the age of twelve, and he fifteen. Instigated by the Infante D. John and John Nunes de Lara, who had taken possession of the weak spirit of the youthful King, he assumed the government of the kingdom, and allowed these favourites to affront his heroic mother, who had defended his throne for so many years. But these favourites were not as yet unfavourable to D. Diniz, and the Portuguese envoy made use of them to overcome the reluctance which still existed among the many strongholds ceded to Portugal in the treaty of Alcanises, where the marriage had been arranged. Many desired these to be restored to the country as the dowry of the new Queen, among them D. Maria de Molina. But the Infante D. John and John Nunes de Lara, either to please D. Diniz, or because the position and circumstances of Castille demanded the Portuguese alliance, induced the young King to celebrate the marriage, which actually took place in the winter of 1302.

It was then arranged that in the spring of the following year the two monarchs should meet in Badajoz. The Infante D. Henry and the Haros and other nobles, jealous of the influence exercised by the two favourites, had joined the pretender D. Alfonso de la Cerda, and, aided by the Kings of France and Aragon, threatened once more the throne of Ferdinand IV.

The King was deficient of means, and in the conference of Badajoz this was the question considered. D. Diniz gave him a million Leonese maravedis; besides this, the King of Portugal promised to aid the King of Castille against his adversaries.

This event took place in the spring of 1303. At the time, the Aragonese King and his ally, Alfonso de la Cerda, had ambassadors in the Portuguese Court, and D. Diniz actively laboured with them to effect the treaties of peace, and arrange a truce, which was to commence on the Feast of St. John the Baptist of that year, and terminate on the same festival of the following year, or 24th of June.

When the news of this treaty reached the Aragonese King, he had just concluded a treaty of a more close alliance with D. Alfonso and the nobles of Castille, who were dissatisfied with the government of Ferdinand IV. Disloyalty was the existing policy of the Peninsula. What was agreed upon to-day was broken the following day, and bound again on the subsequent one. This was the case now. James II., on seeing that Diniz was allied to Ferdinand, and that it became a more difficult matter to combat the Castillian, judged it prudent to accept the truces entered into by their envoys, and to extend this truce to Castille allied to Portugal.

Another event took place which powerfully aided the desires for peace which were becoming general. This was the death of the Infante D. Henry, the former tutor of Ferdinand IV., and one of the greatest instigators of the discords and animosities which were tearing up the Peninsula.

On seeing themselves deprived of this restless chief, and knowing the new schemes of the Aragonese King, many of the rebels submitted to the young King, and it was soon definitely arranged that the questions which for so long had cost so much bloodshed should be decided by arbitration.

In the contention between Aragon and Castille, Ferdinand IV. appointed as his arbiter the Infante D. John. James II. elected the Bishop of Zaragoza, and both agreed that D. Diniz give the casting vote.

In the former suit of the pretender Alfonso de la Cerda against the son of Sancho the Brave, the first appointed the Aragonese monarch, and the second elected the King D. Diniz.

The sentences were to be given in the kingdom of Aragon, and the son of Alfonso III., invested with the high mission of peacemaker

arbiter, and judge among such powerful monarchs, prepared for the expedition, taking with him his wife, sister to D. James, and a numerous and brilliant retinue.

But at the very hour, however, when D. Diniz was reaching the height of his glory as a politician and diplomatist, the principal agent whom he had during the latter years always employed so successfully in his negotiations with Castille failed him.

D. John Alfonso Albuquerque, Count of Barcellos, was taken seriously ill in Lisbon, and died. He appointed the King executor, and left his daughter, Theresa Martins, who was being educated in the palace, heiress. This took place in May, 1304.

The grief of D. Diniz was very great at losing John Alfonso, whose position, wealth, and intimate relationship and friendship were very valuable, while his experience and enlightened foresight much appreciated in Portugal and Castille, and it was not easy to replace him. In memory of the Count, the King gave his daughter, Theresa Martins, in marriage to his natural son Alfonso Sanches, whom he greatly loved, and to whom he gave the appointment held by her late father.

On 24th July, D. Diniz and the Queen, D. Isabel, arrived at Guarda on their way to Aragon, accompanied by one thousand noblemen of the highest rank, prelates, ministers, and a great number of servants and soldiers. It happened that Diogo Garcia, chancellor of Ferdinand IV., came from Toledo to the city of Guarda to present D. Diniz with the keys of all the towns and castles along the road to be traversed, and to offer him throughout the journey royal hospitality.

Diniz, invested with the high charge of magisterial judge, refused all offers, and in his march withdrew from all large towns, supporting his large escort with the abundant provisions brought and with what the towns sold to him on the road, for which he paid generously.

The royal family of Castille awaited the Portuguese consorts in Medina del Campo, and accompanied them as far as Soria, where they departed for Aragon.

In Campillo first, and later on in Torrijos, places on the frontier line, did the arbitrators meet; and after the necessary conferences were held, sentence was pronounced on August 8th, 1304.

D. James II. of Aragon won the cause. Alicante and many other strongholds were adjudicated to him to the north of Jucar. The Infantes de la Cerda were obliged to deliver up the lands they held, acknowledge

Ferdinand IV. their king, and pledge to him their oath of fidelity. In return for this renunciation of their rights to the throne of Castille, a rental was assigned to the elder of 400,000 maravedis derived from various towns, and to the second, D. Ferdinand, the endowment as Infante of Castille. The elder, who from that moment was called the *disinherited*, retired at once to France, where he died obscurely. The younger accompanied D. Diniz to Portugal, and for a length of time constituted himself his vassal.

On the following day, the three sovereigns of Castille, Aragon, and Portugal, and the Infante D. John signed in Agreda a treaty of peace and alliance offensive and defensive, which ended the war between the three nations, and afforded Portugal the advantage of once more beholding confirmed, although indirectly, the acquisitions obtained, against which, as we said, there still existed reluctance in the Court of Ferdinand IV. This treaty was witnessed by the Bishops of Lisbon, Valencia, and Oporto; Francisco Gomes, chancellor of the King of Castille; John Simon, councillor of the King of Portugal; Diogo Garcia, chancellor of the royal seal of the King of Castille, and Gonçalo Garcia, councillor of the King of Aragon.

When these treaties had been celebrated, the three monarchs, accompained by their queens and numerous escort, proceeded to Tarragona, where the Aragonese King lavished upon all a most sumptuous hospitality, feasts being held for several days, with tournaments and balls.

Throughout this journey D. Diniz behaved most generously, as the chroniclers tell us, making large presents to the foreign nobles. It is said that being on his return journey, and at dinner, a knight of Castille who was present told him jokingly that he had remembered all excepting himself, the King smilingly ordered his service of fine silver, which he was using, to be given to him.

D. Diniz returned to the kingdon in the month of September.

The strifes between the various Christian States of the Peninsula were terminated by this arbitration; the civil ones of Castille were reduced, or altogether died away; but just as the continual turbulence of the nobles was about to be renewed, Ferdinand IV. declared war to the Moors, and all joined together for the holy campaign.

D. Diniz, by concurring in the pacification of Spain, attained great authority among the monarchs of his time, and cast a notable lustre over the small kingdom over whose destinies he presided.

As soon as D. Diniz returned to Portugal, he gave his whole attention to the administration of the kingdom. An important affair, which from the commencement of his reign had taken up his attention, now presented itself under an aspect sufficiently disturbing. This was the privileges and exemptions enjoyed by the nobility, which had assumed such proportions that they commenced to affect not only the equilibrium of the established social hierarchies, but even the financial system of councils and of the State.

The rank of knighthood, besides the supremacy which was inherent to it, exempted those who held such rank from paying the taxes imposed for defraying the expenses of the municipalities, and from the royal tributes for the general expenses of the kingdom. They arrogated to themselves the right of conferring this tax and using it in such a manner that they sensibly defrauded the royal treasury, and further imposed on the residents of the councils to which the newly elected belonged the dues they were released from; besides which, individuals were raised to the knighthood who were unworthy of such honour.

In order to obviate the evil, D. Diniz, on the 4th of May, 1305, issued a law from Santarem which declared null and without effect all grades of knighthood unless authorised by the King.

The fact which induced this law is not a small one in the history of the nobility during the extended and fruitful reign of D. Diniz.

The duty of an historian demands that a few pages should be dedicated to the study of this class, which occupied such a prominent place in the military, political, and social life of the country. This we shall do in a concise form.

The military and territorial nobility of Portugal, which formed the second arm of the State, was a national manifestation, a direct descendant of the feudalism which dominated almost throughout Europe from the ninth to the thirteenth centuries. In the epoch we are describing, the natural and progressive evolution of humanity had commenced on all sides to extinguish this social form. Combated by royalty and by the people, because it was a rival to the first and the oppressor of the latter, feudalism found itself hunted down on all sides. It beheld its castles burnt down, its privileges and exemptions questioned, its dominions defined and circumscribed, their colonists or serfs enriched and liberated, or rising up as enemies, the very individuals who for ages had belonged to them as absolutely as their lands, horses, or arms which constituted their fortune.

Feudalism, at the commencement, had a logical reason for existence: it was the only means of quitting barbarism and entering into organised society, in a certain relative order, which constituted in a great measure the best times of the middle ages wherein was initiated modern civilization. The Church, the ancient Roman municipalities, royalty itself—all, more or less, entered into the feudal form; all in an historic moment was reduced to this social fraction, to this political molecular system, united by the weak feudatory link and badly defended, without laws to strengthen it, being only supported by personal interest and caste.

The dominating part of society was similar to a large army that assumes to occupy completely a vast country threatened by enemies and divides itself into detachments, occupies all the points of defence, fortifies them, and as a consequence gathers around each its indispensable industries, each group forming in course of time a distinct society more or less important, which by degrees loses the discipline and obedience which formerly bound the whole army to their general. Then it limits itself to the life of the locality, to the degree that each particle, each feudal property, the great monastery, the municipality, becomes almost independent in itself, each enjoying the same rights and the same duties as a small independent nation holds in relation with other nations.

This formula had great advantages over the gathered societies of antiquity and the wandering life of the great mass of barbarian rulers. It spread population on all sides; it gave to provinces, councils; to the feudal and monastic boroughs a political preponderance up to then concentrated in the most populous cities, in the capitals of kingdoms and empires, or in great military encampments. From this resulted the spread of life, of labour, and, as a consequence, of civilization on all sides, and at the same time provided a general system of fortifications, of organised resistance, which placed an invincible barrier to the invasions of the north and south of Europe, rendering conquests difficult to effect and even impossible.

Such was feudalism in its general external relations: in the internal ones it shed its light also, but not sufficient to obliterate the dark shades which occasioned its ruin. From the manner of its birth may be deduced its interior existence.

When the Roman Empire was definitively conquered by the barbarians of the North, the last invaders endeavoured to secure and enjoy their prey by dividing it among themselves. From the highest to

the lowest chiefs, all strove to acquire lands where they could establish themselves with their families and subaltern comrades in arms.

These dominions were at times a whole province, or cities, or a town, or simply a greater or lesser portion of land upon which they erected a fortified house or castle, close to which the colonists or serfs bound to the soil established themselves in poor huts.

The landowners at once acquired over these all legislative, administrative, civil, and penal jurisdiction—all the rights of a sovereign, disposing of *honours*, the goods, and even the lives of the colonists. From this system resulted generally a despotism so excessive that the race of serfs—that is to say, those who did not follow the military profession, the church, or were agriculturists, merchants, artisans; in a word, the people took such a dislike to feudalism that it became the political formula most abhorred and execrated of all known in history.

Although the policy, relatively enlightened, of the government of Alfonso III. aided the councils and increased daily the royal bounties, he at the same time repressed organisations, and within a few short years the former dissensions broke out again; and in various parts of the country began to appear armed bands commanded by noblemen, who fought among themselves, attacking each other's residences, disturbing the tranquillity of the nation, and causing great loss of life and property.

These discords were, however, the normal state of society, not only in the Peninsula, but throughout Europe, and continued until the definite establishment of monarchic absolutism and of a permanent army—important facts, and relatively modern. And during this long reign, besides the actual intestine wars which D. Diniz was obliged to sustain against his brother and son, and which had this same cause for its foundation, the discords between nobles reached to such a height that it provoked scandals and riots, in which the monarch was compelled personally to interfere.

In 1283 it became necessary to attend to the grave disorders which took place between Vasco Pires Farinha and his nephews Vasco, Stephen, and Lawrence Esteves over the seigniority of the town of Goes, which he held, but which his nephews endeavoured to deprive him of.

When Diniz ascended the throne, the concord with the Church, the hopes of the new reign which had commenced, the repeated visits of the monarch to the provinces, and even his own youth and affable

manners calmed, for the time being, all the perturbations, the misunderstandings, the odiums, and the revenges among noble families, since they celebrated armistice and afforded a spectacle full of confidence and hopes for the future government of the youthful King.

But in order that this state of tranquillity should last, and all these hopes be furthered, and perchance due to the generosity of his youthful years, D. Diniz inaugurated his administration by numerous donations of lands and governments to the nobles.

But as there was no foreign enemy to compel him to union, intestine discord was the necessary consequence of feudalism, but greatly distressing the towns which then besought the protection of the King.

D. Diniz proceeded to Coimbra about midwinter; he summoned the chiefs of the rebel bands, and bade them appoint arbitrators to decide the contention in a friendly spirit.

The sentence was published on 6th January, 1284, in the Chapter House of the Convent of Saint Dominic, in that city. Vasco Pires was sentenced to pay to his contenders 4,500 pounds in old Portuguese coinage, and various possessions he possessed outside the boundary of Goes, and to order 700 masses to be said for the repose of the souls of the hapless ones who had fallen victims to the opposing band. His nephews were obliged to surrender to him all the goods and rights they might have in the town of Goes and its bounds, for him and his heirs, and to have 300 masses sung as suffrages for such as had fallen of the band of Vasco Pires.

From this pious part of the sentence can be deduced that the number of the slain must have been large, and that the friars in whose house the cause had been judged did not forget them at the foot of the altar.

This decision and sentence was confirmed by D. Diniz on the 12th of the same year, and later on ratified by Alfonso IV. But notwithstanding that this fact evidently proves the ease with which such questions could be decided by the pacific judgment of impartial judges, when it was so difficult to resolve them by the tumultuous and sanguinary one of arms, nevertheless dissensions were not diminished but actually increased to such a degree that it provoked corrective and rigorous providences.

In 1301, Lopo Gonsalves d'Abreu, at the head of many partisans and relatives, broke out in contention with Fernão Alfonso de Quintella, who had joined the Novaes, Gonsalo Pires Cabelos, and others, and

these, constituted in diverse bands, perturbed and desolated the country.

After many efforts the King was able to induce the principal chiefs to come to Lisbon and pledge peace and friendship, and ordered Gonsalo Cabelos to level to the ground a stronghold which he had erected in the village of Parada. It was at that time that many private castles were ordered to be razed to the ground, and the erection of new ones forbidden.

D. Diniz was not the person to allow easily such disobedience and rebellions. He ordered the laws promulgated on the subject to be carried out rigorously; but the evil was of the epoch: it arose from its own institutions, and if at times it appeared to slumber, it would soon arise again, and oftentimes with redoubled fury.

The King was in Coimbra at the commencement of January, 1314, when he received news of a fact which shocked the whole kingdom, and caused fears of new and greater perturbations on the part of the nobility. Ruy do Couto, Alfonso do Couto, and John Fernandes had just concluded a mutual alliance to make war upon whomsoever should aggrieve any of the parties—that is to say, they renewed the former use of treaties between noble families of Europe, which had for ages fomented the interminable series of intestine contentions due to the existing feudalism.

But as feudalism was on the decline, this barbarous custom was generally withering, to the praise of new generations; hence this act of Ruy do Coute, invested with its traditional solemnity, caused some surprise and deep irritation.

D. Diniz, as an experienced statesman, took advantage of the current opinion to cut down at one blow this pernicious usage, and in order to prevent the evils which might result to the country from this and similar alliances, he promulgated, on the 11th January, a law declaring the alliance entered into null, and imposing pain of death upon any who should insist upon it or arrange others anew.

This law, rigorous but necessary, withdrew the evil for a long time during the reign of D. Diniz, until his son, D. Alfonso, rising up in open rebellion against his father, along with the discontented barons of the time, swept the country with a civil war, and renewed all former evils and turbulence of the nobility, which for so many years the good monarch had been able to keep down.

Alfonso IV., on ascending the throne later on, endeavoured,

however, to follow in this affair the footsteps of his father, and, in truth, attained better results than was to be expected from the mean example he had personally given. The evil, however, continued with varied alternatives until the greater gentleness of customs extinguished it, and the greater power acquired by the kings, which, by nationalising the Roman legislation, adjudicated to regular tribunals the contentions which the nobles formerly decided by force of arms.

This work of D. Diniz was sustained from 1284 to 1311, a period of twenty-seven years of strife with the clergy and the nobles. In this he was more successful than any of his predecessors, who had, in truth, prepared the land and weakened the adversary; but he was more tenacious than they, more intelligent and skilful than his father and grandfathers; while peace dispensed in a great measure with the services of the nobles. The ever-growing power of the popular classes counterbalanced the power of the privileged classes. Assisted by all these circumstances, D. Diniz was able to advance largely the deep social reform for the extinction of feudalism and the great and vexatious privileges of the higher classes.

But the old institution, however, was far from being annihilated. Diniz attacked the feudal sovereignty almost in its first foundations—in fiscal exemptions: the criminal and civil jurisdiction of the lords in regard to the colonists still remained standing, such was the power of the Church and of nobles, and so deeply rooted was it in public customs. It was his son and successor, Alfonso IV., who on this point first attacked feudalism with marked result. But it is in the history of the following reign that this subject must be treated upon.

Diniz, however, fulfilled the mission which fell to him in the social evolution, and he is worthy of the gratitude of posterity.

We have seen, in the first volume of this history, how the Knights of the Temple and the Hospital effected great services to the monarchy of Portugal from its earliest days in fighting against the Moors, and the great bounties which the first monarchs recompensed them with, by granting them large fortunes and great privileges; as well as the Orders which Alfonso Henry instituted anew, and admitted from Castille to meet the requirements of the conquest, such as the Knights of Aviz and Santiago, which from age to age became, in a military sense, more esteemed and favoured.

This military monastic militia, above all monarchs of the various

countries wherein they were established, held as their supreme head and chief the Pope; their nationality being not the country of their birth, but Rome. They constituted a pontifical army, warlike, numerous, and wealthy, which trod the whole of Christendom in the service of the Curia, defending its interests and its ideas of theocratic predominance.

So long as the Crusades lasted this was but weakly felt, rather it helped to restrain somewhat the various corporations and afford an indispensable unity to their efforts in protracted wars of the East. However, as soon as these ceased, towards the end of the thirteenth century, and the Orders retired to Europe with all their opulence, power, and brilliant traditions, this system began to be irksome to the monarchs, who were then all-powerful, and who concentrated within the principal forces of their respective States.

Of all Orders, that of the Temple, whose members were nobles, and the one which more highly distinguished itself in heroism, magnificence, and social and political preponderance; personified, so to say, the vast military monasticism in all its virtues, glories, and all the mystic and heroic poetry of the religious knighthood of the Crusades—the last brilliant manifestations of feudalism in the long obscure epoch of the Middle Ages.

With the Knights of the Hospital, for long years, the Templars had wrestled constantly with the Asiatic multitudes.

Towards the end of the twelfth century, however, when the Catholic faith was becoming cooled, and the great enthusiasm of the Crusades had passed away, the two Orders were unable to subsist any longer within the rampart walls which were broken down and deserted of Jerusalem, and they retired from the Holy Land in 1187. The Knight Templars established themselves in S. João d'Acre, but they were compelled to quit this in 1291. After two centuries of strife, Islamism was triumphing in the East. Other interests and ideas predominated in Europe: the Mahomedans, although the enemies of Christ, began to be considered as a great people, with whom they could hold commercial and friendly relations.

The Military Orders, notably that of the Temple, in the midst of these tendencies and doubtful beliefs, aspiring rather for material well-being and lands than the glory of heaven taken on its grandest side, spiritual and symbolical, was an anachronism which the new generations did no longer understand; while considered by the

predominance which their wealth and military glory invested them, they incited the envy and jealousy of kings, nobles, and the clergy. Moreover, the privileges which the monarchs and principally the Popes had endowed them with, afforded them an exceptional position which they defended with the skilful and brave swords of many thousands of warriors, but which rendered them incompetent to assist the regular governments of the nations.

Facts were brought forward that the Templars had not always employed their swords and wealth to the exclusive service of religion. Often in the East they had entered into treaties with infidels, and interfered many times in the internal policy of the State; that they had despoiled Henry II., King of Jerusalem, and the Duke of Croatia of their crowns; had combated the sovereigns of Antioch and Cyprus; had forewarned the coming of Frederick II. to the infidels; had received with pomp a Mussalman prince in their monastery; had declined to concur to the rescue of S. Luiz; had maintained a constant war with the friars of the Hospital, and even shooting arrows against them at the Holy Sepulchre. In Europe they had continued these outrages: had declared themselves for the dynasty of Aragon against the princes of Anjou; in England, had threatened to dethrone Henry III.; in France, many had signed the royal act of Philip against Boniface VIII. with reservation *sub protestationibus*. In a word, their power was a constant fear to the most powerful monarchs and a living scandal to religious orders.

These acts, which were exaggerated by the public voice, had nevertheless extenuating circumstances, while some had been dictated by reason and justice; others, again, were really evil ones, which the enemies of the Order took advantage of to paint the corporation in the blackest colours, and darken the glorious traditions of the Templars, which they presented to the eyes of the people as being pernicious in their intention.

Another accusation wounded more deeply the spirit of the masses against them. They affirmed that in the ceremony of initiation they introduced a secret and extraordinary character, which it were death to any who witnessed the ceremony. In these ceremonies the neophyte was obliged to renounce the faith of Christ, to pronounce blasphemies against the Almighty and Blessed Virgin, and tread under foot the holy crucifix, spitting upon it three times.

The initiating ceremonies were in truth such as were described, but

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this was done, not from any impious intention, but as a symbol which was otherwise an evangelical tradition, clear and eloquent.

The Apostle Peter had denied Christ three times, yet his repentance was such, and his conversion so perfect, that Jesus declared him the fundamental stone of the Church, and elevated him to the Pontificate. The novice simulated that he denied the faith and fell into the lowest abyss of impiety in order that the Order should elevate him to Christian perfection and the exalted glory of dedicating a life of heroism to the service of Jesus.

This ceremony at a time when religious sentiment and love for the poetic symbolism of the Bible was becoming cold, and in the state of society during the fourteenth century, was no longer comprehended by the masses, who poisoned the meaning with a material sense; the partisans of the King and his chiefs being jealous of the regular and secular clergy.

This accusation, which was generally acknowledged to be true by the French and English friars, and which they themselves oftentimes did not know how to explain, was the principal cause of the fall of the Order of the Temple.

There was another accusation, the falseness of which has been acknowledged at the present day, since no historical investigations have been able to prove it, that the Templars did not profess true Catholicism, that in the Mass they omitted the words of consecration, and that in the depths of their monasteries they adored a mysterious idol upon whose form opinions varied. Some affirmed that it was a head with three faces; others that it was an old man's head with long white beard, rough hair, and glittering eyes, and that the knights touched this idol with their battle-axes before fastening them to their waist, that they bent the knee to it, and laid presents before it; while others maintained that the idol was an animal, and even a cat.

Besides these outrageous, impious, criminal deeds and heretical idolatries, it was said the Templars lived secretly in the most abominable licentiousness.

All this was known, they advanced, owing to the evidence of two Knight Templars, one an Italian, and the other a native of Gascony, who had, when arrested for some crimes, revealed this to the judges.

It is true that after living two centuries in the midst of the loose customs and slavery of the East—opulent, strong, but conquered, notwithstanding the constant and ever-desired promises of the victory of

Popes and of the faith—the Templars, in some countries, had certainly relaxed the vigour of their discipline, and had fallen away from the austerity of life which had been prescribed by the poetic, ardent imagination of Saint Bernard; nevertheless their errors, vices, and crimes were far from meriting the calumnies which were hurled at them, and their errors were amply compensated by the rivers of blood they had shed against the infidels, and by their brilliant military feats in defence of Christianity.

The French people, however, led by the partisans of the King and the enemies of the Order, believed the calumnies in all their enormity and absurdity; and ere the Church and the Pope, who was the legitimate judge of the Templars, had condemned them, the Knights had completely forfeited, in that nation, the good opinion of the people.

The foundation being thus shaken, it was easy to hurl down the edifice. As Clement V. continued to resist, Philip resolved to proceed directly, assuming the whole responsibility of the act.

In order to illude from the Knights his illwill, of which for certain they were forewarned, the King of France invited Jacques Molay, the Grand Master of the Order, to stand sponsor to one of his sons; and on 12th October, 1307, he assigned to him the first place in the funeral cortege of a relative of his. On the following day he proceeded unawares to imprison the illustrious old man and over one hundred and forty Templars who were in Paris, while simultaneously throughout the kingdom were arrested all the friars found in France.

Philip, whom the people surnamed the *Beautiful* and the *False Coiner*, immediately occupied the Temple with a large retinue of soldiers, judges, and attorneys, forming a tribunal with his confessor, who was Inquisitor-General, and other prelates to judge the cause, and took possession of all the treasury.

Meanwhile the population of Paris, through their parishes and confraternities, were convoked to the King's garden in the city, while numerous friars, standing on improvised pulpits, preached fiery sermons against the impious and heretical Templars, praising the action of the King as a champion of the faith. Throughout France a violent royal letter was published against the Order, exposing in most horrible colours the points of accusation.

Greatly surprised was Clement V. when he heard what had taken place, and that the *Most Christian* King had usurped the jurisdiction of the Holy See, by proceeding criminally in an affair of the exclusive

prerogative of the Pope. The Pontiff became irritated at this, and reprehended severely the monarch, suspending the powers of the Inquisitor and prelates who had aided him.

This energetic action of Pope Clement V. did not last long. He became terrified first by the rough answer of Philip, and then by his presence in Poitiers. He then yielded as soon as the King sent seventy-two Templars to make the necessary inquiries, and appeared to conform with the pontifical resolution of allowing the Apostolic See to judge the heads of the Order. In a word, the Pope raised the suspension he had decreed, and on the 1st of August, 1308, he ordered the legal process to be carried by *written law*, an ambiguous phrase, which referred to the canon legislation, but which might indicate the cesarian jurisprudence, or the inquisitorial regulations, and by scheme delivered up the erring friars to the mercy of the King.

The latter continued to follow with cruel tenacity his darksome plan. A hundred and forty Templars were delivered up to the most horrible tortures, and compelled, under the most excruciating pains of fire and sword, to confess whatever infamies the agents of the King bade them, and in this way pretended to prove the accusations made against the Order.

To increase the scandal, these declarations of the culprits were at once made public. Then they were forwarded to Clement V., who sent to inquire of them whether their depositions were true.

They were confirmed by the advice of the pontifical delegates in hopes of obtaining absolution, which the Pope granted, recommending them, although vainly, to royal clemency.

Philip IV. continued his plan; he induced the Governments of Europe to proceed against the Templars, he raised up in the interior of France the nobles, the clergy, and the people, until the States clamorously besought him to prosecute them before the King and the Pontiff. At length, to captivate the goodwill of the latter, he promised to deliver up to him the goods taken from the Knights.

The Pope then yielded completely, and published the bull of 12th August, 1308, *Regnans in cœlis*, which he addressed to all the monarchs in whose States the Order existed.

In this celebrated document the Pontiff exposed in his way the affair of the Templars. He said that before and after his accession to the Pontificate he had received secret information that in Europe, as well as in regions beyond the seas where the friars had been entrusted with

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the defence of the patrimony of Christ, they had incurred the crimes of apostasy, idolatry, and sodomy. That later on the King of France had forwarded to him through messengers and letters equally lengthened informations, and in presence of the Curia a Templar had confirmed them under oath. Finally, that under more urgent demands of the king, the evidences of dukes, counts, barons, clergy, and people of France, founded on the depositions of masters, perceptors, and friars of the Order, obtained by the prelates and French inquisitors, and the replies of seventy knights whom he had interrogated, had afforded him ample proofs of the truth of the crimes imputed. Moreover, wishing to further verify the truth, he had examined all the prisoners through the Cardinals Berengarius, Stephen, and Llandulph, and the friars ratified what had been stated as regards the heresies, and had confessed that they denied Christ and vituperated the Cross in the act of being received into the Order; that they practised horrible actions, and they had manifested themselves repentant and had besought absolution, which was granted them. That such great crimes could not remain unpunished, and therefore he ordered these inquiries to be continued through the ordinaries of various places and other faithful learned men, against the friars of the Order of the Temple generally, the result of this inquiry to be laid before an œcumenical council, which in this bull he convoked in two years' time to be held in the imperial city of Vienna, wherein the best manner to be employed to remedy the said abuses would be discussed, reform the knighthood of the Temple, legislate the ecclesiastical liberties, and assign the means for recovering the Holy Land—a theme always brought forward in all councils, but the realisation of which no one gave any further thought. To this assembly were invited the monarchs, archbishops, bishops, and prelates of their respective countries.

D. Diniz had been forewarned when this bull came to hand. On the previous year after the first arrest of the Templars, Philip the Beautiful had written to the Kings of Aragon and Castille explaining to them what had passed, and urging them to imitate him; and it is probable that a similar missive was sent to D. Diniz. It also appears that by order of the Curia, and the insinuations of the French Government, a private council had been convoked in Salamanca (1306 to 1307), to which assisted D. João de Suilhães, to inquire into the proceedings of the Templars of the Peninsula, which was closed without the knights being found guilty. But besides these official facts, there

was a public report of the great scandal which had induced the process instituted on the previous year with such violence by the King of France. This affair, for many and various reasons, was filling with dread the spirits throughout Christendom, and more particularly in Spain.

D. Diniz, or his Government, and the Portuguese friars, on seeing the great storm which from afar was brewing around the Order, and which threatened to annihilate it, must have fully considered the affair. Pondering calmly upon this affair, it was seen that in Portugal, as well as throughout the Peninsula, the circumstances surrounding the Order of the Temple were very diverse to the conditions in which it found itself in France, Germany, Italy, and England. In these latter countries the war against the infidels had ceased, and the Templars had not only become useless, but even dangerous, owing to their unlimited power, which was almost independent in its privileges from the Crown. But on this side of the Pyrenees circumstances were different. The war with the Arabs continued. Castille had them on the frontiers; Portugal and Aragon had to combat them on the seas where they navigated, and which was infested by the Mussalmans. Besides this, the political existence of the Templars in Portugal did not offend against the royal prerogatives as in other lands.

It was their expressed duty, founded on the grants of the numerous donations they had received from kings as well as from private sources, to serve, at their expense, with arms and horses in the wars against the Moors; and this duty they had always, from the foundation of the monarchy, fulfilled zealously and with extreme bravery. They defended and housed kings, princes, and *ricos-homens* whenever they travelled through their dominions, and they were generous and noble in their hospitality. Without royal authorisation they could not send to the Great Master of the Order in a foreign land any part of the many revenues they received from the kingdom. Of landed properties they barely had the usufruct and administration, nor did they alienate them or refuse to yield them up to the Crown when it was demanded of them. In towns and castles they were little more than mere delegates of the king, who deprived them of their appointments or governments when desirable. The election of Master for the province of Portugal, whether effected by the native friars, or in Palestine by the General of the Order, was only valid after being approved by the monarch; and without his express authorisation he could not quit the kingdom on any

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account, and when leave of absence was given, the sovereign had the right of intervening in the nomination of his substitute. The elected one, in order to enter into his functions, had to pledge homage to the king and to the heir of the crown. In the Order of Portugal, only Portuguese knights could be admitted. Their chapters could only be held in the localities appointed by the king, and in presence of his secular representative.

These and other magisterial rights — special ones between the Portuguese Crown and the Order of the Temple—were constantly maintained in their integrity. The kings frequently made use of them, whether through zeal of their power, and to put down abuses and invasions, or when compelled by public occurrences, because, as we have seen, in general the donors, whether ecclesiastical or nobles, never held in Portugal so much independence from the king as the states which professed true feudalism. The strict enforcement of these royal rights kept the Portuguese Templars within the just limits of their austere rule: withdrawn from political turbulence in which other countries were involved, they were faithful to the monarchs, useful to the kingdom, and esteemed by all.

Hence the bull *Regnans in cœlis* of Clement V. caused general discontent in Portugal; but as the pontifical preponderance was still very great, especially in affairs of this kind, which were exclusively assigned to the Pope, no one attempted to resist directly the command of the Curia as regards the process of inquiry respecting the Templars; it was resolved, therefore, to proceed prudently, and in the most benevolent manner, with respect to the Friars.

The Bishop of Lisbon and other prelates, who had been charged by the Pope with the inquiry, did so very leisurely in view of the coldness of the King and the nation generally. But day by day, however, the Templars became more and more terrified by the news which came from France. It was known that, not only in Paris, but at the Curia, Philip IV. and the Pope, the Dominicans, and the Knights of the Hospital, with other enemies of the Order of the Temple, were urging D. Diniz and the Portuguese prelates to persecute them. For these motives, and perchance from hints of the King, who desired to befriend them without altogether falling out with the Holy See, the Knights and their Master, D. Fr. Vasco Fernandes, absented themselves from Portugal, or concealed themselves in the kingdom.

This was a prudent act. When D. Diniz received the bull *Callidis serpentis vigil*, dated 30th December, 1308, which demanded the arrest of the Portuguese Templars, there was not found a single one upon whom to visit the punishment.

The author of Part Fourth of the "Monarchia Lusitana"—a spiritual brother of the Templars, since he, being a monk of Alcobaça, was as it were son of Saint Bernard—tells us that the reason why the Portuguese friars absented themselves was "to resort to the Curia to justify themselves before the Pontiff, and prove their innocence, and be declared not guilty." This assertion is purely hypothetical, and there is nothing to prove it; rather, to the contrary, the history of what occurred to the knights who voluntarily presented themselves to the Pope in Avignon, and later on during the Council of Vienna, manifests to us the imprudence of such an act, since the few friars who went were taken prisoners and prosecuted by the Curia. The Portuguese Templars had no need to seek so far, and with so much risk, their declaration of innocence by competent judges, which was to be proclaimed so shortly throughout Spain.

But previous to this, however, as they had abandoned their castles and preceptories, and their cause in Paris and in the Apostolic See was becoming darker, the king D. Diniz took possession of the properties of the Order, and proposed a civil action in order that these should be declared appertaining to the Crown. In this suit were appointed as actual judges D. Martin, Archbishop of Braga; D. John, Bishop of Lisbon; Father Stephen, Custodian of the Order of Saint Francis; Master John, Doctor of Laws, and Ruy Nunes. By sentence given on 27th November, 1309, were adjudicated to the royal finance against the Order of the Templars the towns of Pombal, Soure, Ega, and Redinha; and on the following year the towns and castles of Idanha à Velha and Salvaterra do Estremo, with the towns of their boundaries, Rosmaninhal, Segura, and Proença.

Meanwhile D. Diniz, under pretext that the Master and friars of the Temple could not be condemned without putting in an appearance, ordered all process of suits to be suspended which had been instituted against them by some of the cathedrals and monasteries, especially the See of Guarda and the Convent of S. Cruz of Coimbra, with the object of taking possession of the goods of the persecuted Order, leaving sequestrated such properties until the Pope should decide definitely the cause of the Templars.

These royal acts were apparently contradictory, and founded in a double jurisprudence which decided, notwithstanding the non-presence of the culprits, the demands proposed by the Crown, while superseding the suit advanced by the third party, because the contrary party was not in judgment. Beyond this subterfuge which the epoch demanded, in order to withdraw clerical pretensions, the procedure of D. Diniz by taking possession of the properties of the absent friars, and as a fact dissolved, was no more than the logical corollary of the general principle of the Portuguese civil right, that the properties of ecclesiastical corporations as well as the municipal ones, the establishments of beneficence or public instruction belonged to the nation, and ought, on the extinction of such entities, to be incorporated in the National Treasury represented by the State, and as a consequence by the Crown at an epoch when it gathered to itself all political powers and all the faculties of government.

The providences of the son of Alfonso III., adopted at the moment, and prosecuted with its prudent indispensable juridical formalities, in an age when the Church still held a great predominance, was the only means possible of protecting from the covetousness of the Portuguese clerical party and pontifical extortions a great portion of the national properties, which the monarchs had entrusted the Order of the Temple for the defence of the nation by their brave swords, and serve to maintain a militia necessary for the defence and aggrandizement of the country, worthy of public gratitude by their fruitful and glorious labours.

But notwithstanding his rights, and the solemnity with which he invested the affair, Diniz saw that in order to resist with advantage the pretensions which the Curia would certainly advance upon the properties of the Temple, it was indispensable to procure powerful auxiliaries, therefore he at once endeavoured to effect a league with the sovereigns of Castille and Aragon, in whose states the Templars held similar advantages as in Portugal.

The Castillian king, Ferdinand IV., obeyed the Pontifical bulls, arresting the friars, but with gentleness and mercy, as one who wished them no evil. The Aragonese king, James II., combated them by force of arms, because the knights, through fear, had fortified themselves within their own castles; but as soon as he had conquered them, treated them as soldiers whom he loved and esteemed, and whom he desired later on to assist. Both these monarchs had taken possession of the

properties of the Order and did not wish to yield them up to serve foreign interests.

Ferdinand IV. was the youthful and dearly loved son of D. Maria de Molina, who, in the treaty of Alcanices, had espoused the infant daughter of D. Diniz. Good relations existed between the two families, and as the interests of both princes were identical, they easily came to terms on this affair.

On January 21st, 1310, when the monarch of Castille was engaged in the siege of Algeciras against the Moors, a treaty or letter was signed to the effect that, in the event of the Order of the Temple becoming extinct, and the Pope should endeavour to withdraw their properties, whether movable or landed, from the seigniority and jurisdiction of these two sovereigns, who were mutually aiding one another, they would defend themselves against all their demands, nor would they enter into any pact with the Pope or any one else for such an object without the consent of each other.

The reason clearly expressed in the royal document by this resolution is that already expressed—that whereas these properties had been given to the Orders by former kings, or by citizens of these countries, for the service of God and of their respective thrones, therefore from the moment that this corporation might cease to exist, these said properties would revert to the nation which had granted them.

In this alliance James II. speedily joined, and when the three monarchs sent their representatives to Avignon, where the Pope had withdrawn after leaving Poitiers, and later on to Vienna, they gave them all instructions to combine reciprocally, and to declare to the Pontiff and before the Council that as far as concerned the properties of the Templars in Spain, they could consider these three sovereigns as united in one voice, and as three in one. This treaty, as we shall see, bore good results.

About the time that this letter of Algeciras was signed, the Pope, seeing that he could not celebrate the General Council he had convoked for 1310, ordered special councils to be held in various countries to weigh the inquiries which had been taken of the habits of the Templars and judge them.

In respect to the Knights of Leon, Castille and Portugal held a council in Salamanca. To this assisted the Apostolic Inquisitor, Aymeric; the Archbishops of Toledo, Seville, and Santiago; and the

Bishops of Lisbon, Guarda, Zamora, Avila, Ciudad Rodrigo, Mondoñedo, Lugo, Tuy, Plasencia, and Astorga.

On April 15th, the Prelate of Toledo, D. Gonçalo, summoned the friars to appear. The process was continued with the greatest regularity and all the formalities of the jurisprudence of the time, and lasted many months.

In Italy, Germany, and England were likewise held national councils for the same purpose, and in all of these, similarly to the one of Salamanca, the proofs advanced at the inquiry were favourable to the Templars, and tended to show clearly their innocence.

But these evidences of victorious proof in favour of the Order in such diverse parts of Europe were unable to arrest the catastrophe which the avaricious and inhuman spirit of the King of France was preparing for them in Paris. Philip, fearing the result of these foreign suits, resolved to strike a daring blow in his kingdom in order that the treasures of the Order should not escape his clutches. Other no less powerful motives urged him to this decision. The Apostolic Commission of France, which had been installed by the Pope in 1308, had commenced, as well as other commissions in various countries, after many months of delay, to obtain evident proofs of the innocence of the Templars, and even of the mean motives of covetousness and odium which had moved Philip to persecute them.

The publicity which had been given by the Commission respecting the tortures and sufferings which the wickedness of the sovereign and his agents had inflicted on the hapless knights in the depths of their prisons, had on all sides raised a manifest reaction against the monarch and in favour of the Order. Hence the king thought that he should lose the enormous riches obtained from the Temple and the preponderance he held in Europe—a preponderance which had become greatly diminished through other causes—should he not decide the suit in a terror-inspiring manner, which would impose effectual silence upon all public clamours and discontent.

As the greatest obstacle to his plan of action was the opposition of the Pope, he combined with him, at the beginning of the year 1310, to leave to his arbitration the verdict of the cause of the late Pontiff, Boniface VIII. Up to that time the King of France had obstinately urged that Boniface be declared excommunicated, a heretic, and illegitimate Pope. In this he was opposed by the entire Curia. Besides the great scandal which would result from this proceeding throughout

the Catholic world, such a sentence would cause the moral death of the Pontificate, and also the juridical deposition of Clement V. As the greater number of the cardinals which composed the conclave that had elected him had been raised to the cardinalate by Boniface, should judgment be given against him, the majority of cardinals would be likewise illegitimate, and as a consequence his own election null.

The King therefore yielded up this arduous affair, and the Pontiff, on his part, that of the Templars. In April he nominated a brother of the influential favourite of Philip to the archbishopric of Sens. The new prelate, who was authorised by the pontifical bull to raise the suspension of the inquisitor and prelates in ordinary, summoned a provincial council in Paris of French bishops partial to the King. On that day he ordered the imprisoned Templars to appear before the assembly, and on the following day judged and sentenced them.

Such as confessed to the crimes imputed to them were absolved; those who denied the accusation were condemned to imprisonment for life, while fifty-four who in the session had retracted what they had accused themselves of under pressure of the tortures inflicted, were condemned by the council as *relapsos*.

The Templars, in presence of the Apostolic Commission and of the Council, begged to be allowed to appeal to Rome; but this was denied them.

On that same day the *relapsos* were degraded and delivered up to the secular power. On the following day, 12th May, the fifty-four who had retracted were bound to stakes placed at the door of St. Antoine, in Paris, and were burnt alive. Amid the flames rose up the cries of the wretched knights protesting their innocence, and that they died guiltless of the crimes imputed. The people in crowds assisted at this horrible spectacle mute and terror-stricken.

Other councils were held in various parts of France, and proceeded with equal ferocity against the Order. Nine other knights were burnt to death in Senlis. These were indeed days of terror to the monarchy and to the church.

The news of these acts spread rapidly through Europe, causing a profound sensation, and induced a tremendous reaction in favour of the Templars.

In Italy, on 17th June, the prelates who had been summoned together in Ravenna absolved and justified the Knights of the Temple.

In Germany they were admitted to the summary and symbolical

process of the Frankish judges of Westphalia. They presented themselves armed in presence of the Archbishops of Mayence and Treves, affirmed their innocence, and retired. On the 1st of July they were declared innocent and absolved in council.

In England, which after France was the country that had treated them with greater rigour, only the preceptors of the Order, who persisted in denying everything, were condemned, and remained prisoners within the walls of their own monasteries.

Sentence was likewise pronounced in the council of Salamanca. On 21st October it was decreed unanimously that "no cause was found against the Templars worthy of accusation or judgment, but of praiseworthy conversation and example, hence that all had signed under oath to that effect." Yet this decision was subject to the approbation of the Holy See, and for that reason some of the Castillian heads of the Order were retained under custody; but the opinion of the Spanish council had been already declared.

All these absolute sentences produced through Christendom a manifest and general feeling of reprobation against the proceedings of the King and French clergy. However, the Pope, who was now intimately leagued with the brutal policy of Philip, reprehended the mildness of the monarchs of England, Castille, Portugal, and Aragon, and even was guilty of the malevolent cynicism of censuring them for not employing torture in the inquiry of the Templars.

James II., however, being in no favour with France, because the energetic House of Aragon had for a long time combated the two Sicilies, continued his system of prudence and tolerance in regard to the Templars. Hardly had he taken the celebrated monastery of Monson, where the knights resisted with the greatest bravery, and had vanquished them altogether, than he assembled a provincial council in the church of Corpus Christi, in Tarragona. This council was composed of the Archbishop and a great number of prelates. After due inquiry and examination of witnesses, and all legal formalities being gone through, the tribunal pronounced definite sentence on 4th November, 1312. They declared "that one and all of the friars were absolved of the crimes, errors, and impostures which they were accused of, and ordered that none should dare to defame them, in virtue that in the investigations of the council they had been found free of all suspicion."

But these acts of clemency, justice, and fair policy were but

scattered acts, although luminous, of the long darksome tragedy of the extinction of the Templars. There was still wanting, besides the sinister epilogue, the act, so far comical, of the so greatly vaunted œcumenical council.

This council met in Vienna on 16th October, 1312. At the first session none of the principal sovereigns appeared, but only their ambassadors, and over three hundred bishops ranged themselves around the Pope.

As the subjects to be discussed were many, the case of the Templars only came on in November. Nine brave knights valiantly entered the assembly, and offered to defend the Order, declaring that nearly two thousand friars were ready in Leon and neighbouring mountains to second them. Clement V., alarmed at the news, ordered these nine knights to be arrested, and during that winter he did not resume the council.

The affair of the Templars was taken up again in the spring. The majority of the prelates present, among them some of the bishops of France, affirmed that they could not judge the case without hearing the defence. The defence, were it attempted, would prove interminable. There were hundreds of witnesses to examine, and it would be necessary to read numerous documents and diverse judgments of the various national councils.

Meanwhile Philip IV. took possession of Leon, a city hitherto confederated to the empire, in a manner independent, and an asylum of the Templars, heretics, and impious people of all nations. After this, the King of France went to Vienna, accompanied by his sons, a numerous retinue of noblemen, and a great number of warriors.

Encouraged by this decisive aid, Clement V. assembled some of the cardinals and bishops in an especial consistory whose votes he was certain of, and on his own authority, after hearing their opinion, he decreed the extinction of the Order of the Temple. The Pope did not confirm nor even express in the assent or consistorial act, nor in the explanatory bull, the accusations made against the Knights, but simply said the Order had become suspected.

This resolution was published on 3rd April, 1312, in full council, with the King of France seated by the side of the Pope, and was listened to in silence by all the prelates, none of which dared to dissent. No protest would certainly have been of any avail, and moreover useless, because this act had in itself power and reason. The power was the

words of Philip IV., and the reason was in the political need which imperatively existed of extinguishing an Order the process of which had caused such an enormous scandal throughout Christendom, and which had become useless and dangerous. To the few countries where the friars might yet be of use, there remained the free right of gathering them together under a new rule, as actually took place later on.

As the possessions and endowments of the Templars were given with the object of effecting the restoration of Palestine, these were now passed over to their rivals and enemies, the Knights of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem, later on called of Malta; but this resolution was not generally fulfilled, as the kings applied the sequestrated properties to divers uses.

In France, Philip the Beautiful took some of the properties of the Hospitallers under plea of indemnification for the expenses incurred by the process and imprisonment of the Knights of the Temple.

In the Iberic Peninsula, the foresight which the three monarchs had had of uniting together to defend the property of the Order prevented many contentions with the Curia, and in view of this treaty the Pope excluded the whole of Spain from this endowment to the Hospitallers, but reserved to himself the right of intervening with the sovereigns in the future application of these properties.

For this object Clement V. appointed as administrator of all the possessions of the Templars in Portugal, D. Estevão, Bishop of Oporto. This ecclesiastic owed his elevation to D. Diniz—from a poor mendicant friar the King raised him to the post of Almoner, later on gave him the mitre of the See of Oporto, and entrusting to him large sums, charged him to proceed to the Curia and to the Council of Vienna to treat on the affairs respecting the Order of the Temple in harmony with humanitarian and tolerant regal and patriotic ideas of the Portuguese Government.

But D. Estevão, however, had scarcely approached the Apostolic See than he forgot the gratitude he owed to the kingdom and his king. He proceeded against the instructions he had received from him in respect to the Templars, and took advantage of the sums entrusted to him to obtain from the Pope the Episcopal Chair of Lisbon; the Pontiff, moreover, nominating to the See of Braga (which was vacant at that time) the prelate whom the King D. Diniz had appointed for the See of Lisbon.

The intrigues, corruption, and treachery of his former Almoner

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greatly angered the proud monarch, and D. Diniz rejected firmly the administrator of the possessions of the Templars elected by the Pope, for he did not recognise in the Pontiff the right of nominating one, and, moreover, the one appointed was repulsive to him. Clement V. on seeing the firmness of the King did not insist, and the wealth remained in the possession and subject to the administration of the Crown, the negotiations at the Curia in respect to this affair being protracted without any detriment to the kingdom.

In Portugal, Aragon, and all States wherein the Templars had been judged innocent, after the extinction of the Order, it was resolved that the friars should live under obedience to the ordinary prelates of the diocese wherein they resided, and receiving from their former revenues sufficient for their support.

The Portuguese Knights took advantage of this act, and by degrees commenced to appear from abroad, or from the various places in the kingdom where they had been concealed. They found in the monarch, and received from the people, a warm welcome, and esteem for what they had been to the country, hence they peaceably began to establish themselves in the kingdom.

But in the spring of 1314 terrible news arrived from France, which filled their hearts with deep sorrow, and grieved the spirits of all the nation. The Archbishop of Sens, so sadly renowned, had, by order of the Pope, represented by the Bishop of Albany and two cardinal delegates, summoned on the 18th March these and other prelates, and many doctors in ecclesiastical and canon laws, to meet in the Church of Notre Dame de Paris, and brought the Grand Master of the Order of the Temple, in presence of this assembly, as also the Master of Normandy and two principal Knights, these four culprits whose definite judgment the Pontiff had reserved to himself.

Confounded in mind by the factious and involved casuistry of the theologians, the friars, weakened by the lengthened imprisonment, privations, and ill-usage they had endured, seemed at first to confirm the original depositions which had been extorted from them under torture, and confessed themselves guilty of all the accusations, and the council condemned them to perpetual imprisonment.

But when the judges thought that the affair was concluded, the Grand Master of the Order, Jacques Molay, and the Master of Normandy suddenly rose up, and vehemently and firmly denied all that had been stated, and proclaimed the innocence of the whole Order.

The Grand Master had already, in 1310, in presence of the Apostolic Commission, abandoned generally the defence of the cause, and limited himself to enunciating three propositions—viz., firstly, that in no church was the holy sacrifice of the Mass celebrated with greater solemnity than in the churches of the Templars; secondly, that no religious order existed that gave more alms than the Temple, where three times every week relief was given to whomsoever applied; thirdly, that no people had shed more blood for the Christian faith than they, nor any which was more feared by the infidels.

In presence of the new tribunal Jacques Molay repeated these assertions, and with his noble companion, while it was permitted him, affirmed to be false all the accusations brought against the Templars.

The assembly, astonished and irresolute, ordered the fulfilment of the judgment as regarded the two culprits who had confessed, and delivered over to the Provost of Paris, who was present, Jacques Molay and the Master of Normandy to guard until the following day, when they should be sentenced.

The energetic denials of the two Knights were conveyed at once to Philip IV. This monarch did not await the decision of the judges, but decided the case himself, scarcely heeding the opinion of his more intimate courtiers. On that same afternoon these two noble Knights were conveyed to an island of Sena, which stood between the margin of the royal gardens and the Convent of the Hermits of Saint Augustin, which rose on the opposite shore, and ordered them to be burnt alive.

These courageous martyrs protested to their latest moments the innocence of the community, and summoned, so tradition tells us, the cowardly Pope who had betrayed them and the perverse king who had put them to death, to appear before the judgment-seat of God before the end of the year. Their firmness and the conviction of their words uttered during this awful sacrifice enwrapped for ever in mystery and doubt the darksome iniquitous process, and served to win for the Order the admiration and sympathy of their epoch and posterity. And in truth their dying words were fulfilled. Ere the year of 1314 closed, both Pope Clement V. and King Philip IV., the two authors of this funereal tragedy, were claimed by death, leaving to history the sinister gleams of the burning Templars to flash around their memories. But in other countries the reaction against the policy of France continued, and the Templars on all sides were treated with greater gentleness.

James II. the *Just* went further still. With the Aragonese Friars

and the properties they had, he founded in 1317 the Order of San Salvador de Montesa, a borough and castle in the kingdom of Valencia.

D. Diniz followed his example. It was needful to terminate definitely the pretensions of the Curia in respect to the extinct Order. The successor of Clement V., Pope John XXII., on the same year as the foundation took place of the knighthood of Montesa, made an attempt to take possession of a part of their properties. He gave to Cardinal Bertrand, his privy secretary, the town and castle of Thomar, one of the principal preceptories of the Templars. The bull for the concession met with such manifest resistance from the King, the Infante heir, nobles, and in general the kingdom, that neither the Cardinal nor the Pope dared to put it in execution. But notwithstanding this easy victory, Diniz felt that it was necessary to settle the affair. He adopted for the time being the arbitration of his brother-in-law, D. James, and sent on August 14th, 1318, procurators to the Curia to impetrate the necessary authorisation from the Apostolic See. These were John Lawrence of Monsaras, Chevalier of the King, and the Canon of the See of Coimbra, Pedro Pires, individuals of authority, and possessing the perfect confidence of the monarch.

These negotiations were protracted for some months. At length the Pontiff, after listening to the consistory, yielded to the wishes of the sovereign, knowing that they were likewise those of nearly the whole population of Portugal, and that the nation required the brave swords of the ancient knights.

To conciliate all things, a thought was conceived by the King calculated to end happily all these contentions, that was, to convert the Templars into a new Order, and raise the Temple in Portugal under a new form. He submitted this idea to the Pope, who warmly approved of it, and on the 15th March, 1319, John XXII. published a bull creating a new Military Order in Portugal, under the title of *Order of Christ*. This Order held very similar rules as that of the Temple, though the Pope did not acknowledge that it was to substitute it. He appointed Grand Master of the Order a Knight of the Order of Aviz, meanwhile that the former Master of the Temple, Vasco Fernandes, entered the Order as a simple Knight. But the King, when he restituted the properties of the Templars to the new Order, expressly states, "That the Order of Christ was created in reformation of the Order of the Temple, which had been dissolved."

Such was the scrupulous probity of the King, that when giving to

the Order of Christ the lands which the Temple possessed, he ordered the restitution likewise of the rents which the Treasury had collected since the suppression of the ancient Order. He also gave them, moreover, the Castle of Castro-Marim, where the new Militia fixed their residence.

All the former Templars resident in Portugal entered the Order of Christ as professed Knights; only one individual was foreign to the Temple, this was the Grand Master, Gil Martim, who belonged to the Order of Aviz.

The solemn reception and commencement of the Order began with the investiture of the Master, D. Martim Gil, on 18th November. This took place in the chapel of the royal palace. To this ceremony assisted D. Diniz, a numerous court, the Bishops of Evora, Guarda, Vizeu and Lamego, the Prior of Alcobaça, who at the time ruled the monastery, as the post of Abbot was vacant, and all the Knights of the Order of Aviz lovingly accompanied the Master, who had governed them for three years, being a model of wisdom and prudence, and whom by that act they were yielding up to the Order of Christ. The church was magnificently decorated. After the usual religious ceremony, celebrated with great pomp, the Prelate of Cister removed the habit of the Order of Aviz, and invested him with the white scapular and cap of the new Order, and delivered up to him the sword, seal, and flag, with the Cross of Christ quartered in red and white, which, later on, became so celebrated in the history of the Portuguese discoveries.

When Martim Gil died on 13th November, 1321, the Order was flourishing and powerful, due to the zealous efforts of the Grand Master, directed with prudence and virtue; but the principal reason was the enlightened and generous policy of the King. Instigated by faith, by public interest, and a lofty sentiment of justice, D. Diniz concluded the creation of the institution which for the longest period bore the Portuguese name.

It was the Order of Christ which, having as its *Governor* and *Administrator* the most thoughtful and resolute of the illustrious sons of D. João I., furnished the huge wealth and the most intrepid enlightened men to plough the unknown seas, and realise our maritime poem of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, which afforded so great an impetus to the civilisation of the world, and opened to Portugal one of the most glorious pages in the history of the human race. For

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this reason have we assigned so much space to the narrative of the creation of the Military Order of Christ, and the extinction of the Order of the Temple, its predecessor. This was logically demanded by the general history of the kingdom, and from it resulted the great glory which the Order acquired later on, and the natural enthusiasm when recording the grand deeds of the Portuguese nation.

These Military Orders constituted an important part of the nation's strength, on account of the strongholds and war-seats which they held in trust, the large bodies of brave men which they afforded to the army of soldiers and horsemen in times of war, and by their loyalty to the Crown, and the firmness and discipline which so greatly distinguished them.

D. Diniz could not do otherwise than bear in mind, during his long and illustrious reign, their services, and endeavour by every means in his power to promote the development of these Orders, which were of such advantage in the defence of the kingdom during those times of turbulence and warfare.

Besides founding the Order of Christ, and largely benefiting the Orders of Aviz and the Hospital, he effected a notable reform in the Order of Santiago. This Order was of Spanish origin, and the Portuguese Knights were subject to the Grand Master of Castille. As may be supposed, this gave rise to many grave inconveniences. In the wars with Castille the King of Portugal was ever in fear that his Knights, who were Portuguese subjects, might enlist in the ranks of the enemy, or, what would be worse, deliver up to the Castillians the castles he had bequeathed to the Order. An example of this took place in the reign of Alfonso III. This monarch endowed the Order of Santiago with the towns of Ayamonte and Alfajar de Pena, which had been conquered from the Moors in Algarve. These towns were delivered up by the Grand Master to Alfonso the Wise in exchange for two towns in Castille, thus Portugal was deprived of what had been won at the price of Portuguese blood.

D. Diniz strove to remedy the evils by emancipating the Portuguese Knights from obedience to the Castillian Grand Master. This he obtained by a bull from Pope Nicholas IV., in 1288, which permitted them to elect an especial Master, yet who should recognise the supremacy of the Castillian. The latter strongly opposed this separation, and went so far as to draw a bull from Boniface VIII. enjoining the Portuguese Knights, under pain of excommunication, to return

to their former allegiance. He was obeyed, but as soon as Boniface died the Portuguese elected a Master. During the Pontificate of Clement V. he was exclusively occupied with the affair of the Templars, but when John XXII. ascended the pontifical chair the Castillians obtained a renewal of the former orders against the Portuguese, issued by Boniface VIII., when D. Diniz intervened in the affair by means of his ambassadors, and attained to convince the Pope of the necessity of this separation. A bull expedited by John XXII. in 1320 terminated the long contention by confirming the election of Peter Escache as Master for Portugal, and thus effecting the definite separation of the Portuguese Knights of Santiago.

In this way did D. Diniz labour to his utmost during his reign that the Military Orders might shine with greatest lustre. This was very praiseworthy, since Portugal had reached its possible definite limits, had ended its epoch of holy wars, doubly holy by reason of its dual character, religious and national. D. Diniz could not have foreseen that the adventuresome spirit of his descendants would carry the Portuguese hosts, with uplifted cross and sword in hand, from the African shores of Ceuta to the confines of the most remote East; but his poetic soul offered its homage to the glorious past of those heroes of the battles of Faith, while his spirit of justice recompensed the Knights Templars and the Sons of Santiago for the epic heroism with which in former days they had wrenched the half-moon of the Mussalmans from the turrets of the castles of Al-Gharb, and had established and strengthened the independent existence of Portugal.

On terminating the narrative of these strifes with the Military Order we cannot desist from adding a paragraph from the works of Schæfer, which we do gratefully, since it breathes an enthusiasm which would thrill the ardent pages of a writer eminently patriotic, and which is more graceful since it comes from a foreigner in praise of Portuguese glories, rarely to be found in other lands. The paragraph runs as follows :—

"It was with supreme joy," says this illustrious historian, "that D. Diniz beheld towards the end of his reign an institution rising up which he had saved, and to which he had infused new life. What a sweet recompense would this generous and magnanimous prince have gathered could he have seen the glorious consequences which resulted from his benefits—could he have foreseen that a century later a Grand Master of that same Order, the immortal Infante D. Henry, leaning

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pensively over the waves which beat against Cape Saint Vincent, should conceive the grand thought of effecting, with only the means at command of the Order, the discovery of the islands and the regions whose existence he surmised! Could he have observed how the Knights, finding Portugal too narrow for the vastness of their adventuresome spirit, would cross the unknown seas to plant the foundations of Portuguese power on the other side of the globe, and assured a distinct place in the annals of the people! D. Diniz could not foresee all these acts, no more than he could divine that the pine-trees planted so carefully on the heights of Leiria, in order that the violence of the sea-breezes should not cover with mountains of sand, washed by the sea, the fertile plains of his favourite residence, were to grow and increase, and form the luxuriant and immense forests from whence to build the ships wherein the Knights and brave sailors sailed across the seas to widen the dominions of Portugal, and prepare the basis of a commerce which was to join the two parts of the world. What fruits are still in store for the future yet to be gathered from the beneficent institutions of so enlightened and prudent a prince!"

About the same time as D. Diniz effected the reformation of the Military Orders as narrated above, he effected a no less important one in reforming the national navy, which later on became one of the principal agents in working out the greatness and glory of the future of Portugal. His new providence is linked to an order of especial facts in the general administration of the kingdom, in relation principally to its material progress, one of the most characteristic features of the policy of D. Diniz, and which throughout ages has engraved his name in the affectionate remembrance of the people.

No documents have been found to give an exact idea of the general population of the kingdom at this epoch. There simply appears one which refers to a small portion of the kingdom. This is the list of the cross-bowmen which each of the principal lands of Estremadura and Beira Alta should possess. The kingdom was divided into five vast provinces, known in those days as districts—Alemtejo and Algarve, Estremadura, Beira, Entre Douro and Minho, and Tras-os-Montes, a division which was perfectly logical for that time, and which satisfied the administrative necessities of the State. These provinces had as capital cities, or principal ones, Evora, Lisbon, Coimbra, Guimarães, and Braganza.

As we said, when D. Diniz assumed the government of the kingdom, he followed the policy of his father in promoting, on every side and in every sense, the internal progress of the nation. Hence, in 1286, when endeavouring to promote the increase of population on the sea-coasts of the kingdom, in order to resist more effectually the pirates of Barbary, who infested these parts, he thought, among other providences, of populating a port excellent for fishing and commerce, called Paredes, which lay two leagues to the north of the town of Pederneira, a short distance from the city of Leiria, much frequented by the King on account of the good hunting which existed there.

On 28th October, D. Diniz issued letters to the effect of settling thirty residents on that spot, with the obligation of always having ready for its fishery six caravels, and, in order to establish homes, gave to each a measure of wheat. The town of Paredes rapidly increased until the reign of D. Manuel. But being exposed to the sands which surrounded it, became at length so embedded in those which the winds swept over the buildings and the port, that it was at length completely abandoned by the inhabitants. In the year 1295, D. Diniz founded and populated Salvaterra dos Magos, whose fertile marshes, upon which was erected the town, were given him by the Aldermen of the Council of Santarem, who held the seigniority, the nobles and principal men of the town being present and authorising the donation.

He likewise gave royal letters to Martim Lourenço of Cerveira, to populate the wilds of Urgueira, on the confines of Ourem, on the 20th May, 1299, and on the following day he granted charters to the population of *Villa Nova* to build on the mouth of the Coa, which was only separated from the frontiers of Leon by the current of the Douro, and was erected imprudently without walls of defence of any kind. On learning that on the confines of Torres Novas, between Cardiga and Besilga, there were good lands but uncultivated, yet admirably placed for defence against the numerous highwaymen which infested the place, and knowing that the best remedy for preventing the evil would be to populate these desolate places and promote agriculture and social life, he ordered, on 5th September, 1303, by royal letters, the foundation of the towns of Aceiceira, Atalaya, and Tojal. With the object of attracting inhabitants, the King granted various privileges and removed some heavy imposts. Later on, these places became renowned—Atalaya as head of the county, populous and fertile, and Aceiceira as being the

scene of the last and decisive military victory of the Liberal cause during the present century.

But more important than these places in Estremadura were those founded by D. Diniz in the territory of Tras-os-Montes, Montalegre, and Villa Real. In the first there had been inhabitants, but death had swept some off and others had abandoned it, flying from the violences of the fiscal collectors. The foundation of Villa Real was first planned by Alfonso III. in 1272, who ordered its erection, and gave it charters granting the royal rights over the lands of Panoyas. But the perturbations were great throughout the kingdom, and no inhabitants appeared, hence he died without seeing his idea realised. It fell to his son to reap that peaceful and civilising glory.

The raids effected by the Castillians and Leonese on the Portuguese frontiers, instigated by the rebellion of Alvaro de Lara, joined to the disturbances of the Portuguese Infante D. Alfonso, manifested to D. Diniz that it was imperative to people and erect fortified places in the district of Tras-os-Montes, on the confines of Leon and Galicia, which were so far from the centre of the kingdom. Hence he gave orders in January, 1289, to populate Montalegre, and also on the fertile district of Panoyas that of Villa Real. At first it was limited to one thousand inhabitants, to whom were accorded many especial privileges. After three years the new town had greatly increased, both in residents and buildings. In view of the needs of the time, D. Diniz, in 1292, granted another charter to Villa Real, which was more complete, while confirming the former privileges. In order to manifest more clearly his especial predilection for this work, he dedicated the parish church of the new town to his spiritual patron, the martyr St. Denis.

Villa Real continued for many years in the royal dominions, having been ceded to various queens. Diniz gave it to his wife D. Isabel, Alfonso IV. to D. Brites, Ferdinand to D. Leonor, and it was only after that it passed to the seigniority of counts and marquises. The fruitfulness of its soil and the activity of its dwellers rendered it in time one of the first capitals of the north of the kingdom, and perpetuated throughout ages the beloved name of the founder.

Yet, while establishing these and other towns, he did not forget in his admirable solicitude to increase, embellish, and fortify the ancient cities, towns, and alcaceres of the kingdom.

D. Diniz reconstructed the towns and castles of Serpa, Moura, Mourão, Olivença, Campo-Maior, and Ougurella. He erected, or completely

repaired, the fortresses of Montforte, Arronches, Portalegre, Marvão, Alegrete, Castello de Vide, Borba, Villa Viçosa, Arrayolos, Evora Monte, Veyros, Alandroal, Monçaras, Noudâr, Jurumenha, Redondo, and Assumar. He raised the tower and alcacer of Beja, and greatly fortified all the towns of the conquest of Biba de Coa, and also Avôo, Pinhel, Guimarães, Braga, Miranda do Douro, Moncão, and Castro Leboreiro. He raised castles, and populated in a great measure Vinhaes, Villa Flor, Alfandega, Mirandella, Freixo d'Espada à Cinta, and others; in a word, he rendered more than fifty places of greater or lesser importance in a state of defence spread throughout the different points of the kingdom. Lisbon was not forgotten. D. Diniz erected many houses to accommodate the ever-increasing population of the city, and increased the revenues of the Crown by a system of letting. He constructed some public buildings, principally the Palace of Alcaçova, and opened the Rua Nova dos Ferros, the finest in the capital.

The religious foundations were very numerous. Throughout the kingdom he spread churches, chapels, and convents. This was due, not only to the religious spirit of the age, but also to the idea that a church raised on a deserted place was the natural commencement of new towns. Amongst these foundations are distinguished two well-known ones, the Monastery of Odivellas and that of Santa Clara of Coimbra.

The first was erected in fulfilment of a vow which he made when a youth. He thought of this erection for a length of time, and laid the foundation stone on 27th February, 1295. Two years were employed in its construction, and in 1325, thirty years later, he ordered his body to be buried there.

This church was renowned for its elegant Gothic architecture, its position on a hill, the vastness of the buildings, magnificence of handiwork within and without, its principal façade, sumptuous choir, and wide nave—which the earthquake completely destroyed, but which tradition glorified. But above all, the mausoleum of the good King previous to the wreck we see to-day—Odivellas was a monument truly noteworthy, and one of the largest and most celebrated monasteries of the Peninsula.

Two leagues to the north of Lisbon stands Luz, on a plain between two small hills, Tojaes and Saint Diniz, divided by a clear stream which waters the boundary and garden of Val de Flores. It belongs to the Cistercian Order. Eighty nuns inhabited it during the first year of its

foundation. D. Diniz greatly loved this convent and largely benefited it, and in spite of his duties and the cares of government, he twice reformed the rules, and rendered it most opulent by numerous and important donations, and even dispensed it from the laws of mortmain, and granted it the privilege of inheriting. He also placed here among the community some of his illegitimate daughters. The enclosure of the nuns was partial. The choir could not be divided from the nave, either with rails, or wooden partitions, or otherwise, which might prevent the religious from frequenting the church wherein was the monument of the King, in order that they should pray and sing their office over his sepulchre.

Odivellas ought to have been preserved with patriotic and fervent zeal. It was a symbol of the fourteenth century, so full of promise, and which had, across the barbarism of the Middle Ages, commenced to shoot vigorously the first gleams of the dawn of national civilisation. A king, however, degraded it by his sensualities, and a natural catastrophe destroyed it. What exists at the present day in Odivellas of the former monument of D. Diniz is little more than the actual site, its traditions, name, and some tombstones.

The ancient convent of Santa Clara of Coimbra, of whose vast erection only ruins remain which are now almost extinct, was not erected directly by D. Diniz, but was due to the liberality with which he endowed the Queen D. Isabel.

A wealthy lady, D. Mor Dias, Canoness of the Monastery of S. João das Donas, adjacent to that of Santa Cruz, founded in April, 1286, on the margin of the Mondego, a few steps from the bridge, a church and religious house, which she dedicated to Santa Clara, and endowed with all her wealth. This foundation was, however, opposed by the canons regulars, alleging that Mor Dias, being a professed nun of the Order, could not dispose of any goods in favour of another, and soon after the death of this pious lady they obtained sentence from the Bishop of Lisbon to suppress the new monastery, and ordering that all properties left by the deceased should be delivered up to them. The nuns were dispersed among various convents, and the building fell to ruins soon after, owing to neglect and incomplete state of erection.

It was then that D. Isabel took upon herself to save the foundation of Mor Dias, and to reconstruct the monastery. She intervened in the cause, which for no reason had been deferred, and assigned to the Holy See. She obtained the pontifical grant, and arranged with the Fathers

of Santa Cruz, who gave up to the new convent part of the inheritance of Mor Dias.

In the year 1317 the pious princess, accompanied by many prelates and noblemen, laid the foundation stone of the great buildings which were to be erected. She raised the church, a vast building in the Gothic style of architecture, with three naves, and in the ogival domes, which still exist, were sculptured the scutcheons of Portugal and Aragon. The monastery itself was enlarged greatly. As soon as the house was ready, the Queen sent for eleven nuns of Saint Clare, from the city of Coimbra, in order to serve as the nucleus in its reformed state of the new community, which quickly increased by the highest noble ladies of the kingdom, and in a few years numbered fifty nuns. In order to be nearer the sanctuary, Isabel of Aragon constructed by its side a royal palace of sufficient dimensions for her family and retinue "like a vine growing by its side," and to complete more perfectly the work, she built contiguous to it a hospital to shelter, educate, and tend orphans and the poor.

This renowned Queen and D. Beatriz, her daughter-in-law, with a number of ladies of the Court, spent many long years in this institution, dividing the days between divine offices in the choir and the practice of charity in the hospital. During her years of widowhood she wore the humble habit of the Nuns Minorite of Saint Clare, although she did not profess in the Order, and chose this place as her sepulchre, instead of the first projected, close to that of her husband in Odivellas.

In the old convent of Santa Clara was buried the hapless gentle Inez de Castro, until the passionate love of Pedro had her body translated with superb royal pomp to the lovely mausoleum of Alcobaça, in the year 1361.

It was in this same monastery that later on, in the year 1480, in presence of the Court of Portugal and the Castillian Ambassadors, amid the tears and wailings of a numerous auditory, D. Joanna, the *excellent lady*, was compelled to profess, in order to leave Ferdinand and Isabella free on the throne of Leon and Castille, but from whence she had been sworn Queen, and to which she was still called by powerful partisans.

But nature had condemned the pious work of the wife of D. Diniz. By degrees the drifts of the sands of the Mondego were submerging it, and when in the sixteenth century D. Fr. Bartholomew of the Martyrs

preached in that edifice in presence of the adventuresome and hapless D. Sebastian, it was manifest that the preservation of the ancient monastery could not be maintained any longer, notwithstanding the reluctance of the religious to forsake it. At length it was the nuns themselves who solicited D. John IV. to effect a remedy to the evil. This monarch commenced on 3rd July, 1649, the erection of the new convent of Santa Clara, a short distance from the old one, and which he built on the height of the Monte da Esperança, where it is still to be seen.

On 29th October, 1677, was translated in solemn procession of nuns the body of the Queen, D. Isabel. Even at that date the new work was still uncompleted, and for conclusion the materials of the old building were employed.

But the establishment of religious and charitable institutions formed only a small portion of his system of developing population and the prosperity of the kingdom. Civilisation was progressing, and the Government required other means more efficacious and direct to further this aim: these means were the development of material labour in all its principal manifestations, such as agriculture, commerce, and industry, and above all the perfecting, in the liberal sense, the juridical and social conditions of property and the people.

The principal reform, however, of D. Diniz for the increase of population, the progress of agriculture, and in general the civilisation of the kingdom, was in respect to the laws of mortmain of the land, firmly carried out. This reform alone, on account of its deep and salutary effects, would have rendered glorious his reign; but besides this, Diniz continued, with solicitous enlightenment, the fruitful policy of his father, and not only on the agrarian side, but also in repressing the demands and extortions, varied and continued, of the privileged classes, and thus in a sensible manner hastened the grand and admirable evolution of Portuguese society.

Kings and ministers proceeded enlightened and wisely throughout the kingdom, viewing personally the people and administrating justice, inquiring into the public needs and providing the remedy, hence they became practically acquainted with the condition of existence of the various localities, and to each they applied the system adopted, varying and modifying it in harmony with the usages and customs of the various places.

On the vast unpopulated plains of the Alemtejo, Diniz endeavoured

to establish small towns, distributing among the inhabitants in equal plots the adjoining lands.

To the monasteries, the military orders, the *ricos-homens*, and the great landowners who held lands under cultivation, he allowed them to preserve their properties, but forbade them to hold large tracts which they could not cultivate, while he examined and took the uncultivated portions to turn them into common pasture grounds for all the neighbours, or else he parcelled them out to labouring men who would cultivate them, assigning to each the necessary portion for the maintenance of their cattle.

In the province of Tras-os-Montes, D. Diniz endeavoured, as in Alemtejo, to increase population and develope agriculture. These were the two districts in the kingdom which possessed most uncultivated land. He had likewise to adapt his laws to the requirements of tradition and local usages before he could have his system accepted by the people.

In places where the tilling was not carried in common they were annually put up in lots and divided among the neighbours to be cultivated—a system which was very pernicious to rural economy, since it withdrew from the cultivator the thought of incurring any expense upon a land which gave no immediate results or demanded a sensible laying out of capital.

Communism existed even in other branches of industry, and, in truth, in some it had its advantages. It was common property, not only the construction, conservation, and use of bridges, roads, and lands, but even the flour-mills, the ovens for baking bread, barns for storing cereals or granaries, wine-presses, and the guarding of the flocks.

These customs, some of which appear strange to inhabitants of cities in our days, are still preserved in the towns of Tras-os-Montes, and in numberless villages throughout the kingdom. Threshing-time is among them a season of feasting, popular and friendly meetings, and social intercourse due to this kind of communism.

D. Diniz, the king who was so beloved by his people, preserved this system, as he was well aware of its advantages, while correcting the inconvenience which, in a purely agricultural sense, was manifest.

Following the example bequeathed by his father and Sancho I. and II., he ordered some of the vast lands of his dominions to be cultivated under the best systems, in order to serve as models and schools for teaching agriculture to private farmers; and he was even

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proud of saying that he owned in the Alemtejo herds of cattle and numerous flocks of splendid live stock.

He ordered the marshes of Ulmar, near Leiria, to be drained, this being carried out under the superintendence of Friar Martinho, a monk of Alcobaça, and these lands, when ready for cultivation, were distributed among the colonists. The marshes of Salvaterra de Magos and Muge were treated in the same manner, but the ratepayers, among other conditions, had, on concluding the ploughing in four years' time, to pay the King, besides a fourth or fifth of the produce, sixty-four measures of wheat towards defraying the expenses of drainage and the erection of wooden bridges.

Foreseeing the great damage which would be caused to Leiria by the drifts of sand washed ashore by the ocean, and which continually swept over the fertile plains surrounding the city and were destroying the fertility of the land, D. Diniz conceived the idea of averting the evil by covering the whole tract with pine-trees, and thus prevent the sand-drifts, and later on afford native timber for land and maritime constructions. It was with this double object that he planted the celebrated pine forests of Leiria, one of the greatest sources of wealth he bequeathed his successors and the nation. Tradition assures us that the original pines which were planted came from France, and the timber produced, after proper preparation, equals that brought from the north, and is suitable for any construction, whether for shipbuilding or inland works.

On the shores of the Tagus, eleven leagues above Lisbon and three from Santarem, extends the fields called De Vallada, which possess an extraordinary fertility.

When Alfonso Henry conquered the first of these cities he ordered the Chamber and Council of Lisbon to divide annually among the residents of this territory that tract of land, with the object of relieving those who had no properties, and to encourage the people to come and settle in Lisbon. This was praiseworthy from a humanitarian point of view and with the object of furthering civilisation. Hence the list of poor persons became annually organised, and to each was given a portion of land to cultivate.

With the further object of attracting persons to rural pursuits and also ennoble the science of agriculture, D. Diniz decreed that *fidalgos* would not lose their rank, dignity, or nobility, nor their honours, by becoming agriculturists. And in his constant travels and visitation of

the kingdom he always treated the peasantry and country people with the greatest affability, in order to encourage them in their labours, and even defended their properties against their more powerful neighbours, and in many ways protected them.

It was on account of these providences and watchful manner of proceeding that D. Diniz acquired the honoured titles of "Agricultural King" and "Father of the People." Moreover, it was due to him that the science of agriculture in Portugal rose to a high degree of excellence during the fourteenth century and became so prosperous. Although it constituted the principal subject of the tributes and imposts of all kinds, this industry attained in many parts of the kingdom the greatest development possible, not alone in what regarded rural labours and fertilising of lands, but in the cultivation of orchards, fruit and vegetable gardens, and in the excellence of vineyards. The abundance and superiority of cereals being so celebrated at that epoch and not only supplied the population of the kingdom, but sufficient remained to effect large exportations.

It was because the youthful nation, robust and fired with enthusiasm, had at its head rulers who were renowned for their sagacious patriotism and the ardour with which they had combated the Arabs and conquered them, and now ploughed the land to find in its bosom wealth and happiness.

Yet his active spirit did not rest here. The discovery and exploration of mines also attracted his attention. It was considered for a great length of time that the accounts of antiquity and of the Middle Ages respecting the mining wealth of the Spanish Peninsula, and notably of Portugal, were exaggerated; but modern discoveries in our land of rich depths of copper, iron, and coal are so numerous and continued that, as regards the above, they justified, or rather exceed the vague affirmations of the ancient writers.

Yet the few documents existing on the subject are generally Government dispositions, from which we can only infer by deduction the state of this industry.

By a provision dated 12th December, 1282, at this early stage of his enlightened reign, D. Diniz was granting to Sancho Pires and his companions leave to seek and explore in Portugal and the Algarve all the mines of iron and quicksilver which had notice of *paying the customary dues*. This phrase indicates that mining was already known

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and carried on in the kingdom, as it was subject to a fixed tax, which it would be only prolix to enumerate.

And in effect, from the reign of Sancho I., on the shores of the Tagus, principally between Almada and Cezimbra, on a spot called Adiça, gold was extracted from the sands. This industry was continued until the reign of D. Manuel, when it became prohibited during the last years of his rule, to avoid the inconvenience accruing from removing the sand, and because the gold, the products of the new discoveries and conquests, was in such quantities that it obscured at first the humble products, although safer, of the national labour. Yet it is an undoubted fact that the mines of Adiça attained to a great development notable at that epoch, being the greatest depository of this metal in the kingdom.

Besides the mines of iron, quicksilver, and gold, there were others known in the time of D. Diniz of silver, lead, copper, zinc, sulphur, jet, and alum. Of this latter D. Diniz ordered in 1301 search to be made by Pero Martins, mandarin to the Queen D. Isabel, and Stephen Domingues, Gonsalo Pires, and others. Ancient national writers also speak of mines of turquoise and other precious stones, but these are only vague rumours the truth of which is unproved; but it is certain that besides gold and silver mines which have become nearly exhausted, and the manganese which is a modern discovery, there were then mines of all the ores known at the present day; and it is equally acknowledged that they merited the attention of the Government of D. Diniz, and were prosperous at that epoch.

During the subsequent reign of Alfonso IV., on the contrary, neglecting in part the administration of the kingdom, and allowing some of the principal elements of its wealth to fall into disuse, he abandoned many mines which ceased to be worked, and gave the concessions of others to private industry which then was in a very weak state; the concessionaires being Alfonso Peres, a merchant of Oporto, and a foreigner, Bernal Fucara, and their successors, with the condition of their exploration and paying to the Crown a fifth part of the products.

Although during the reign of D. Diniz arts, handicraft, and commerce were greatly developed, yet they did not attain to the prosperity of agriculture. The individuals who took to these professions commenced in the municipalities to constitute themselves into guilds or brotherhoods, generally incipient and subject to all the regulations of the

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time. The arts barely existed, and the industries which were most perfect, and the branches of commerce most noteworthy, were principally followed by Jews and Moors, of which there were great numbers in the country. The Hebrews were intelligent, laborious, and wealthy; some of these were also proficient in medicine and in the science of governing. And though the religious spirit of the Christians was fervent and deep, nevertheless they allowed a great liberty of worship and tolerance to the Hebrew race.

The primitive harshness of the Gothic laws had been softened by the Kings of Leon, especially by Alfonso VI., who permitted the Jews to share the social life with the Christians. From this grand fact proceeded the multiplicity and opulence of the sectaries of Moses throughout Spain.

Following this beneficent example, and acknowledging the utility of taking advantage of this persevering and industrious race for the increase and advancement of a new country, the first Portuguese kings treated the Jews most kindly, and not only permitted them to follow their religious worship and private industry, but entrusted them with important charges in the public government, particularly in collecting imposts and financial administration.

These fiscal appointments and the usurious contracts, which were often carried out with inhumanity and hardness, rendered the Jews later on generally hated. This animadversion was induced in a great measure by the clergy, and even at this epoch reached to the height that they complained to the Curia of the favour which the sovereigns accorded to them. However, several Pontiffs protected them, granting freedom of worship, notably the wise Clement VI., by a bull dated 5th July, 1347, wherein he forbids under heavy penalties that any Jews should be forced to receive baptism, or hinder them in the celebration of their religious festivals, enter into cemeteries, or impose exceptional tributes.

The Moors, like the Hebrews, resided in separate districts which, except in Lisbon, were outside the boundary walls: this was partly by reason of the agricultural labours they followed. The Moorish section was governed by an elective Alcaide, who administered justice among his sectaries. They were allowed publicly and privately to hold their festivals in conformity with the Alcoranic law, and to dress in their native costume.

They paid the same dues to the Portuguese kings as they had

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done to the Mussalman monarchs. From these tributes resulted large revenues to the Crown, this being one of the principal reasons for the tolerance of the governments in respect to the proscribed race of Mahomet. Hence both Jews and Moors joined together with the Christians in following productive labours.

Industry and commerce had commenced to acquire vigour in the previous reign. During the long government of D. Diniz they slowly continued to progress. The ignorance of special rudiments for their development was deep; the privileged classes oppressed and scorned generally the labouring classes; the variety of legislation, the dues and imposts of all kinds hampered and rendered existence a difficult matter with the people, while the internal communications with the country were insufficient, and earthquakes, famine, and pestilence frequently diminished the population. Nevertheless, despite all these great obstacles, the growth of the civilising life of the nation was sensibly felt.

Drawing, painting, and sculpture were still in a semi-barbarian state, but architecture, religious and civil, had commenced to take root, as is proved by the numerous buildings of all kinds which rose up in the reign of D. Diniz, and this art increased so rapidly that within a century, among others, was distinguished the lovely erection of the Church of Santa Maria da Victoria of Batalha, the wonder and model for future generations.

On the Minho existed good manufactories of linen and cloth, and throughout the kingdom leather and various skins of animals were splendidly worked. These served to cover the walls of the richest apartments, and furniture for the harness of horses, and even for articles of apparel, being richly and luxuriantly worked and embroidered.

In this reign, owing to its peaceful state and good government, all industries developed greatly. Diniz perfected and generalised throughout the kingdom the holding of fairs and markets, which proved one of the greatest benefits to agriculture and national commerce and industries.

In Coimbra, Braga, Ponte de Lima, and other places to the north, even before the time of D. Diniz, were held weekly and monthly fairs or markets, which drew, for miles around them, buyers and sellers, but it was due to this sovereign that these periodical fairs attained their greatest development.

He granted permission for fairs to be held in Leiria, Villa Flor,

Cernancelha, and Alvito, Ranhados, Beja, Moura, Gaia, Santarem, and Murça. He likewise granted leave to Moncorvo, Monção, Trancoso, Freixo d'Espada à Cintra, Prado, Vouzella, Lamego, and many other towns. The fair of Lamego, one of the greatest in the kingdom, lasted the whole of the month of July, and drew merchants from all the country. This fair, like some others, was free—that is to say, had privileges and exemptions authorised by the King, but greater than the usual ones.

These fairs were generally presided over by a magistrate, who watched over the proper observance of all contracts and dues, police regulations and peace. Arts and industries, agriculture, commerce, and social well-being gained immense advantages by these gatherings of the people, where all manufactures were exhibited, cattle, and the agricultural products of all the provinces in the interior. These fairs at once created commerce in the interior of the kingdom; it brought together the goods of the consumers; it induced and facilitated the circulation of money, and established good relationship of every order—sociability and goodwill—benefited in every sense the conditions and life of individuals, the municipalities, and of the nation generally; while these popular meetings even developed the taste for music and poetry, rendering the Portuguese character more expansive and cheerful.

But it was not alone the mercantile commerce of the interior which merited the attention of D. Diniz; he likewise promoted external commerce. When this prince succeeded to the crown he found already a certain development of trade. As we have seen, from the earliest times of the monarchy our ports were visited by the navigators of the North. Numerous fleets of warriors, which the enthusiastic fervour of the Crusades was impelling to Palestine, had assisted the Portuguese to expel the Arabs; while many of the foreign soldiers, attracted by the warm welcome of the Portuguese, had remained in the Peninsula and established numerous colonies.

These facts, frequently repeated during an entire century, induced continual and varied relations between the principal Portuguese ports and the maritime strongholds of Biscay, Catalonia, Brittany, England, and Flanders, and brought towards the end of the thirteenth century an active commerce, resulting from the exchange of its national products with the merchandise of these various countries. The Portuguese received their numerous manufactures, and in return exported

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cereals, wine, fruit, and salt. The ships of Italy, principally Venetian and Genoese, also approached the shores of Portugal to open commerce with her, while merchants from all foreign nations established their residence in Portugal, principally in the towns of Faro, Setubal, Oporto, and Lisbon. During the fourteenth century thousands lived here; the Tagus was usually crowded with shipping, and this latter port became one of the most renowned of Europe. But this signal prosperity was only attained by slow degrees.

It was towards the end of the reign of Alfonso III. and the beginning of that of D. Diniz, that the external national commerce began to assume a veritable importance, owing to the encouragement it received, the intercourse with foreign merchants and navigators, the increase of productive forces of the country, and lastly, because the Portuguese, freed from the war with the Mussalmans, were striving by every means at command to give scope to their activity and develope their sources of wealth. The merchants combined together and established a system of commercial regulations and laws—in a word, a Commercial Exchange. This system was approved of by D. Diniz, who granted its confirmation by decree dated 10th May, 1293. This organisation was later on enlarged and perfected in the time of D. Ferdinand, and extended to all the kingdom. However, in Oporto an analogous one was formed when in that port commerce began to acquire a sensible importance.

In January, 1290, Philip the Beautiful of France, that same king who was so zealous for the prerogatives of the Crown, granted to the Portuguese merchants residing in Harfleur, Normandy, many privileges, and all Portuguese merchants and their servants were under the protection of the King of France, and sheltered from any violence so long as they resided in Harfleur.

Harfleur, which at the present day is an obscure, insignificant city on the right margin of the Seine, about two kilometers from the sea shore, was in the Middle Ages an important place on account of its enormous mercantile traffic. The sands were such that they nearly ruined its anchorage, and compelled the French to build at a short distance the small but picturesque city of Havre, and the vast roadstead, whose maritime life it would be unnecessary to describe. Hence Harfleur was the foundation of the first northern port of France, and during the thirteenth century was much frequented by foreigners.

The concession, therefore, of so many signal exemptions authorised

by such a monarch as Philip is an evident proof of the importance which Portuguese commerce had already attained and the large number of resident merchants.

But it was not alone in France that they found favour. England acknowledged much earlier the convenience of maintaining political and commercial relations with the Portuguese, who were established along the shores of the ocean and on the most western part of Europe.

We see that in 1151, during the reign of Alfonso Henry, Bishop Gilbert of Lisbon went to England to enlist troops for the service of Portugal, and since then was established the principle which has been almost constantly followed by the Portuguese Government of effecting alliances with Great Britain against the violence of its neighbours in the Peninsula. The English assisted Sancho I. to conquer Silves. This same monarch sent ambassadors to England, and King John (*sem terra*), who then was reigning, enjoined his vassals by royal letters to receive them with all honours and lend their aid, and asked in marriage a daughter of Sancho, publicly declaring that it was a source of deep gratification to him to establish peace relations between the two nations, which he inculcated to his delegates and subjects, manifesting that he was ready to celebrate treaties with Portugal. The English, the Flemish, and the French assisted Alfonso II. in September, 1217, to defeat the Moors and take Alcacer. Commerce between the two peoples continued during the subsequent reigns of Sancho II. and Alfonso III. Lastly, in the time of D. Diniz, as we shall show, diplomatic relations increased with the greatest regularity possible at that age, and commercial treaties, whether written or customary, which had formerly existed, were now confirmed in an authentic manner.

International affairs during the Middle Ages, and for a long period afterwards, were treated by letters between the respective monarchs, which were carried by ambassadors or envoys of lesser note, who returned to their country as soon as they received a reply or concluded the object of their especial mission.

Various messages of this nature were exchanged between D. Diniz and the Kings of England, Edward I. and II. These were principally in reference to mutual claims respecting cases of piracy, which were then very frequently perpetrated by the subjects of both nations, and sometimes also by Castillian ships, who, in order to carry their rapine

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more safely against the English shipping, used to hoist the Portuguese flag.

All that exists of the correspondence which passed at that epoch has been published in the excellent diplomatic collection of Rymer. The first document which is there read is a letter of Edward I., dated 15th July, 1293, where it is seen that D. Diniz had written others, endeavouring to justify his subjects from the piracies complained of by the English; the last, it was said, having been effected within the port of Lisbon. Notwithstanding this, the English monarch appeared to desire peace, and beseeches D. Diniz to persuade his subjects to maintain it. In order that these conflicts be adjusted and tranquillity assured, the King of Portugal sent in the following January as ambassadors to England João Soeiro and Pedro Martins, citizens of Lisbon.

In April of that same year Edward I. published a letter, in which is established the form for regulating the disagreements between the merchants of the two nations by means of arbitration, who had also powers to treat for peace; and the King decreed an armistice in order to carry out the desired convention.

New cases of piracy, however, took place, and disturbed these negotiations, and D. Diniz was even accused of receiving a tenth part of the prize taken from a richly laden English ship which had touched the port of Lagos, and was captured by various vessels from Lisbon. In order to indemnify this robbery, the King of England granted letters against the Portuguese ships. However, in February, 1297, this same monarch authorised *salvo conducto* to the merchants of Portugal to enable them freely to traffic in his States up to a certain date, at the request, be it noted, of the provincial governors, who affirmed that from this would result advantages for the nation.

Some years passed in this doubtful state of relations, when an event occurred which offered to the Portuguese monarch a plea for binding these transactions in closer and safer terms. An English vessel was captured by corsairs and conducted to the Tagus. Diniz rejected the requisitions of the King of Castille, who demanded that it be delivered up as belonging to his subjects, and retained it for two years until its legitimate owners should appear. The Portuguese sovereign wrote about this to England, and his letters were received by Edward II., because Edward I., his father, was already dead.

When Diniz was apprised of this event, he sent a special envoy to

congratulate the new monarch, reminding him of the former good feelings and the treaties which bound the two peoples. Edward thanked him for the letters addressed to his late father, and the services which England had tendered to the King of Portugal, retaining the English vessel, and rejecting the Castillian pretensions.

When he received in audience the Portuguese envoy, he wrote to D. Diniz a letter, dated 3rd October, 1308, which from its importance marks an epoch in the official relations between the two nations. In this letter he rejoices cordially on the treaty of union and friendship which up to that time had existed between the merchants of Portugal and England, to which Diniz had alluded, and desires that this treaty *be indissoluble and perpetual between them*. In reference to past conflicts, he declares that he had received no complaints in that respect from his vassals, and terminates by affirming that he had granted to Portuguese merchants letters of safe conduct, permitting them to take their merchandise to England and trade there, merely subject to the laws, usages, and customs of their kingdom.

The primitive Portuguese political relations with England, which had proved so advantageous for the establishment of its nationality, were succeeded by continued commercial transactions between the two countries, lucrative and expedient for both; and if at times the violences of the pirates disturbed or broke them, they were soon reunited by immediate reciprocal interests.

The treaty to which these above-mentioned decrees refer is, however, unknown, and its existence controverted. Perhaps it was never written, but it is nevertheless certain that it received a real and effective life in the numerous and important relations with both nations, and in its acts was frequently invoked.

However great may have been the internal strength of the country to induce and widen the export trade, it could never be truly great, nor attain its natural development, so long as the seas were infested, as they really were, by pirates and inimical fleets. Besides the mutual rapine, constantly exercised in a greater or lesser degree by the Christian ships, and often in accord with their respective Governments, the Mussalmans of Granada and the whole of Africa, more especially of the vast empire of the Moghreb, maintained powerful fleets, making war to Christians constantly and cruelly.

The coasts of the Peninsula were their principal scene of action, not only because it was near to them, but from the burning fanaticism

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which had originated the former strifes among them. The Moors not only attacked the ships they encountered on the sea, but frequently landed to sack and set fire to villages and towns which were undefended on the coast.

To remedy these serious inconveniences, Diniz began to fortify all maritime towns, and construct and organise a powerful fleet to counterbalance the Saracen squadrons and guard the coast of Portugal in defence of its commerce from general piracy. The history of the navy of Portugal during the first epochs of the monarchy is very vague, obscure, and legendary; nevertheless, there are existing vestiges to prove that, ever since the government of D. Theresa, there had existed a royal fleet, the number of which increased so markedly that, in the reign of Sancho I., the Portuguese war-ships greatly assisted the conquest of the Algarve, particularly in the taking of Silves on 21st July, 1189, when no less than thirty-seven national vessels attended. It appears it was Sancho who transported the fleet of the Mondego to the Tagus, and it was he who granted to Lisbon the privilege of its inhabitants serving voluntarily on the vessels of the State.

This continued in the reign of Alfonso II., when the Portuguese navy took part with the Crusaders of the North in the expedition of Alcacer; but these vague assertions attain a clear narrative and become more manifest during the short government of Sancho II. There are existing documents which directly refer to this period, and they dwell particularly upon the naval organisation in its material and personal sense. One of these documents serves to prove the existence of a regular corps of seamen with their officers and especial privileges, and manifests the solicitude of that hapless monarch to further this important branch of national strength, by ordering the authorities of Lisbon to protect their sailors, under the penalty of a fine of 1,000 morabitinos, against any one who should ill-use them, and further declares that none exercise any authority over them save their own chief, *prætor*, and the King.

This organisation did not assist Sancho, despite his good intentions; nevertheless, it was made useful by Alfonso III., who employed the fleet with signal success in the war of the Algarve, closing the bar of Faro in 1254, and with this fleet aided Alfonso the Wise of Castille in 1266, by joining the expedition to Seville, commanded by D. Diniz, as we said, when he was still an Infante and in his childhood.

When D. Diniz ascended the throne, he already found a certain

number of war-ships with a regular crew, under the command of a chief officer styled *Admiral*. The naval constructions were generally carried on in the Tagus; the *taracenas*, a kind of arsenal for the navy stores, designated in the documents of the period by the name of *palatium navigiorum regis*, were situated in the ancient parish of the Magdalena, where, even in the time of Sancho II., were constructed men-of-war, and launched into the sea or run aground by an engine called *deladoyras*. The Jews had the charge of giving an anchor and cable for each ship or galley which was fitted up, as is proved by the inquiry which D. Diniz instituted on the subject.

The system of constructing the wealthy and renowned ships of antiquity, from the time of the Phœnicians to the Romans, had almost become lost amid the dark shadows of the first epochs of the Middle Ages; but as soon as the enthusiasm for the Crusades impelled the Christian nations to proceed to the regions of the East, numerous ships were constructed in all European ports, some large enough to transport a thousand persons; while maritime commerce rose in proportion as navigation rapidly became developed. The Mediterranean was the principal scene of this grand evolution of human progress.

The thirteenth century is the last period in the first phase of the modern navy; and their rude, imperfect ships represent a grand progress over the former mediæval vessels. The war-ships were commonly galleys and galliots, propelled by oars, and with triangular or Latin sails. The galleys had two castles, one at the prow and one at the poop; in these took shelter the officers, and during combats they were garrisoned by seamen and soldiers, from whence they attacked the enemy. The oarsmen were unsheltered and exposed to the fire of the enemy. For this reason they were usually convicts, slaves, and captives of war, who were employed to ply the oars. When there were none of these to employ, the sailors were drawn from among the fishermen and craftsmen, one out of every twenty. From the castle on the prow were shot at the enemy arrows, lances, missiles, stones, and burning faggots, in order to set fire to the rigging and sails of the enemy's craft. The prow was the strongest part of the ship, being armed with beak-head of hardest metal. The galley had two masts, which could be lowered each with its Latin sail, called *bastardo*, and was generally furnished with twenty-five to thirty benches, with two or three oars each, and two or three men to each oar.

The galliot carried one mast, and had only about sixteen benches

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for the oarsmen, and no castles at the prow and poop. The galley in a combat always turned the prow to the enemy, in order to attack with force, and also to cover the crew with its construction.

Navigation was usually only conducted by day along the coast within sight of land, or sometimes on calm moonlight nights. The most experienced nautical men studied the course of the stars, the direction of the winds, and the currents of the ocean, when sometimes they ceased to sight land, in order to be guided in case of storms.

The solicitude he manifested to improve maritime affairs must have resulted not only from the actual necessity to the government as well as the policy of putting down piracy, but also from the emulation produced by the voyages to the East effected by Marco Polo, the Genoese, in 1253 and 1295, the interesting narratives of which rapidly spread throughout Europe, and awakened generally the mercantile spirit and the taste for discoveries, and influenced in a profound manner the enlightened and ardent genius of D. Diniz and his poetic, adventurous Court.

But national instruction had only commenced: the nation was rising from a territorial war which had lasted for ages, and almost completely absorbed its vital forces and attention. The voyages to the North, with the dark sea on one side to terrify the spirit, and the land on the other, had not sufficiently developed the intelligence and the natural aptitude of Portuguese seamen. Diniz felt this, and saw that Portugal was deficient in nautical science and of good officers for her ships. He therefore resolved to seek for them in countries which were more advanced in the art of navigation, in this following the example left by his uncle Sancho the Brave of Castille, who in Genoa appointed as Admiral of the Fleet, Micer Benedicto Zacarias.

Italy at that epoch was the country which possessed the best sailors in Europe. By reason of the more democratic conditions of her municipal organisation, the larger number of traditions of ancient civilisation, the more limited conditions of the neighbouring sea, and knowledge possessed of the Mediterranean from the remotest antiquity, had all joined to further the navy far more than the countries bounded by the mysterious Atlantic. Genoa was, of all Italy, the republic which at the commencement of the fourteenth century possessed the best ships and the cleverest sailors, and had become distinguished by maritime commerce and brilliant victories in their numerous naval engagements.

Hence, when the post of chief admiral became vacant by the death of Nuno Fernandes Cogominho, who was the highest in maritime knowledge, D. Diniz sent to Genoa for a distinguished naval officer to fill his place. Probably it was the ambassadors that the King of Portugal had sent to Avignon at the time, to represent Portugal at the Curia, the knights Vicente Ennes Cesar and João Lourenço, who were entrusted with this difficult mission. Micer Manuel Pezagno was chosen, and proved later on that to a noble birth he united an enlightened nautical knowledge, a true military valour, and the insinuating aptitude for diplomacy of the Italians.

This illustrious Genoese at once proceeded to Portugal, and was warmly received by D. Diniz, entering into his duties after signing the contract dated 1st February, 1317. This document, one of the most celebrated in the history of the Portuguese navy, is too well known to need that we should transcribe the whole in these pages. We shall only give a brief summary of its articles.

The said Pezagno pledges himself and his descendants to be *vassals* of the King and his successors; offers him homage, and takes oath to serve him well and loyally; takes the command of his fleet, and promises to combat, as the King shall bid him, all the enemies of any State, condition, or religion whatsoever they may be, and preserving in all places the interests and honour of the Crown. He would not proceed to the seas in the royal service with less than three galleys. He would keep faithfully all State secrets entrusted to him. He would not proceed to serve in any inland war unless the King personally entered the campaign, and should order him to do so. He bound himself to keep always ready for public service twenty Genoese expert in maritime affairs, and fit to be appointed Alcaides of the galleys and camp. When the King should employ them, they were to receive monthly twelve pounds and a half as Alcaides, and in camp eight, besides bread, biscuit, and water, as was served to all; and when these said Genoese were not required for the service of the nation, Pezagno might employ them in commercial voyages at his own expense. He would also substitute others when these should die. All those composing the fleet to obey him in the same way as they would the King, and defend him in the same manner, and he would exercise over them full jurisdiction on sea and land during the time that the ships should be armed and fitted. He was to receive a fifth part of all prizes captured on the water from the enemies of the Portuguese, excepting arms, ships, and their furni-

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ture, as these things belonged exclusively to the Kings. D. Diniz gave him and his successors certain grants of landed property, especially Pedreira in Lisbon, and a rental of three thousand pounds annually. His appointment of Admiral to descend to his son, if legitimate, at his death, with all its duties, rights, and goods granted to him; but should he have no legitimate issue, the post with its privileges to revert to the Crown.

By this treaty will be seen the importance that D. Diniz attached to the post of Admiral, and the high opinion he had of the Genoese sailor whom he placed at the head of his navy for his knowledge of nautical science. Manuel Pezagno did not disappoint the King's expectations, and he did not only prove himself an able officer, but a consummate diplomatist. He was entrusted by the King with many negotiations of the State, and was one of the envoys who obtained from Pope John XXII. the greatly disputed separation of the Portuguese Knights of Santiago.

As soon as he took the command of the fleets he commenced to develope the maritime forces of Portugal, and so skilfully and persistently chased the pirates of Morocco that he won the full confidence of his king. But in order to complete the reform of the naval forces, which had been commenced under such good auspices and foresight, and apply the squadrons to their principal aim, which was the war against the Moors, more pecuniary means were needed than the King had at command, hampered as the treasury was by the expenses incurred in the civil disturbances which we shall describe further on.

To obtain the desired resources, our Chief Admiral and the Dean of the See of Oporto, D. Gonçalo, were sent to the Roman Curia, and obtained from the Pontiff, John XXII., a bull, dated May 19, 1320, granting the King D. Diniz a tenth of all ecclesiastical revenues of cathedrals, churches, and orders of the kingdom, during the term of three years, to defray the expenses of the squadrons in making war to the Saracens, with the exception of the Knights of the Hospital, because these were already engaged in the war, and the churches of Pombal and Soure, on account of their rentals and revenues being assigned for the maintenance of the colleges of the University.

In 1322, Manuel Pezagno was able to sweep the Strait of Gibraltar of all the Moorish ships, and such was the prowess displayed by the Portuguese squadrons against the Arabs that D. Diniz rewarded the Admiral by a further rental of three thousand pounds. The former

rental had been redeemed, with the advantageous donation of the seigniority of the town of Odemira and its castle.

Pezagno, whose name in course of time was altered into Peçanha, filled the post of Admiral for some years longer, and extended even to the reign of Alfonso IV., whom he greatly assisted in the wars against the Moors. The appointment passed on at his death to his descendants in the male line, and these succeeded to the post with small intervals, until the time of D. Juan I., and ever afforded great services to the nation, both on sea and in diplomacy.

It is an undoubted fact that, under the powerful influence of the enlightened prince who had summoned them from Italy, the Peçanhas afforded the Portuguese navy such instruction and development that they greatly contributed to render it, after two centuries, one of the first in the world and the most useful and glorious.

Forty years of this excellent government, in many ways brilliant and perhaps the best which Portugal has had up to the present, and which bore such fruits in the civilisation of the kingdom, had elapsed when deep intestine disturbances arose to darken the horizon and dim the lustre of the last days of D. Diniz, and fill his own heart with bitterness.

It is said that there is no fault, however slight, which does not bring its own punishment as a consequence. An imprudent act of D. Diniz, and a capital defect in his character, were the origin of the bitter shades which darkened the setting of a life so full of enlightened deeds. Carried away by a certain love of ostentation, D. Diniz granted a separate residence to the Infante, heir of the crown, while yet a child, and at six years of age gave him a palace to reside in separated from the royal family. By this means he ceased to watch over the education of his son, and delivered him over to foreign influences, which might prove pernicious to him. The character of the Prince was unfortunately one that required constant curbing, and the people, by surnaming him "the Brave," not only wished to commemorate his bravery on the battle-field, but also his impetuous, rude disposition. Hence it was truly imprudent to keep the Infante deprived of paternal influence, and in a short time the palace of the heir to the crown became the asylum of all the malcontents, who ever flattered the evil passions of the Prince, made him distrustful, and embittered him against his father.

The great defect of his character, otherwise noble, was the little respect he manifested for the laws of matrimon . Of an ardent, robust

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physique, an unquiet spirit, and poetic soul, he allowed himself to be dominated by passions, and despite the good advice of his enlightened counsellors, who endeavoured to withdraw him from its coils by an early marriage at the age of twenty with a princess who united grand moral gifts to an exquisite beauty, Diniz nevertheless filled his palace with illegitimate children, whom D. Isabel received with saintly resignation, but which were the cause of much jealousy to his legitimate ones. When Isabel of Aragon gave birth to her first child the Infanta D. Constancia, she had been married some years, and the sex of the first born left the legitimate succession of the crown doubtful, until the 8th February, 1291, when the Infante D. Alfonso was born.

D. Diniz at this date had already three illegitimate sons, and the affection he especially manifested for Alfonso Sanches, one of these, was the first cause of the Prince-heir's irritation. He either suspected or he was induced to believe that the King intended to legitimise Alfonso Sanches, and bequeath the crown to him. The fact of an embassy having been sent to Rome was interpreted by his partisans in the sense of his suspicions. They told him that the object of this embassage was to render Alfonso Sanches legitimate, when in reality the envoys had departed with a very different object. The turbulent Infante commenced to excite the spirits and to rouse revolutions in the kingdom.

Wishing to employ at first conciliatory means to put down the rebellion of his son, D. Diniz laid the case before the Pope, and begged him to intervene. John XXII. acceded to his request, and promulgated a bull in which he excommunicated the disturbers of the peace.

This intervention had the desired effect for a time, and the disturbances which had commenced in 1314 were not renewed until 1319. Unfortunately the evil counsels he received, and the proofs of affection which D. Diniz continued to manifest to Sanches, inflamed anew the spirit of the Prince-heir, who, moreover, allowed himself to be swayed by the influence of D. Maria, the Queen of Castille, a consummate intriguer, and who greatly desired to kindle dissension in the neighbouring kingdom.

In May, 1319, Diniz was apprised that his son had arranged to have an interview with D. Maria de Molina, who governed Castille in the name of her grandson Alfonso XI., on the frontiers, to confer upon his political conduct. The aged monarch, who well knew the evil influence which the mother of D. Beatriz exercised over the spirit of his son, at first sent D. Isabel to beseech Alfonso not to quit the kingdom, and

later on expressedly forbade it; but instigated by his own ambition and his evil advisers, the Infante took no heed of the King's orders, and proceeded to the meeting-place accompanied by his wife. The conference took place in Fuente Grimaldo, a village on the borders of Ciudad Rodrigo. From this meeting resulted that the Queen D. Maria sent to the King D. Diniz a bearer with a letter demanding that he should yield up the government to the Infante. The son of Alfonso III. must have marvelled at the discourtesy and audacity of the missive, moreover he well knew that such a proposal was tantamount to open war, should he not accede to her request. However, he resolved to maintain a prudent reserve, leaving the outcome to the future. He dismissed the bearer, rejecting firmly the proposal, while employing courteous phrases in respect to the Queen of Castille. The reply so greatly irritated the Infante that he resolved upon instigating a civil war, probably with promises of aid from the Castillian Queen.

A terrible disaster which took place in the neighbouring country prevented this aggravation to the evil.

On the following June, on St. John's Day, two uncles of the youthful King—the Infante D. Pedro, a partisan of Alfonso, and the perverse D. John, who, at the head of a powerful army, were combating the Moors with varied success—were defeated and slain in the Vega of Granada, this victory of the Moors causing terror throughout the monarchy of Leon and Castille.

D. Diniz sent his condolence to the bereaved Queen, and offered to aid her against the Moors. In order to render this promise effective, the admiral, Manuel Pezagno, proceeded to sea, and performed marvellous deeds with the Portuguese ships.

D. Alfonso, without attending to the elevated policy of the King, blinded by his own ambition, after the interview at Fuente Grimaldo, began to scour the country at the head of numerous bands of partisans, but avoiding for the space of two years to meet his father, while he committed, and allowed his people to commit, the greatest excesses.

Summoning the fidalgos of his party, and, what was worse, admitting into his army bands of malefactors who were flying from justice, the Prince D. Alfonso commenced to devastate the lands of Entre Douro and Minho, which caused great grief to the King, who was forced to severely repress this revolt.

It must have been indeed a bitter task during the declining years of the aged monarch to unsheath his sword, not against the enemies

of the faith and of the country, but against his own subjects and against his own son! This thorn, which never as yet had been entwined in the flowers of the diadem of his ancestors, was reserved for him.

Portugal had beheld its ground soaked in blood with the unfraternal strifes of Alfonso II. against his sisters, and that of Alfonso III. with Sancho II., but never had she witnessed the repulsive spectacle of a son taking up arms against his own father. The war which gave to D. Alfonso Henry the government of the country was not directed against his own mother, D. Theresa, but against the Count de Trava, who really was the sovereign. The sharp pain of beholding the lances of the knights of his son, and perhaps his own lance, pointed to his breast was reserved for D. Diniz—he, the enlightened monarch and lover of justice, who had raised to such heights the moral and intellectual tone of his kingdom. It seemed as though some remains of the barbarism of the Middle Ages had risen up in revolt against he who had riven asunder the dark mantle of its shadows and had shed over them the first gleam of light.

In order to excuse his criminal conduct, D. Alfonso and his partisans spread reports that the King was demanding the legitimation of Alfonso Sanches from the Roman Curia, in order to leave the crown to him to the prejudice of the rightful heir, and that to effect this and afford a justifiable pretext for the petition, he had drawn instruments from all towns declaring the inability of the Infante to govern.

D. Diniz, who desired at any cost to quell this affair by gentle and prudent means, sent letters to the principal cities and towns of the kingdom, asking them to declare whether, directly or indirectly, he had acted in this wise. All these places replied, declaring publicly that never had he done so. Furnished with these documents, the King sent the envoys to Avignon, referred above, Manuel Pezagno and the Dean of Oporto, Gonçalo Pereira, beseeching from Pope John XXII. the attestation that never had D. Diniz solicited from the Apostolic See the disinheritance of his legitimate son.

The affair passed its usual course at the Curia, and on September 10, 1320, the Pontiff signed the bull, *Nuper ad aures nostras*, wherein he declared that never during his pontificate or of his ancestors, Popes Boniface XI. and Clement V., during the last twenty-six years, had the King or any one else, whether by writing or verbally, made any demand for dispensation of illegitimacy in regard to Alfonso Sanches in order that he should obtain the succession of the crown and kingdom; and,

moreover, the Holy Father greatly marvelled that any such calumnies should have been published.

This bull was addressed to the archbishops, bishops, convents, counts, barons, and captains, all of whom he enjoined should labour to effect a concord between the King and his son, and among these even his natural brother, since all were, the Pontiff said, children of the same father.

As soon as the ambassadors received this most important document for the King, and obtained the solution of other grave affairs they were entrusted with, they departed for Portugal, where they arrived at the end of October. On the 31st of the same month the Bishop of Evora, D. Giraldo, in presence of the prelates and all the authorities of the city, many nobles, and a great multitude of people assembled in Lisbon, published solemnly the bull, which destroyed completely all the supposed grounds for rebellion. The Infante and his partisans were greatly irritated at this. Not content with the raids which his partisans, divided into bands, had practised already, D. Alfonso, incited by his own ambition and by the nobles who surrounded him, organised a numerous army, and quitting Coimbra, fell upon Leiria. The gates of the city were flung open to him by some of his adherents, at the head of which stood Domingos Domingues, mayor of the city, and former cup-bearer of the King, and under his appointment kept the keys for the Queen D. Isabel, who held possession of the place.

The Infante took possession of the town, and permitted his men to commit great robberies among such of the inhabitants as continued faithful to the King, and moreover grievously insulted them.

D. Diniz was staying in Santarem when he received the news of this event. He at once collected together all the forces he could muster, and proceeded to regain Leiria. As soon as the Infante was apprised of the King's march to Leiria with all his troops, he turned by another road straight to Santarem, and succeeded to take easy possession of the now undefended castle and palace of Alcaçova.

It was a manifest armed rebellion, a decided civil war against the legitimate King.

D. Diniz was surprised beyond measure at the boldness of his son, and for the moment forgot that he was a parent, remembering only that he was a King, and a monarch of that epoch of barbarous ferocity. He was just approaching Alcobaça, when he received the news of the taking of Santarem, and he likewise was informed that in the monastery

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some of the inhabitants of Leiria who had delivered up the town to the Infante had taken refuge. These wretches were hiding in the mortuary chapel of the former kings, and were clinging to the royal sepulchres.

Blinded with rage, D. Diniz ceased to respect the immunities of the monastery, nor heeded that they had taken shelter within a consecrated place, and amid the remains of his grandsires. He ordered the rebels to be forcibly removed, and delivered them up to the chief officer of justice, Lourenço Annes Redondo, to be judged, and those found guilty to have their hands and feet cut off and then burnt at the stake. The prisoners were taken to Leiria, where the sentence was carried out upon nine of them, the mayor Domingos Domingues being one of the victims.

This act, which was intended as a warning, did not bear the result which the King intended or expected. The rebellion of the Infante continued throughout the kingdom.

D. Diniz then proceeded back to Santarem in order to dislodge the Infante; but Alfonso hastily quitted the town, and went to Torres Novas, where he remained a few days, and thence to Thomar. The friars of the newly established Order of Christ closed the gates of the castle upon him, for there were no rampart walls to the town, and quickly collected together within the castle all provisions and provender, hence the Infante was forced to return to Coimbra.

The treachery of the dwellers of Leiria, although it had been repressed and punished, continued to wound the pride of the monarch. Leiria belonged to his Queen, and her love for her son was well known. Many asseverated in the presence of the sovereign that the town would not have surrendered so easily to the Infante had it not had the consent of the owner, and they persisted in saying that the Queen had kept her son informed of all the movements and plans of the King, hence Alfonso was able freely to act, and they even went so far as to affirm that as it was impossible for the Infante to defray the expenses of his forces with his own revenues, D. Isabel most certainly had furnished him with large sums drawn from its wealthy rental.

D. Diniz listened to these evil reports, and distrusting his wife, the saintly D. Isabel, ordered her to retire to Alemquer, and deprived her of her rentals. The Queen obeyed with that saintly resignation which was the characteristic feature of her angelic disposition; and, moreover, D. Diniz forbade her to communicate with her son or furnish him with means for warfare. This decree, which ecclesiastical tradition

censures, was nevertheless an act of true policy which the gravity of circumstances demanded.

D. Isabel, virtuous and prudent, appears to have comprehended the state of affairs. As soon as she retired to Alemquer, she summoned around her all the devout ladies of the town, and gave themselves up to their accustomed assiduous exercises of piety, firmly rejecting, it is said, the offer which the Alcaides and dwellers of her numerous towns and castles made her of compelling the King, by force of arms, to restore her property.

Meanwhile the Infante pursued his rebellious course. Under pretext of a pilgrimage to the relics of Saint Vincent, which are venerated in the Cathedral of Lisbon, he gathered together his men and marched rapidly to that city. In a military sense, this was a well-planned act and of great daring, because, once master of it, the Infante would hold the best part of the kingdom, with its squadrons and the wealth and forces of the greatest city. Fortunately, his troops were insufficient for the undertaking. Diniz, who was in Santarem, at once came upon Alfonso with superior forces, and sent word to him that he, as a son, should come and join him, and dismiss all the malefactors that were with him. The Infante turned a deaf ear to reason; but, seeing that he could not enter the city nor await the King in open battle-field, went on to Cintra and took his position in the ruggedness of the serra.

When the monarch reached Lumiar, he delayed his journey a few hours in order to give his son time to reconsider his conduct, but he soon after learnt of his martial journey to Cintra. Indignant and offended at this proceeding, the King marched to Cintra in war guise, with unfurled banners. On approaching, he sighted the Infante holding a good position and in the attitude of resisting the royal flag. It was the sign of open and manifest rebellion.

But D. Diniz was a parent, and would not resolve to attack the hosts of his son. After some length of time the Infante quitted the serra, and taking a concealed path, came to Lumiar. D. Diniz, covering Lisbon, proceeded to Bemfica for observation. The Infante, for a greater offence, approached the royal army and took up his quarters opposite, at the distance of a short league.

The King lost all patience, and sent word to his son that he should personally proceed to arrest all the criminals who surrounded him, and punish them in his presence. But Alfonso, either from some vestige of

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respect, or, what is more likely, fearing the superior forces of his father, hastily retired in the direction of Coimbra.

The King had the consideration not to follow him and fight. He limited himself to publishing a decree declaring him disloyal and a traitor, as well as all those who surrounded him, and commanded the towns not to receive him nor afford him any aid under pain of being likewise considered criminals and traitors.

This was a political and military error. The Infante had barely on his side the knights and soldiers of his army which was far smaller than that of the King, and would most certainly have been defeated if the monarch had summoned to arms the population of Lisbon, which had always remained faithful. By allowing Alfonso to depart free with his troops after affronting the royal flag, he afforded a pretext for the propagation of sedition throughout the kingdom, enabling it to take easy possession of a part and of committing the greatest excesses.

As the Infante endeavoured to increase the number of his partisans, raising up people and disquieting spirits, Diniz resolved to send persons of note to the different districts to quell the working of Alfonso, quiet the people, and preserve them in obedience. He sent to the province of Alemtejo the Bishop of Evora, D. Giraldo, who commenced to exercise with active intelligence and powerful influence his mission of pacification.

Of all prelates of the kingdom and royal ministers, D. Giraldo was the most disliked by the house of Alfonso. It was he who had solemnly published the bulls sent by the Curia against the rebels and the manifestoes of the King, besides which, he was one of the most loyal and valued servants of D. Diniz.

Scarcely had the news arrived to the seditious court of the heir to the throne that the Bishop was visiting Alemtejo than from Coimbra departed Alfonso Novaes and Nuno Martins Barreto, gentlemen of the court of Alfonso, accompanied by a large number of foot-soldiers and horsemen, and under the greatest secrecy of their intentions proceeded to that district, seeking the prelate. On learning that he was in Estremoz, they suddenly entered the town by surprise on March 5, 1321. They tumultuously invaded the house where he resided, and, without respecting his age, lofty merits, and high civil and ecclesiastical dignity, they insulted him, and then barbarously murdered him. After committing other crimes in the towns and places through which they passed, these noblemen and sacrilegious assassins retired

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to the house of D. Alfonso, where they were feasted, and their deed applauded.

The treacherous homicide of the Bishop D. Giraldo caused great scandal in the kingdom, and profound grief at the court and in the diocese. The inhabitants of Estremoz accompanied the body of the prelate to Evora, where the clergy, nobility, and the people, stricken with sorrow and deeply sympathetic, came out to receive it, and laid the remains of their late venerated prelate on the right side of the principal chapel of the cathedral.

The assassination of his minister and faithful counsellor caused a deep sensation in the heart of D. Diniz, while repeated sorrows during these later years were crushing his sensitive soul. To the disobedience of the legitimate heir was added the death of his dearly loved daughter, D. Maria, a professed nun in Odivellas, the tradition of whose virtues was preserved for many ages in the monastery. Such frequent and profound strokes commenced to break up the health of the aged monarch and to increase his maladies.

Probably it was due to the valetudinarian state of the King generally that the party of the Infante increased. At first it was only composed of audacious malcontents, a portion of the nobility who were most turbulent, and some fugitives from justice. Later on were added the young nobility, restless and ambitious, and at last all the people easily joined the party. Alfonso was the future king, while Diniz represented the past, and a present which was soon to end. Selfishness, interest, and covetousness were quitting the old man, who was fast declining, and could give but little, while they enlisted in the ranks of the youth who was about to step on the throne and was full of promise. Hence all attempts at conciliation were useless. At the request of D. Diniz, and to oppose the policy of Castille, the King of Aragon about this time sent to Portugal D. Sancho, a half-brother of his, and of D. Isabel, charged with the mission of inducing peace and harmony between the Infante and the King. D. Alfonso, however, resisted the counsels and pleadings of the uncle, who had to return without effecting any results.

The Infante resided in Coimbra, but not inside the city, which remained loyal to the King, as all cities throughout the kingdom, but in the palaces in the suburbs, close to Saint Lourenço. His brother, the Count D. Pedro—the only of the natural sons of D. Diniz who followed the party of the Infante, and for that reason was exiled from Portugal, but who had come from Castille to join his brother—advised him to

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continue taking possession of the lands of the kingdom and establish his government, commencing by Coimbra, as being close at hand.

Gathering together his forces, he, on December 31, 1321, speedily and without meeting any resistance from the dwellers, who possibly by some secret understanding relaxed the vigilance of the doors and rampart walls. On that same day the Infanta D. Beatriz took up her residence in the palace of the city with her infant son, D. Pedro, who was destined to avenge his grandfather for the affronts which his father was now offering. The wife of Alfonso was returning from Alcanizes in Castille, where her husband, on retiring from Lisbon months before, had taken her, alleging that only outside the kingdom did he judge his family to be secure.

On the following day, January 1, 1322, having assured the possession of Coimbra, the Infante departed for Monte Mor o Velho, and as soon as he arrived took possession of the castle, and three days later that of Gaya. Both these fortresses were important ones, which the King had entrusted to the care and command of the fidalgo Gonçalo Pires Ribeiro, who had ceased to garrison them with soldiers. Such a neglect, in those times of war, on the part of the Alcaide appears to be a manifest treachery, and on the part of the Government an inexcusable neglect. From Gaya, D. Alfonso returned to the town of Feira, whose castle was delivered up through the open treachery of its noble owner, Gonçalo Rodrigues de Maçada.

The Count D. Pedro now joined the Infante with a great number of people, and marched to Oporto, which at the time was not encompassed by walls, and as its sole defence possessed a small castle or tower close to the cathedral. It was useless to resist in presence of such numerous rebel troops, and both the city and castle were surrendered, and the Infante took possession of Oporto. Having already taken possession of Coimbra, Monte Mor o Velho, Gaya, and Feira, he considered himself master of the districts of Beira and Entre Douro and Minho. He forced the people to take up arms and organised an army, and with the aid of Martin Annes de Briteiros, a noble of great influence in the north of the kingdom, he proceeded to Guimarães, a place which the nobleman considered easy to take, owing to family influences over the people.

In those days the Alcaide of the town and chief officer of the district was a valiant, loyal knight, called Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcellos, he who had disbanded and defeated the rebel bands of the

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Infante at the commencement of the insurrection. This noble Alcaide closed the gates of the stronghold and positively refused to deliver up the place, and as the Infante pitched his camp, Mem Rodrigues prepared for the defence.

The defence was carried on brilliantly, and at the first attack, says the chronicler of Alcobaça, aided by the people and nobility of the town, he was able to defeat the presumption of the Infante and of his party. The siege lasted three days, the Infante persistently attacking the ramparts. Promises, threats, assaults—all were useless against the courage of the besieged. This act drew great praises from all as a feat of loyalty and bravery, and D. Diniz rewarded Mem Rodrigues and the people of Guimarães by granting them various honours and privileges.

In the midst of this determined resistance D. Alfonso received news that the King, his father, with a large army, had advanced upon Coimbra with the intention of conquering it. The Infante precipitously raised the siege and rushed to protect the city where he had unfurled his flag, and where he had left his wife and child.

D. Diniz reached the walls of the ancient capital of the kingdom at the commencement of March, accompanied by the forces of the districts of the south, Estremadura, Alemtejo, and Algarve, and by the Knights of the Military Orders who had remained faithful to him.

On crossing the Mondego, he found the city gates closed upon him, and its powerful garrison ready to defend it. D. Diniz took up his residence in the palace of Saint Lourenço, and as Coimbra would not surrender to his intimations, he commenced, in order to punish the rebellion, to destroy the picturesque suburb, and cut down its fertile and well-laid-out fields, razing to the ground the houses, cutting down the orchards, rooting up the vineyards, and destroying the sprouting crops. Meanwhile they attacked the city, but with no result: the garrison was a brave, warlike one, large in number and obstinate in rebellion, while against the weapons of that epoch the walls were considered impregnable. Civil war had reached its height. All properties were ruthlessly destroyed, and the sons of the same soil killed one another.

When the Infante with the Count D. Pedro and army, under forced marches, approached Coimbra, they perceived that the King had taken up his residence in the palace of Saint Lourenço, which stood on the road to the city, and therefore they made a detour, and went to

take up their quarters in the monastery of S. Paulo, which stood about a league farther up.

The Queen D. Isabel was also arriving about the same time. She had been apprised of the war which was raging, and quitting her retreat in Alemquer, had come with the intention of re-establishing peace between father and son. She had pondered upon every possible means at her command to plead ere they engaged in a combat, which the presence of the armies rendered imminent, and make peace.

When the troops from the north arrived, there was a suspension of hostilities between the armies for three days before commencing the actual battle, in order to mutually prepare themselves the better to attack each other. The Queen took advantage of this truce, and assisted by the Count D. Pedro, who desired to be reconciled with his father in order to be reinstated in the honours and properties he possessed, endeavoured to carry out the holy mission he had taken upon himself. And in truth he succeeded that both contending parties should appoint delegates to treat upon some accord.

With the object of more freely combining, it was arranged that the Infante should retire to the city where his wife resided, and the King with his army to quit the suburb, and proceed to encamp in S. Martinho do Bispo, on this side of the Mondego.

The mediators, presided by the Queen and Count de Barcellos, however, delayed the treaty, and during the space of four days could not come to terms. D. Diniz, offended at this, and impatient, raised the camp, and marched to Coimbra, fully resolved to attack the city. There was but one road left to him, either to cross the current, which probably was swollen, or the narrow path of the bridge.

It was Saturday, 20th March. Within the city there were heard from afar, and beyond the river, the sound of the royal trumpets, and they sighted the soldiers and knights of D. Diniz advancing towards the convent of Saint Francis, situated to the extreme left of the bridge, opposite Coimbra. Suddenly all rose up in arms and rushed to the walls, while a large portion of the best warriors proceeded to take their stand at the bridge and defend the passage. The King's knights, with terrible impetus, proceeded to attack them, and a fearful encounter ensued, marked by brilliant feats of arms, but deplorable in its consequences. Gonçalo Pires Ribeiro, a royalist nobleman, had the boldness to break through the ranks of the Infante, reached the gate, and endeavoured to enter. The gate was defended by two brothers, who not only repulsed the

aggressor, but forced him to retreat, until they cast him into the river. With these and similar feats the combat was prolonged for a long time, and was only terminated when the King, retiring to the monastery, gave the signal to withdraw.

The besieged remained victors, but so badly punished that they did not wish for a second combat; moreover, the Queen, the Infanta her daughter-in-law, the prelates, and some of the principal nobles, who, from the heights of the watch-towers and rampart walls, and from the latticed windows of the convent of Saint Francis, had witnessed the encounter and beheld the disastrous results, had urged Diniz and Alfonso to conclude the peace treaty.

In order more easily to come to an understanding, and avoid the eventuality of a fresh encounter which the proximity of the two armies rendered probable, it was arranged that the King should proceed to Leiria and the Infante to Pombal, and thus be separated by some leagues from the scene of contention. As the conditions of peace had been really discussed, and there only remained the stipulations to be made, both chiefs dismissed their respective troops and remained with only their ministers, officers of the court, and personal guards.

The treaty of peace was concluded at the beginning of May. D. Alfonso pledged obedience to the King, and D. Diniz accorded his pardon, bestowing on his son the seigniorities of Coimbra, Monte-Mor o Velho, Gaya, Feira, and Oporto; the Infante on oath pledging to support and defend them loyally under orders of the monarch, its rents being increased by money and goods. D. Alfonso bound himself to dismiss all malefactors which he had gathered together, and deliver them up into the hands of justice. The King pardoned D. Pedro, and reinstated him in his former honours and property.

This treaty was solemnly sworn to in the Church of St. Martinho, in Pombal, by the Infante and his royal mother, the Queen D. Isabel; and in the Church of St. Simon, in Leiria, by D. Diniz and his natural sons, together with a great number of prelates, Masters of the Military Orders, *ricos-homens*, and knights.

The whole kingdom rejoiced at this so much desired peacemaking, and the heir to the crown, accompanied by D. Isabel, proceeded to Leiria to kiss the King's hand and personally reconcile himself. In this town both courts and the whole of the royal family met with every demonstration of joy.

The aged King was deeply and powerfully moved when he saw at

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his side the two rebel sons from whom he had been separated for years. He then departed in apparently good health for Lisbon, accompanied by the Queen and the Infante; but he had barely reached the city than he was taken dangerously ill, and believing his last hour had come, made a fresh will. But it was destined that his life should be prolonged, and that his last days be further embittered with sorrows ere he should be laid to rest in the tomb.

It is necessary here to say a few words respecting the Count of Barcellos, alluded to in the convention between D. Diniz and D. Alfonso. He was the natural son of the King, by a wealthy lady of the name of Froes, and he was much esteemed by the monarch, who gave him the County of Barcellos, the only one then existing in Portugal. Nevertheless, when the first discords arose between the Infante and the King, and he followed the party of the Infante, it was not, it appears, to aid him in his rebellion against the monarch, but in order, as a natural son, to show deference to his legitimate brother; while his ulterior proceeding induces us to believe that his intentions were veritably loyal ones. His brothers, likewise illegitimate, D. Alfonso Sanches and D. João Alfonso, indignant at this kind of desertion of the common cause, depicted his conduct in the blackest colours, and represented that he was a rebel and instigator of the Prince, and induced the King to exile him from Portugal and sequestrate his properties. D. Pedro proceeded to Castille, from whence he returned in 1314 to enlist in the army of D. Alfonso. Although irritated at the unjust sentence passed on him, D. Pedro always manifested himself a peacemaker, and, as we have seen, became a powerful agent in aiding D. Isabel when she endeavoured, in Coimbra, to reconcile her husband to his son.

If history records the name of D. Pedro, and lifts him from the abyss of forgetfulness in which are engulphed the rest of the illegitimate sons of D. Diniz, it is not on account of the political part he played, but for his literary genius. Like his father, he was an accomplished man, and was gifted with a similar genius for poetry, since a book of *Trovas*, or ballads, are attributed to him. For a length of time the work known as the *Nobiliario*, or *Livro das Linhagens*, was also attributed to him, and is still known by his name. Rebello da Silva, speaking of a tradition he found in the book, and which served him as the plot for one of his romances, thus characterises the work: "The drama is the historical novel, and such as desire the honour of patriots should greatly study these legends of the *Nobiliario*, and peruse

them in the spirit of past epochs. Those portraits, nearly blotted out, are still animated by gleams of soul and life, and the beliefs of the primitive ages. They are pieces of the great mirror on which they were reflected, and it is necessary to frame them in modern mouldings to be able to see them with all their beauties and defects."

Such a work, written at the dawn of literature, is a precious book, because it unites all the ingenious qualities of the rude epochs, and the individual who wrote it may be said truly to unite in himself the most perfect expression of the belief, the thoughts, and the feelings of his time.

Notwithstanding the sacred oaths pledged at the signing of the peace treaty between the King and his son, fresh discords arose in 1323. A pretext for these disorders was again afforded by Alfonso Sanches. When harmony was re-established between the King and Prince, D. Alfonso Sanches asked to retire to Castille, where he held possessions; but after a time Alfonso Sanches returned to Portugal, and besought the King leave to reside on Portuguese territory. The King granted his wish. This permission, however, awakened anew the suspicions of the Infante, which induced fresh demands. He besought a further grant of money, under the plea that his rental was insufficient for maintaining his house and rank. The King summoned the Cortes, and laid before them the demand of the Infante. The Cortes unanimously refused to grant any such demand. D. Alfonso, full of indignation, proceeded to Santarem, and heeding evil counsels and perfidious suggestions, raised once more the standard of revolt. Quitting Santarem with an army hastily gathered together, D. Alfonso marched to Lisbon, with the former daring intention of becoming the master of the capital and of the government of the kingdom.

D. Diniz, on learning this news, at once sallied out with his troops to arrest his progress. Marching on to an inevitable battle, yet he sent him a mediator in Alvaro Martins de Azevedo, a loyal knight, and daring in word and deed, but meeting him in Lumiar, was so badly received that he comprehended that the Prince had come fully determined to fight.

Meanwhile the hosts of the Infante advanced in the direction of Lisbon, with floating banners and blowing trumpets in sign of war. Half-way to the city, on the fields called Alvalade—comprehending the space known in our days by Campo Grande, Campo Pequeno, and its intermediate space—they encountered the King's troops ranged in battle array to prevent his passage.

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On beholding the royal standard and the noble figure of his father surrounded by faithful knights, the stony heart of Alfonso was not softened, but ordered his army to stand forward, and with martial daring, assumed the position prescribed by the ordinances of the time to oppose the attack.

Both armies sounded the war-cries and blew the trumpets, and with barbarous bravery the signal was given, and a shower of arrows and darts obscured the air, wounding and slaying the opposing vanguards. Meantime the cavalry, with lances at rest and swords raised aloft, awaited the order to commence the battle. Parents and sons, brothers and friends on either side prepared to commence the slaughter, and perchance claim as its victim the aged form of the monarch or that of the rebel son.

But to Lisbon had come the Angel of Peace, whom God had entrusted with the beneficent mission of dispelling by her sweet influence the tempestuous clouds which had so heavily gathered and weighed over the last years of the reign of D. Diniz. The Queen D. Isabel learnt in Lisbon and in the palace of the castle that the armies of her husband and son were ranged in line of battle against one another. She comprehended at a glance the urgency of the case, and proceeded to act accordingly. Mounting a mule, she hastened in the direction of the Campo de Alvalade, where the hideous clangour of arms and trumpets announced the sinister deeds which were about to take place. Suddenly that noble form of the grief-stricken wife and mother was seen calmly traversing the ranks of warriors, encircled with the aureole of chastity and goodness. On beholding their Queen thus mounted and almost alone, the soldiers stopped their war-cries and lowered their weapons, and the knights put down their standards, and one and all knelt down reverently. D. Isabel had come to check the disaster of this terrible war. Through the host of royal soldiers she passed on to the ranks of her son's army: on every side she was received with similar reverence; they beheld in her the Angel of Concord, and acknowledged the wickedness of this sacrilegious war. Further on she proceeded until she confronted her son, and in the eloquent words which God put in her inspired lips, this noble Aragonese woman pleaded with tears that he should not again rebel against his father and King, nor desolate anew the country over which he was to reign, and laid before him all the horrors of a civil war, and especially not to perjure his soul by forgetting so soon the solemn

promises made in the presence of God, promises which she had pledged herself as surety.

The Bishop of Lisbon, who had come with the same intention of making peace, now joined his pleading to hers.

The Prince yielded to the pleadings of his royal mother, whose words had greatly impressed him and the knights around him, and quitting his army, proceeded, accompanied by only six knights, to the King's tent, and respectfully kissed his hand and besought his pardon for his disobedience.

What could D. Diniz do else but forgive him and open his arms to receive his prodigal son? He, however, bade him retire to Santarem.

The Sovereign and his Queen returned to Lisbon, where the people received them with every demonstration of joyous welcome. On the spot where the combat was to take place, a short distance from the Campo Pequeno, on the wall to the right of Arcodo Cego, is seen a kind of niche or portico raised from the ground. On the stone may be read an inscription in Roman letters, which says as follows: "Saint Elizabeth, Queen of Portugal, ordered this stone to be placed here in memory of the peacemaking effected by her between the King, her husband D. Diniz, and her son D. Alfonso IV., at the moment when a battle was about to be fought between them in the era 1323."

Three months had elapsed since the affair of Alvalade, when the King, in the month of February, 1324, departed for Santarem, where he was in the habit of visiting about this time of the year, to enjoy more freely the pleasures of hunting, and watch the splendid agricultural labours of Riba Tejo, which in a great measure were due to him.

On approaching the boundaries of the district he learnt that Alfonso, who had for some time resided in the Palace of Alcaçova, would prevent his entrance into the town. The King hastened his march, and rapidly gained the town before the army of the Infante had time to come forth, and he proceeded to take up his residence and that of his retinue in the house of some of the fidalgos, in order not to disturb his son in the royal palace.

The cause of this new disturbance, it appears, was due to the King D. Diniz being accompanied by his son Alfonso Sanches, which greatly irritated the Prince-heir, and led him to suspect that there was some further intention in his coming. As usual, those who surrounded the Infante exaggerated the aims of the King, and induced him to again

rise in open rebellion. Some encounters took place between the soldiers of both armies, leaving many wounded and slain, especially among the troops of the Infante, who were compelled to retreat, leaving many prisoners. The combat, however, was only terminated when D. Diniz and D. Alfonso appeared armed, and, almost by force, quelled the revolt. The King at once summoned his troops throughout the kingdom, resolved upon punishing his son and the partisans who followed him.

All things presaged a fresh rupture, which would have taken place had not some of the prudent fidalgos, headed by Count D. Pedro, met on that same day to arrange about a pacification, and advising Alfonso Sanches to resign his appointment of *Mordomo-mor*, and depart for his town of Albuquerque, in Castille.

The monarch, however, justly irritated, was disinclined to listen to any further treaties of reconciliation. Nevertheless, the two sons, Alfonso Sanches and the Count D. Pedro, were dismissed.

Arbitrators were nominated, and it was decided to give the Infante a larger rental. The revenues and crown properties of Alfonso Sanches should be withdrawn from him, as well as his post, and that of chief officer of Entre Douro and Minho from Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcellos, the heroic defender of Guimarães. As securities of this treaty, castles on both sides were to be exchanged in pledge, and arbitrating judges were appointed, mutually subject to certain fines. All these were humiliating conditions imposed by a vassal to his King. The odious character of the Infante, and of his covetous nobles who followed him, was manifested in every light.

The King at first resisted the exigencies of his son, but at length yielded to the representations of Alfonso Sanches and Mem Rodrigues, who felt that their sacrifice was indispensable for the peace of the kingdom, and perceived that the health of the King was in a very precarious state, and that they must needs quit the Court to be sheltered from the vindictiveness of the Infante, ere he should assume the sceptre, their fears being fully justified in a dismal manner by Alfonso IV. in the very first year of his reign.

On the conclusion of the treaty, which was signed on 25th February, 1324, Alfonso Sanches withdrew to Albuquerque, on the frontiers of Castille, in whose military service he entered later on, while Mem Rodrigues retired to his castellated residence of Penagate.

After a few days, the Infante, with a numerous retinue, departed

for the north of the kingdom, leaving the King in Santarem. Prudence should have counselled Diniz to proceed to Santarem with a good army, and not with a mere handful of men. The humiliating capitulation he signed can only be explained by the coercion in which his people found themselves in view of the equal or superior force of the Infante, and surrounded by the adverse population of Santarem.

The world-wide reputation enjoyed by D. Diniz throughout Christendom as an excellent ruler rendered these continual perturbations a source of great scandal, and fired with indignation all the European Courts. The Pope felt it his duty to send a legate to Portugal to quiet the spirits and bring the Infante to submission. He entrusted this mission to D. Berenguer of the Order of Preachers, and Archbishop of Santiago. The envoy of the Pontiff arrived at Santarem on 18th May, 1324. The King went out to receive him ere he approached the boundaries, and conducted him to his own residence with all possible pomp.

Notwithstanding that peace was already effected, the legate preached peace and concord in presence of the Court and all the people, thus fulfilling the mission he had received from the Holy See. A few days later he proceeded to the north of the kingdom to seek the Infante, in order to fulfil towards him this ministration, which he effected in Oporto, and then retired to his diocese.

During the summer D. Diniz returned to Lisbon, but towards the autumn he commenced to feel very unwell, and deeming that the pure air of Santarem would benefit him, he proceeded in September to that spot, accompanied by his wife and the whole Court; but on reaching Villa Nova da Rainha he had an access of fever and weakness, which inspired grave fears that his last hour had come. D. Isabel, deeply afflicted, delayed the journey, and sent a message to the Infante, informing him of the state of the King.

D. Alfonso was deeply moved on receiving the news, and his conscience became a prey to remorse, and he sped to his dying father's bedside, to behold in him the victim of his unnatural conduct, since the bitter trials he had endured on his account had bowed down in grief that noble head.

D. Diniz received him as though all resentment had passed away, and in his soul all other human passions had become extinguished but the holiest and purest paternal love.

But his last hour had not yet come, and he was able to proceed to

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Santarem, and in November to resume the affairs of State. Nevertheless, his sickness was a mortal one, and he prepared all things calmly and prudently. If the last years of his reign had been troublesome and full of bitterness, it may well be said that his last days were as happy as they could possibly be. He saw at his side his repentant son, and bending over his sick-bed the lovely form of his saintly queen and wife, while he heard around the wails and cries of the people eager to hear the last accounts, and beheld his antechamber crowded with the nobles and the clergy, who cast in oblivion the severities of the sovereign and remembered only his lofty qualities. It was truly a national mourning, since they felt it was not only their king whom they were going to lose, but the "father of the people," as he was generally called by them. These manifestations few monarchs attain to see, yet none else are more flattering and welcome. On the last day of the year he made his fourth and last will. On the 7th of January, 1325, he breathed his last, retaining consciousness to the last. His last words were addressed to his son, the Infante, bidding him practise the virtues of tolerance, justice, and filial love to his mother. He was sixty-three years and three months of age, and had reigned nearly forty-five years.

It remains to us to say a few words respecting the Queen, who was the affectionate and resigned wife, and whom the nation styled "Saint" ere the decree of canonisation had come from Rome. D. Isabel survived her husband for some years, but always spent her widowhood in retirement. D. Diniz was buried in the convent of Odivellas, which he founded, his widow followed his remains, and resided for some length of time in the monastery. On returning from a pilgrimage to Santiago de Compostella, she kept the first anniversary of her husband's death in Odivellas, and then retired to the convent of Santa Clara of Coimbra, where she spent the rest of her life in the exercises of piety, but always keeping a watchful eye over the thorny path of her son's government. Soon after the death of her husband she took the habit of Saint Clare, but at the respectful pleadings of all the people she did not profess in the Order nor separate herself for ever from the world.

And, in truth, her saintly office of peacemaking was not yet ended. Fresh discords broke out between her son the King of Portugal and the King of Castille. As soon as she heard of this, D. Isabel took her pilgrim's staff and proceeded to Estremoz, where her son was. But the fatigues of the journey and the heat of the summer worked their fatal

consequences on a delicate and exhausted frame, and the saintly Queen expired in Estremoz on the 4th of July, 1336, in the sixty-fifth year of her age. Her remains were transported to Santa Clara of Coimbra.

The beneficent intervention of D. Isabel in all the contentions which took place in her time; the resignation she ever manifested to the conjugal derelictions of her husband, and in bearing oftentimes his injustice; her sweet, modest piety; the charity which she dispensed on such a large scale, all rendered to win the highest respect during life, and at her death to be held unanimously in the light of a saint.

How could it be otherwise? When civil war desolated the kingdom; when the Knights of the Middle Ages breathed nought but odiums and revenge, and were swayed by the most violent passions; when their ensigns waved at the mercy of the burning breeze of the battle-field; when the suburbs of Lisbon trembled beneath the tread of the war-horses clad with mail, and in the streets of the city were gathered together the affrighted multitudes listening in horror to the echo of the war trumpets; when Portuguese blood was about to be spilt by Portuguese hands—did not the people behold the sweet, gentle form of the Queen quickly speeding to traverse the battle-field, and at the sound of her voice, as though it were the command of an angel, their weapons fell to the ground, and above the fierce heat of wrath and odium and vengeance the calm rainbow cast its beams, announcing peace and tranquillising their spirits. It was only natural that the people should hail her as a saint when they beheld such miracles performed. And when they saw her, charitable, cheerful, and active, founding hospitals and churches, convents and asylums, and in Santarem wending her way amid the wards of the hospital, tenderly nursing the crippled little ones and orphans, and further on opening asylums of mercy which another Queen later on was to develope on a grander scale—the people understood that the Angel of Concord was likewise the Angel of Consolation. They found in her the guardian and protector of the poor and the oppressed, and, lifting up their grateful suppliant hands, commenced to call her by the sweet title of the saintly Queen.

Then did legends rise up around her as naturally as the butterflies hover around the flower, fragrant as her image, gentle as her disposition. Then did they assert that gold had been turned into roses, when her royal husband, indignant at her open-handed almsgiving, chided her and surprised her as she one day was carrying her apron

full of gold, and on demanding to see what she carried, the gold suddenly became transformed into lovely roses. Legends also tell us that when the Queen was superintending the construction of a church in Leiria, and had bestowed all she had on the poor, that she one evening paid the workmen by giving each a rose, and that these roses were turned into gold. In the legendary chronicles of Saint Elizabeth of Portugal all is fragrant with flowers; the poetic instinct of the people has transformed her life into garlands of gold and flowers, which fell from her hands as she blessed with queenly grace the fond hearts of her Portuguese subjects.

For three centuries was the wife of D. Diniz venerated by the Portuguese before the Church sanctioned her admission among the list of her saints. At length, in 1516, she was beatified by Pope Leo X. at the urgent pleading of D. Manuel, and, at the request of Philip III., Pope Urban VIII. solemnly canonised her on 25th May, 1625. Churches were soon after erected in many parts of the Catholic world dedicated to her patronage.

Providence had placed by the side of D. Diniz, the just and enlightened King, D. Isabel, the chaste, saintly Queen, as though Portugal was not to lack any splendour, and the Portuguese crown became invested with the double aureole of illustration and virtue. By the side of the Poet-King rose the angelic form of mystic poetry.

These acts of ecclesiastical commemoration carried the name of the pious Queen and of D. Diniz throughout the Catholic globe. But it was their grand deeds, as we have seen, that won the eternal gratitude of the Portuguese and the admiration of all who peruse their history. D. Diniz certainly was one of the best rulers of Portugal, and may be justly considered by all nations and in every epoch as a great and eminent statesman.

If at times we have seen him take a double part in his political relations with the monarchy of Leon and Castille, by being wanting to his engagements, and aiding rebels and perverse men against governments which were accepted by the peoples, it was to regain by similar means the places usurped from Portugal; it was to enlarge the country and fix the definite limits of our nationality. Wishful of dominating the Peninsula, he was forced to follow the policy which it had adopted. Acts of treachery and preponderance were so frequent that, despite some diplomatic perfidies, Diniz was considered one of the princes most loyal and just of the Peninsula. For this reason did the two great

kingdoms of Aragon and Castille appoint him arbitrator in their gravest events, and submitted to his decision.

Although the genius of war did not weave martial crowns as the triumpher of battles, since there were none fought by Portuguese arms, he was always at the head of the national forces in all the campaigns, and when apprised that his most powerful allies had been annihilated and others betrayed him, had the skilful daring of penetrating a distance of forty leagues into the interior of Castille, and taking advantage of the adversary's weakness, increased, as the most successful warrior, the Portuguese territory, by taking possession of two important castles and eleven towns.

The civil dissensions which troubled the Government were due to the same cause, the mediæval feudalism aided by Castillian elements. Taking for their chieftain, first the brother, then the son of Diniz, they combated royalty in the monarchy, and, aided by the people, fostered day by day their exemptions and power. The husband of Isabel was as quick and successful with his brother, as he was weak and undecided in repressing the son. It was because, in the first instance, his spirit was unbiassed, and he was incited by the just ambition of preserving the throne; in the second, because he was urged by paternal love and respect for legitimacy in the succession of the crown. Nevertheless, he triumphed in both junctures, the first by reducing the chief of the insurrection to impotence, and the latter by submitting first, and then delivering the sceptre. The grandson of Alfonso III. continued in his government against the privileged classes the civilising work which he had combated in his father.

Yet the principal glory of Diniz did not come from the sword. A perfect King for his time, and deeply conscious of the needs of the country, he notably increased the territory of Alfonso Henry; but beyond this, he raised to stupendous heights the edifice of internal organisation, whose foundations had been laid by Sancho I.

His disloyalties with the neighbouring countries, his rare moments of repressive cruelty, the errors he may have fallen into as a politician, and the many he committed with his ardent sensual character—all these Diniz redeemed by the deep general reform which he effected in Portuguese society. He developed more largely than any of his ancestors the population of the country; he elevated agriculture, by all the various methods possible, to a state of prosperity which astonishes us even at the present day; he created internal industry and commerce

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by promoting municipal organisation, favouring rural labours, and frequent fairs and markets, and raising the spirit of the people; he secured maritime traffic by establishing vast associations of mutual assistance between merchants, and by definitely instituting our war navy, with which he defended from pirates the sea-coasts and the Portuguese merchant ships, and prepared and laid the foundations for the discoveries which imparted to Portugal during the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries a universal and lasting renown.

By erecting some fifty fortresses, reorganising the popular militia, and reforming with praiseworthy abnegation the military orders, he largely prepared the defence of the country, and bequeathed to D. João I. the means of resisting a formal invasion of Castille, and for once and all establishing with immortal glory the independence of the country.

He was a zealous administrator of finance and a wise ruler, and raised by national resources the public treasury to opulence. He had a tolerant spirit, prudent and just in the application of the law, and no prince of his time exceeded him in these rare qualities. He possessed a deep knowledge of the needs of the nation he governed, and whatever reforms he believed necessary were carried out and perfected, while creating others which were adequate to the necessities of the people, and accepted by the public spirit; for this reason the institutions he initiated or developed did not fall into disuse after his death, but were perpetuated. By gentle means, and by protecting the people, he proved himself one of the most rigid adversaries to the unreasonable privileges of the nobility and the Church. Having received the civil power bending beneath the yoke of the Portuguese clergy, and in their turn fettered to the Roman tiara, Diniz succeeded in raising it with dignity, and imparted life to the national episcopacy. Without severing Catholic unity, without renewing the former strifes, he overcame the Ultramontane influence hitherto omnipotent in the country, and induced private ecclesiastical right to prevail—a considerable reform, which tore asunder the former humiliating conditions of feudalism, and gave to the nation its true autonomy, and established on legal solid bases the rights of the State and the Portuguese Church.

By largely developing the establishment of the councils which had been initiated by former governments, and by persevering to call to the Cortes the representatives of the people, he was able, through the aid of this powerful element, to wrestle advantageously with the privileged

classes, curtail their excesses, and commence firmly and deeply to annihilate in Portugal mediæval feudalism, ecclesiastical and military.

With the laws of mortmain decreed and executed firmly by civil authorities and superior knowledge, and by adjudicating to secular tribunals civil actions, which hitherto had been judged by the ecclesiastical courts, he deprived the clergy of their territorial power and the sovereign right of administrating justice. By forbidding to nobles the erection of new seignioral castles, and razing to the ground many of the old ones, and withdrawing from them their traditional rights of deciding many causes by the sword, of investing knights, of exemption from royal imposts, turning into parks and honours the lands which they had acquired at hazard, and many other means, he wrenched from its foundations feudal nobility, as he had done to the temporal power of the Church. Since that period the beneficent influence of time sufficed to completely dethrone the ancient oligarchic institutions of the Middle Ages, which were the crushing oppression of the people and the absorption of the forces of the State.

Lastly, D. Diniz, who was the greatest poet of Portugal during the first four centuries, created, through his illustrious favourite, the Study House of St. Eloy in Lisbon, and with general enthusiasm the university diffused throughout the kingdom love of letters and study, and laid the foundation of secular and public instruction, and opened to the Portuguese people the doors of science, and, as a consequence, civilisation and liberty.

After the work of Alfonso Henry, that of Diniz is the greatest which we behold in the pages of Portuguese history: the former founded the military nation, and the latter the cultured classes. The conjunction of these two labours afforded to Portugal, centuries after, the boon of realising, in the wide evolution of the human race, its glorious mission of widening the globe.

END OF FIRST BOOK.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SECOND.

1325—1357.

REIGN OF D. ALFONSO IV.

Acclamation of D. Alfonso IV.—The House of the Sousas—Cortes of Evora—Alfonso Sanches is condemned—Attempts at a conciliation—Alfonso XI. of Castille and his uncles—War between Alfonso IV. and Alfonso Sanches—Arronches—João Alfonso is found guilty—Peace—Portugal, Castille, and Aragon—Alfonso XI. and his tutors—D. Constança Manuel—D. Juan of Biscay—D. Branca—Negotiations are commenced to annul the marriage of D. Pedro of Portugal and D. Branca—Assassination of D. John of Biscay—D. Alfonso XI. demands in marriage the hand of the Infanta D. Maria—The Aragonese oppose the marriage—The treaty of marriage is effected—Revolt in Valladolid—Confederation of Portugal, Aragon, and Castille—D. Alfonso IV. the Hunter—His first lawgiving—A Portuguese diplomatist—Suit of divorce and marriage of D. Pedro of Portugal—Disturbances in Castille—Opposition of the Castillian King to the marriage—Envoys from Portugal sent to D. Juan Manuel—Revolt of D. João Nunes de Lara and D. Juan Manuel—Continued opposition of Alfonso XI. to the marriage of D. Pedro of Portugal—The Portuguese fleet is insulted—War between Portugal and Castille—Marriage of D. Pedro of Portugal—Activity of Alfonso XI.—Aid from Portugal is besought—Reply of the Portuguese King—Naval forces—Mussalman invasion—Siege of Tarifa—D. Maria proceeds to Portugal—The Portuguese King decides to aid Castille—Campaign of Salado—A battle is fought—Tragedy of Ignez de Castro—Disorders in Aragon—Marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor—Campaigns of Algeciras and Gibraltar—Pestilence—Death of Afonso XI.—Assassination of Gusman—State of Portuguese policy—Internal policy—Codices of the Jews—Commerce, navigation, and first attempts at maritime discoveries—Death of Alfonso IV.

Throughout the towns and cities of Portugal still resounded the doleful announcements of the death of the great King, D. Diniz, when his legitimate firstborn, in presence of the Archbishop, D. Gonçalo Pereira, was taking the customary oath to govern the country according to the established laws and justice, and the Herald King-at-Arms of the Court was proclaiming in solemn tones that the Prince D. Alfonso was, by the grace of God, acclaimed King of Portugal and the Algarve.

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At length the so much desired day had dawned when he should behold his ambition realised, and for which he had so schemed and intrigued and spilt Portuguese blood to hasten. How many ghastly thoughts were entwined with the golden hopes which had arisen! how much vengeance was coupled with the festive echoes of drums and fifes!

D. Diniz had carried to the grave a deep regret. At his last moments he had not beheld his two sons reconciled and friendly around him; indeed, to the contrary, only a short year previously he had been compelled to sacrifice to the implacable, turbulent jealousy of the one the honours and properties and residence of the other. The form of his illegitimate son, the hapless offspring of Aldonsa Rodrigues, despoiled and exiled to the foreign castle of Albuquerque, rose up at that solemn hour before his clear yet dying eyes, the hour of farewell and of pardon. And that same form must have likewise risen up in the memory of many of those who assisted at the noisy, brilliant acclamation of Alfonso IV., as we see it traced vigorously in the first pages of this opulent reign.

The royal standard was unfurled by the side of the new monarch, as chief ensign, by the haughty, magnificent bastard, D. Pedro da Ribeira, Count of Barcellos, Lord of Gestacô, Lalim, Varzea da Serra, and lands of Vouga, he who, no doubt, from his homestead of Brunhido, had witnessed the funeral procession of the father and the acclamation of the legitimate brother, his former companion in rebellion, amid the numerous brilliant court of his lieges.

But, however, in the place of majordomo we no longer see the favourite loyal bastard son of the agriculturist king, that D. Alfonso Sanches, lord of the towns of Conde, of Albuquerque, of Medelhim, and others, whom the fierce jealousy of the new King had withdrawn from the aged, suffering parent, and even persecuted in his shameful exile. By a species of irony of fate this charge was exercised by the Infante D. João Alfonso, the inexperienced bastard of D. Diniz, that gallant child whom his brother Alfonso Sanches had perchance saved from the sword of the Infante Count of Barcellos in the challenge of Pinheiro de Azer.

In the revolt of D. Alfonso against his father, D. Pedro of Ribeira rises up as the most distinctive form among the revolutionists, in the same way as Alfonso Sanches ever rises up in the history of D. Diniz as its most salient figure.

Sons of D. Diniz by two ladies—the first by D. Gracia of Torres Vedras, who died in 1323, and called Pedro de Ribeira, from the fact that she had received the dowry of Ribeira de Sacavem; and the latter by D. Aldonsa Rodrigues, to whom Diniz gave, in 1301, the royal farms of Paos, Ameal, Paredes, Casaio, and S. Lourenço de Bairro, in the land of Vouga. The jealousy of these two mothers appears to have been transmitted to them whose armies rivalled each other.

D. Diniz had an intuitive feeling of this antagonism, which he endeavoured to neutralise, although vainly, by an equal distribution of honours and power. Hence he appointed D. Alfonso Sanches his majordomo and lord of the town of Conde and of the seigniorities with which he endowed his mother, and to D. Pedro he entrusted the no less important charge of chief ensign. Both these sons were married to ladies of the highest rank and wealth.

By the marriage of D. Alfonso Sanches with D. Theresa Menezes, only daughter of D. João Alfonso de Menezes, the staunch friend and majordomo of D. Diniz, and the able diplomatist who arranged the treaty of Alcanizes, first Count of Barcellos, and of his wife D. Theresa Sanches, Infanta of Castille, he became Lord of Albuquerque, Menezes, Medalhim, and other Castillian lands, as he might have inherited also the County of Barcellos, had it not passed over to D. Martim Gil de Sousa, tutor of D. Alfonso IV.

From this fact, no doubt, arose the disagreements between D. Alfonso Sanches and D. Martim Gil, which the King endeavoured to repress, but which led to Sousa renouncing his country and king, and becoming a vassal of Castille, as some of his ancestors had done before him.

D. Pedro, who was created Count of Barcellos and Chief Ensign after Martim Gil de Sousa, married D. Branca de Sousa, granddaughter of Mem Garcia de Sousa, and thus not only united himself to the highest nobility of Portugal, but became one of the branches of the celebrated powerful house of the Sousas. D. Branca was daughter of D. Constancia Mendes de Sousa and of the *rico-homen* Pedro Ames d'Aboim. Her sister married D. Alfonso Diniz, an illegitimate son of D. Alfonso III. An aunt of his married D. Lourenço Soares de Valladares, a distinguished *rico-homen*, Lord of Tangil, Governor of Entre Douro and Minho; and from this marriage resulted a lady who wedded another illegitimate son of D. Alfonso III.—D. Martin Alfonso—and originated the branch family of the Sousas Chichorros.

We have mentioned this division of the greatest Portuguese house

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existing at the commencement of the monarchy because this fact carries with it some features deeply characteristic of the epoch, and by many ways this family holds a prominent place in the history of the first ages of the monarchy.

In the peace treaty celebrated in Coimbra between D. Diniz and his legitimate son, the latter induced the King to include a clause restoring to the Count of Barcellos all his honours and properties, and since then he appears to have retired into obscurity. Despoiled of his position through having risen up against the King his father and the nation, the Count of Barcellos is restored to them by the intervention of the Prince Alfonso, and his gigantic form is seen in the funeral procession of D. Diniz and in the noisy acclamation of the new monarch.

Alfonso Sanches, ever faithful to that same parent, ever at his side in the bitterest hours of his life, is exiled to Albuquerque, deprived of the important and elevated charge which he occupied in the Court of the agriculturist King, was now about to feel the ferocious and implacable odium of his brother.

The reign of Alfonso IV. opens dismally with the terrible manifestation of hatred that leaves all other events in the background, and which took place during the first years of the government of the successor to D. Diniz.

Alfonso IV. no doubt felt the need of reforming the political discipline of the State which he himself had formerly contributed to relax, and to curb the hopes of his partisans of other times, to whom he had set the example of disrespect for royal authority, by a solemn affirmation of it. Hence he commenced his reform by convoking a Cortes of *ricos-homens*, knights, and fidalgos of the kingdom, as likewise bishops and abbots, priors, and other monastic and ecclesiastical dignitaries attached to the churches, and to the archbishopric of Braga and Oporto, the representatives of the Councils of the kingdom, and others, in order that they should all take their oath of allegiance to him as their King and master.

The Cortes were assembled in Evora, and once again did Alfonso IV. proclaim his terrible libel against Alfonso Sanches, and endeavour to induce the Parliament to condemn formally his exiled brother as a traitor to his liege lord, and as a disturber of the peace of the kingdom. It appears the Cortes hesitated to satisfy royal rancour; but Alfonso IV. would not be deterred from his set purpose, and therefore he instituted a summary process against his brother, main-

taining the former accusations brought against him during his father's reign. Finally, Alfonso Sanches was found guilty; but as he prudently kept aloof and out of the reach of his brother's fury, he was only despoiled of all honours and offices which he had hitherto enjoyed on Portuguese territory, and deprived of all he possessed.

Alfonso Sanches nevertheless endeavoured to calm and appease the spirit of the monarch by forwarding a respectful message from his residence in Castille. In this letter, after referring to the unjust sentence given against him, and to the hard conditions of his condemnation, by which he is deprived of all he possessed, yet offers him faithful vassalage, and pleaded a revocation of the sentence, with the restitution of what belonged to him during the reign of D. Diniz.

But Alfonso IV. continued inexorable. Nor was he moved by the exhortations to conciliation and friendship which the ambassador Lopo Alves de Espejo, sent by the renowned King of Aragon, D. Jaime II., to Portugal on the occasion of the death of D. Diniz, to offer his condolence to the Queen and son, and to congratulate him on his accession to the throne, and simultaneously to promote peace and concord between the brothers (1325).

But Alfonso Sanches had in Castille, and in Portugal, many powerful friends and adherents, who, no doubt, were impatient to manifest their loyalty in some signal manner. In Portugal itself, and in the bosom of the Portuguese Court, he had his former faithful companion in the campaigns against the present King of Portugal—his brother John Alfonso. In Castille he was powerfully aided by the Infante D. Philip, the legitimate son of D. Sancho the Brave. Don Philip was uncle and former tutor of the young King of Castille, D. Alfonso XI.

The history of Castille is so intermingled with the Portuguese up to the fourteenth century that it is needful at times to mention it. D. Philip was likewise instigating a rebellion against the royal authority of his nephew.

When, at the age of fourteen, Alfonso XI. ascended the throne in 1325, he found Castille in a state of complete anarchy, and he commenced his reign by disagreements with his celebrated tutors, the Infantes D. Philip, D. Juan Manuel, and D. Juan, who, in mutual rivalries and haughty misuse of the power which they individually exercised, had devastated, or allowed the devastation of the kingdom.

Hardly had they renounced solemnly in Valladolid their tutorship,

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and pledged homage to their nephew as their King and master, with the prelates, *ricos-homens*, and representatives of the cities, than they at once instituted anew a manifest rebellion.

One of the first ideas of the inexperienced monarch was to rid himself of these troublesome vassals. To suppress these became a fixed thought with the King. Hence, in 1326, he had D. Juan treacherously assassinated, and the same fate befell, in Madrid, in the subsequent year, the Infante D. Philip, and this youth of sixteen was scheming to effect an equally sinister fate on D. Juan Manuel.

Meanwhile, one of the first government acts of Alfonso XI. was to send an embassy to Portugal, to condole with the Queen D. Isabel on the demise of D. Diniz, and to congratulate Alfonso IV. on his elevation to the Portuguese throne. This embassy was received by the Queen in Odivellas, and by Alfonso IV. in Lisbon.

Let us return to Alfonso Sanches. Besides the influence and number of adherents which he possessed in Portugal and Castille, he possessed some seigniorities besides Albuquerque. Deeply irritated at the discourtesy of Alfonso IV., he sought redress by force of arms; and, summoning together the forces recruited in Castille and Leon, he joined them to his own army of Portuguese partisans, and proceeded to enter the lands of Braganza. While a part of his army were entering into Braganza, robbing and devastating the land from Medelim and Albuquerque, another portion, commanded by Alfonso Sanches, broke into Odiana, in order to attack the Master of Aviz, D. Gonçalo Vaz, who defended the frontier on the side of Ousella. A combat ensued between the troops of Alfonso Sanches and the royal army, in which the latter was defeated.

Exasperated by this defeat, Alfonso IV. at once marched towards Albuquerque, invaded Castille, and on approaching the castle of Codoceira, besieged it, until Diogo Lopes, who held the castle for Alfonso Sanches, was compelled to surrender it by capitulation.

It was about this period of our history that Alfonso XI. of Castille commenced to traverse his dominions in order to establish order and consolidate royal authority by rigorous means, and at times even of cruel severity, and took possession of the castle of Valdenebro, the former asylum for outlawed fidalgos, and levelled it to the ground, in the same way as Alfonso of Portugal had done in Codoceira. But the campaign of the Portuguese was less profitable

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than that of his namesake of Castille, since it offered him less victims with which to appease his revengeful spirit.

Alfonso Sanches then retired to Medellin, while Alfonso IV., after razing Codoceira to the ground, departed quickly to Lisbon. It appears this act was due to the fact that Alfonso Sanches was united by political comradeship and sentiments of friendship to his brother João Alfonso.

It was natural that Alfonso IV. and his former partisans, the malcontents of the reign of D. Diniz, should not view with favour these two individuals, who had more than once met them in vigorous and decided hostility to maintain the authority of the King D. Diniz and the power of Alfonso Sanches in their former rebellions.

In the same manner may be supposed that João Alfonso regretted the elevation and triumphant advances of those who had been the adversaries of his father, of himself, and of his favourite brother, as also the persecution incited against the latter. Yet the hapless Alfonso Sanches had the secret hope of obtaining some places wherein he might render himself strong, or shelter himself with his own partisans from the persecution of the new monarch.

To João Alfonso was entrusted the defence of the frontier on the side of Caia, by appointing him governor of the frontier of Portalegre and Arronches. The great stratagetic importance of Portalegre and Arronches during the first epochs of the monarchy, and even long after, is fully proved by the many bitter disputes which these places gave rise to, even down to the reign of D. Diniz.

Taken from the Moors in 1166 by Alfonso Henry, then reconquered by them, to be retaken by Sancho II., and once more regained by the Moors, and again taken from them by the valiant D. Paio Pires Correia in 1242, Arronches, which had been bestowed by D. Sancho II. to Santa Cruz of Coimbra in 1236, reverted once more to the Crown in the time of Alfonso III., who did not hesitate to give in exchange for it the patronage of Obidos, Assumar, and Albergaria de Poiares, thus proving its importance. Moreover, he granted certain privileges in 1255, which were further confirmed in the year 1272.

As D. Sancho II. had bequeathed Arronches to his son the Infante D. Alfonso, D. Diniz was not satisfied until he had dislodged his turbulent brother from that part of the frontier.

Later on, D. Alfonso IV. even went so far as to decree in positive terms that Arronches should never be withdrawn from the direct

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possession of the Crown. This decree was issued on 12th May, 1475, and in the reign of King D. John I. it was also established that all shepherds of that land should have firearms, and all the inhabitants of the town and its boundaries be permitted the free use of arms throughout the kingdom.

Arronches was for a length of time one of the most important keys of the frontier. In this campaign, however, Arronches assumed an especial importance, owing to the fact that it stood exactly opposite the principal vantage-ground of the invading army, that of Albuquerque, and it is scarcely comprehensible that it could be in good faith that Alfonso IV. appointed an individual to guard the frontier in whom he could not place any confidence.

It appears certain that John Alfonso either opened negotiations or was in communication with his brother and former companion at arms, and that he proposed to aid him, or at least maintain neutrality, in exchange for the three towns which belonged to him, of Alva de Lista, Castromonte, and Villa Açor.

Alfonso Sanches was not opposed to this negotiation, but observed that the concession of Alva de Lista rested on his friend Alvaro Nunes, to whom it belonged. However, the latter agreed to the exchange, and it was then that the people of Alfonso Sanches invaded the territory of Braganza.

Civil war was imminent, should D. Alfonso Sanches find partisans to rise up with him. As soon as the news of this invasion reached D. Alfonso IV., he sent the Master of Aviz, D. Gonçalo Vaz, at the head of some municipal troops, to Ouzella. At that time the troops which had effected the raid on Portuguese frontier had already retired to Castille, but D. Alfonso Sanches came personally to Albuquerque to continue the war against his brother.

It was not long before the Castillian troops of Alfonso Sanches met the Portuguese army of the Master of Aviz, Gonçalo Vaz, in a pitched battle. We have seen how brilliantly the municipal troops fought in the Navas de Tolosa, but now they lacked the experience of warfare which they then had, since they were summoned out of their houses to face the enemy at once. For this reason, notwithstanding the bravery with which they flung themselves on the Castillians, they were defeated by the soldiers of Alfonso Sanches, and the Master of Aviz beheld with deep chagrin his army retiring precipitately in the direction of Ouzella. It was some consolation to his disappointment, however,

that he had left his enemies in such a plight that they dared not pursue him.

The indignation of Alfonso IV. may well be imagined on learning the unsuccessful issue of his army, and he at once mustered together his troops and marched against Albuquerque. It was then that he levelled to the ground the castle of Codoceira, near Albuquerque, and, carried away by the fearful sentiments of vengeance which ever dictated his acts, he destroyed the castle. He then returned to Portugal. It was about this time that, suspecting his illegitimate brother D. John Alfonso was conniving with D. Alfonso Sanches, ordered him to be beheaded, which sentence was carried out on 4th June, 1326. The reign of the King who was to order Iñez de Castro to be executed was commencing by fratricide!

But in the minds of all prudent persons this war was inglorious and could bear no good fruit, and, moreover, only served to foster passions and nourish personal spite, to the detriment of the towns and cities, whose population beheld their fields devastated periodically by the contending armies. D. Alfonso Sanches was likewise disposed to treat of peace, since he perceived that he obtained nought, and only spent his rentals uselessly, spilt the blood of his vassals, and irritated more and more his brother. Hence he was very grateful to the saintly Queen Isabel when he learnt that she was labouring to appease the anger of the sovereign. And, in truth, the Queen, who was then residing in her convent of Santa Clara of Coimbra, proceeded to follow the mission which Heaven had entrusted her with, and which at length she paid with her life, as we said before, dying while endeavouring to allay the discords which had arisen between her son and the King of Castille. In this instance she intervened as mediator in the contention, and, assisted by some individuals, she attained to re-establish peace between the two brothers, and furthermore obtained from Alfonso IV. to restore his properties and goods to Alfonso Sanches and allowed him to reside in Portugal, where he lived up to the year 1329, enjoying, if not the actual friendship of the King, at least his goodwill. Such was the influence which the gentle words of Saint Isabel worked upon even the rudest spirits.

As was natural, the protection and aid which D. Alfonso Sanches found in Castille, even if that protection was not directly vouchsafed by the King Alfonso XI., could not contribute towards binding the relations between the two neighbouring kingdoms; nevertheless, the desire to effect advantageous marriages for his two sons induced

D. Alfonso IV. of Portugal not to manifest any displeasure, but strengthen the alliance between the two States by matrimonial relations; yet this alliance was not lasting, but, on the contrary, gave rise to great discords, which were embittered by the recollections of the past. We shall proceed to narrate these episodes in the history of Portugal and Castille.

As we have said, in Castille reigned Alfonso XI., son of Ferdinand IV. and grandson of the King of Portugal D. Diniz, by his mother the Portuguese Infanta D. Constancia.

Ferdinand IV. died in 1312, leaving an infant son of eleven months to succeed to the throne. Discords at once broke out during his minority, and D. Diniz was on the point of interfering in order to protect the rights of his daughter D. Constancia, but the latter survived her husband only a short time, dying in 1313, and the King of Portugal, who was ever prudent, perceived that, having no longer any direct interest, it was unnecessary to join the contentions of his neighbours.

There was then in Castille a prince of whom Father Marianna, in his "History of Spain," says "was of such a turbulent character, and so changeable, that many judged he had been born solely to disturb the kingdom." This prince was D. Juan Manuel, nephew of Alfonso the Wise, and son of his brother the Infante D. Pedro Manuel. He acquired a double title in the history of Spain, as a turbulent vassal and brave captain in the political history of the country, and in its literary history as one of the principal cultivators of Castillian prose. It is certainly an exceptional case to find in the same individual the undesirable glory of disturber of the kingdom and the calm glory of a brilliant writer and eloquent, deep thinker. The American author Ticknor, in his beautiful work on Spanish literature, offers his homage to the prince who, after Alfonso the Wise, was the one who gave the greatest impulse to the Castillian language.

D. Juan Manuel was one of the most powerful vassals of Castille, who, placed on the steps of the throne by his birth, was almost placed on a level with the crown by reason of his wealthy possessions. He was Duke of Penafiel, Marquis of Villena, Lord of Escalona. In 1320 he was elected co-regent of the youthful Alfonso XI., but his powerful influence soon enabled him to expel from the government such as would not bend to it. D. Juan Manuel was really the only regent.

His administration was peaceful and energetic. Nevertheless, when Alfonso XI. attained his majority, he manifested himself sufficiently

jealous of power to consent that D. Juan Manuel should continue to hold the reins of government at his side. The Infante, indignant at what he judged the ingratitude of the King, quickly instigated a revolt. He allied himself to D. Juan, the Lord of Biscay, another discontented vassal, and lifted up the banner of insurrection. D. Alfonso trembled on beholding, at the very commencement of his reign, these two most powerful masters rising against him. He then endeavoured to sow discord between the confederates. For this end he flattered D. Juan Manuel, and induced him to withdraw from the alliance by promising to give him in marriage his daughter Constancia, and appoint him *Adelantado* of Castille—that is to say, place him at the head of the military forces of the kingdom in the war against the Moors. In this way he satisfied doubly the vast ambition of D. Juan Manuel, he gave a throne to his daughter, and restored to him his interest in the affairs of State.

The conditions of the treaty were carried out. D. Constancia proceeded to Valladolid, where Alfonso VI. solemnly married her, and D. Juan Manuel went to the frontier to conduct the war against the Moors. But the Lord of Biscay was furious at the way he was treated by his ally, and seeing himself alone on the battle-field, judged he ought to avoid the resentment of the King by taking refuge in Portugal. But it is said that Alfonso XI., counselled by D. Alfonso Nunes Osorio, manifested that he desired a reconciliation with him, and with promises of absolute pardon, induced him to come to Castille, and in a banquet at which the hapless nobleman assisted in Toro, was assassinated by the King's orders.

This infamous perfidy, which we dare hardly attribute to D. Alfonso, a youth of sixteen, but to the evil advisers who surrounded him, commenced to open the eyes of D. Juan Manuel, who then perceived that the King, in wishing to establish peace with him, had no other intention but to tear asunder the union which threatened the throne. This was at the beginning of 1328, and it was not long since the Infante had won the victory of Guadalhora against the Moors, and the knowledge that he had rendered an important service to his country would increase the indignation he felt when he received the news, which clearly manifested the illwill of the King of the marriage which was being arranged between Alfonso XI. and his cousin D. Maria, daughter of Alfonso IV. of Portugal.

As soon as the King of Castille judged himself firmly placed on the

throne, he endeavoured to dissolve his marriage with D. Constancia, and form an alliance with a sovereign house. The King of Portugal took advantage of this attempt, and as the union was equally desired by both Crowns, they were not long in coming to a treaty. Alfonso XI. was to wed the princess of Portugal, D. Maria, and the prince-heir to the Portuguese crown, D. Pedro, to unite himself by the bonds of matrimony to D. Branca, the Infanta of Castille. These were not, however, the only marriages which were arranged. As D. Constancia, the repudiated princess, was granddaughter of James II. of Aragon on her mother's side, Alfonso XI. feared that her uncle, the reigning King of Aragon, should be offended at the repudiation of his niece; and, in order to pacify him, offered him as his bride his own sister, D. Leonor, a princess of great beauty and lofty qualities of mind. The King of Aragon, who had lost his wife a short time previously, accepted the proposal, and in this way, by marriage, were united the three great kingdoms of the Peninsula.

Alfonso XI. now threw off the mask and espoused the princess D. Maria, after sending his former bride, D. Constancia, a prisoner to Toro. It was natural that, foreseeing the indignation of D. Juan Manuel, he should wish to retain his daughter as a hostage in order to make her the prize in some negotiations. And in effect it was not long before D. Juan Manuel rebelled, and as though in this strange episode of the history of the Peninsula all things should be bound and unbound through marriage, D. Juan Manuel likewise contracted matrimonial relations with D. Blanca de Lacerda, in order to summon to his party the numerous relations of his bride's noble house.

The war, however, did not last long, and in this is seen the foresight of D. Alfonso. Peace was quickly and simply brought about by restoring him his daughter, whom, as we said above, he had sent as a prisoner to the castle of Toro.

These two marriages of D. Alfonso XI. with his cousin D. Maria, and that of D. Pedro with the Infanta D. Branca, which were contracted under the auspices of open perfidy, appears to have carried the curse of Heaven with them.

The marriage of D. Branca with D. Pedro proving unfruitful, a divorce was instituted. The new consort chosen was D. Constancia, daughter of D. Juan Manuel. The joy of her father was very great, as by that marriage he satisfied his ambition and took revenge on the King of Castille for the affronts received. The dowry assigned to his

daughter was very great, far more than many daughters of kings took with them, for it amounted to more than 300,000 dobras.

The principal conditions of the marriage were as follows:—

The Infante promised his alliance to the Crown of Portugal against all its enemies, and to serve it personally and with his possessions, with the exception of the Church or the King of Castille, should they be its enemies, since he was suzerain lord of the Infante; the King of Portugal likewise pledging his alliance.

D. Constancia to be absolute mistress of the lands which should be given her for a marriage portion, as was done to all former queens of Portugal.

The Infante to be permitted to visit his daughter whenever he wished, and to reside in Portugal for any length of time.

Should two sons be born of this wedlock, the second to inherit the dominions of D. Juan Manuel; but if, on the contrary, she should have no second son, to the husband of D. Constancia or to her only son, but never were these dominions to be joined to the Crown of Castille.

Notwithstanding that all the documents were signed, the marriage was far from being realised. The King of Castille at first disguised his irritation, and even appeared satisfied with the new alliance of his cousin, but his latent illwill manifested itself in other forms—by insinuating that it would be better for D. Juan Manuel to give his daughter in marriage to the Prince of Navarre, or by surprise at the largeness of the marriage portion, while at the same time he counselled Portugal not to content itself with so small a portion; in a word, by employing every means to indirectly break off this marriage, which he so greatly disliked. But all his efforts were useless, and D. Pedro and D. Constancia were married by proxy. In the name of the princess, the Dean of Cuenca, D. Ferdinand Garcia, came to receive the Infante of Portugal, and in the name of the Infante, proceeded Gonçalo Vaz de Goes to Castille to receive the princess.

Even then did the King of Castille maintain his disguise by appearing to be perfectly satisfied with this marriage, and when in Valladolid he received the news from the mouth of Gonçalo Vaz, the representative of D. Pedro, he manifested great joy and sent rich presents to the bride, and from Portugal was sent a special ambassador, Martim Lopes Machado, to thank the King of Castille. This exchange of courtesy and goodwill concealed the strange ending that these

congratulations were to have. In effect, just as D. Constancia was about to depart to Portugal, she was, by order of the King, detained in Castille.

The astonishment of Alfonso IV. was very great at this turn of affairs, and he felt highly indignant; nevertheless, considering his character, he behaved with great moderation. He sent as his envoy to D. Alfonso XI., Alvaro de Sousa, to demand an explanation for this strange proceeding. The King of Castille replied evasively, and continued to prevent the departure of the princess. The King of Portugal sent a second envoy bearing a letter, wherein in courteous terms he besought his nephew to allow the departure of the bride, but he obtained nothing.

Meanwhile Alfonso XI. showed that he had no intention of retreating from the open hostility which menaced him, and thus satisfy the indignation which burned his spirit. The Portuguese squadron of eight ships, commanded by Stephen Vaz de Barbuda, as it sought shelter from a storm in the Bay of Cadiz, was unexpectedly attacked by the Castillian Governor, Gonsalo Ponte de Marchena. Furthermore, the manner in which D. Alfonso XI. treated his wife became at length so unbearable that she was compelled to leave the Court and retire to Burgos. All things seemed to indicate that the King of Castille was determined upon severing all peaceful relations with his impetuous uncle.

But the forbearance of Alfonso IV., whose disposition we know, is explained by the need he had of preparing for war. And in effect, while he sent embassies to Castille, and otherwise delayed to take revenge, he was constructing ships, fortifying the strongholds on the frontiers, and collecting together the army to invade the neighbouring kingdom. After this he sent, according to the usage of that epoch, a king-at-arms to challenge his relative, accusing him of illtreating his wife, and preventing the departure of D. Constancia to Portugal as the bride of D. Pedro. When this formality was gone through, the war commenced.

This war was inglorious and ruinous to both countries, a frontier war that had oftentimes been repeated between Portugal and Spain, and which had always been signalised by devastation of fields, the ruin of cities, the destruction of castles, through which the armies passed. These evils are excusable when a great cause is at stake, and a whole nation and its independence or salvation is entrusted to the fate of

battles, and when over the ruin of dismantled cities and lowly huts reduced to ashes the people condone the sacrifice by proclaiming the glorious liberty of the country. But to be compelled to endure these untold evils on account of mean family questions which only interest the private lives of its rulers, and to behold the simple husbandman gazing aghast upon his ruined homestead, his crops destroyed and his children oftentimes put to death, simply because his royal majesty is on bad terms with his wife, or did not respect court etiquette in his relations with his neighbour, is certainly hard to bear, and most certainly the monarchs who thus act towards the nations confided to their care incur a terrible responsibility in the sight of God.

D. Diniz, who ever knew how to steer skilfully through the mazes of discords with the neighbouring kingdom, would not have committed the imprudence of enkindling a conflagration in the country on account of royal family marriages, for he would not have based them on perfidy, and therefore would not have been exposed to the consequences of such perfidy.

But D. Alfonso IV., to the end of his life, always made every consideration subservient to what he judged to be State reasons, and he continued his policy unmindful of any obstacles. In order to marry his daughter to the King of Castille, he did not care to enquire whether that sovereign trod under foot all laws of morality, and giving to his son the wealthy princess D. Constancia, he heeded not to cruelly offend the pride of D. Alfonso XI., and now we see him plunging the kingdom into disastrous engagements in order to avenge personal affronts, and risk in campaigns of war the prosperity of the kingdom, which was the fruit of so many years of wise administration. With two armies, he at the same time invaded the States of his nephew and relative. One detachment entered into Galicia, and desolated the province and destroyed the troops with which the Archbishop of Compostella and other fidalgos attempted to resist him, while the second detachment, commanded in person by the King, crossed the frontiers of Spanish Estremadura, devastated the places near to Badajoz, and leaving a strong garrison to besiege the stronghold itself, proceeded to Andalusia, and carried ruin and devastation almost as far as Seville, then returned to strengthen the siege of Badajoz.

It was the road followed by D. Sancho in the time of Alfonso Henry, when at the head of his brilliant knights; but then that territory which he traversed in war guise was under the dominion of

the Saracens, those ancient enemies of the Faith, of their race, and of the Spanish nationality, whilst now the soldiers of Alfonso IV. were carrying the devastating firebrands of war into a kindred people, brothers in creed, in origin, and in their glorious traditions.

However, as the siege of Badajoz became protracted, D. Alfonso IV. raised it and returned to Portugal, where he prepared for a new campaign. It was about this time that D. Isabel (1336) died in Estremoz, where she had come to make peace between the two Kings. The Queen D. Beatrice endeavoured to continue the mission of the sainted Queen, which had been interrupted by death, and unknown to her husband she proceeded to Badajoz, where D. Alfonso XI. of Castille had arrived, to try and induce him to come to terms. But there was wanting to her the authority and sweet charm of the wife of D. Diniz, and although D. Alfonso XI. listened to her respectfully, he promised nothing, and in proof of the small attention he paid to her pleadings he soon after entered into Portugal, and put to fire and the sword the environs of Elvas. In this war we find nought else to describe but devastations and reprisals, veritable campaigns of guerilla warfare, or rather of highwaymen.

But the Portuguese did not delay long before they took vengeance for this incursion of Alfonso XI., and later on it fell to the Castillians to enter the province of Entre Douro and Minho, cutting down and wrecking all before them, yet on this occasion they were severely punished. This army was commanded by D. Ferdinand Ruy de Castro, a relative of that hapless woman who was to come to Portugal to meet love and a fearful death. As he was retiring with his troops, he encountered the Archbishop of Braga, the Bishop of Oporto, and the Grand Master of the Order of Christ. A struggle ensued, wherein the Castillians were completely defeated, many were left slain on the battle-field, and the rest fled precipitately.

The fate of arms was against the Portuguese, and the reverses which they suffered on sea by the squadrons certainly did not presage the glorious renown and triumph which in a short space of time the Portuguese navy was to acquire, a renown which brought to Portugal a world-wide reputation.

Gonçalo Camello sailed out, commanding some galleys, to devastate the coasts of Andalusia. He scoured all the open places on the coast, and disembarked in Gibralcon, where he destroyed all the Spanish forces that came forth to oppose him, led by the governor of the

stronghold. The fleet returned to Lisbon loaded with spoils, and for the second time sallied out to devastate the coast; but on this occasion the squadron was commanded by the chief admiral, the Genoese Manuel Pezagno, whom the King D. Diniz had sent for to Italy. Again was the coast of Andalusia assailed; but the Castillian armada, commanded by the Admiral Tenorio, had come out seeking the Portuguese galleys to take his revenge. A naval engagement resulted on the height of Cape St. Vincent—a fearful combat, in which both contending parties suffered great losses; but at length fortune smiled on the Spanish fleet, which is not to be wondered at, in view of the superiority of their numbers. The Portuguese were defeated, and their admiral, Manuel Pezagno, taken prisoner.

The news of the naval victory filled the King of Castille with joy and pride, while in the breast of the Portuguese sovereign arose a deep spirit of vengeance. Once again his army proceeded to devastate Castille, meanwhile that the Admiral Tenorio, by command of Alfonso XI., was entering Seville, conducting the noble Genoese admiral triumphantly as his prisoner. Moreover, at this very moment the Queen D. Maria, wearied out by so many sorrows and insults, was retiring to the side of her father; hence it will be perceived that the spirits of all were sufficiently aroused.

Nevertheless, it was time that these passions and contentions were appeased, since a common danger, a supreme catastrophe, was impending over Christian Spain. The former enemies of the Gothic race, the Moors, threatened anew a terrible invasion into Spain. For a great length of time the King of Granada, assisted by his co-religionists of Africa, was gaining ground on the frontiers against the Castillians. It was a warning to Alfonso XI. to concentrate his forces on that side of his dominions; but the Castillian King, impelled by unworthy passions to make war against Portugal, was deaf to the interests of his kingdom.

Pope Benedict XII., who had succeeded Pope John XXII. on the pontifical chair, watchful of the interests of Christendom, perceived how many evils this war would bring, and charged his legate to counsel Alfonso XI. to arrange terms of peace. In this affair he was accompanied by the Archbishop of Rheims, who at the time was French ambassador in the Court of Castille. But the representations and appeals of these two prelates were vain, and the only reply vouchsafed by the Castillian King was to effect an invasion into Algarve, from

which followed, as usual, devastations and incendiarism throughout the lands scoured by the Spanish army.

It was indeed a difficult matter to obtain from Alfonso XI. that he should listen to peace. Firstly, because he was still revelling in the glory of the victory won by the admiral; and secondly, the idea of peace found a declared enemy in his beautiful mistress, D. Leonor de Gusman, who had attained supreme influence over the spirit of the monarch. She well knew that peace must be sacrificed when affairs had reached to the point that the Queen, obliged to take refuge in Portugal, had set fire, so to say, to her ships, and placed her royal lover in the alternative of choosing between her and his legitimate wife. If he took her side he must choose war, as peace could not possibly be re-established without the return of D. Maria to occupy the place which she had been deprived of by an ambitious favourite; hence D. Leonor de Gusman employed all her seductive powers to compel Alfonso XI. to close his eyes to the perils of his kingdom, and combat for her like a knight-errant.

Such were the unworthy motives that prevented the conclusion of peace. In order that D. Leonor be not deprived of royal favour, whole towns on the Algarve were reduced to ashes, and for that same reason many places were devastated on the lands of Galicia. And in effect reprisals soon followed. Alfonso IV. crossed the frontiers of the north and took Salvaterra and Orense, sacking, destroying, and setting fire to towns, and withdrew to Portugal, proud of having made the wretched Galicians pay for the misdeeds of their King.

The mediators who had sought to effect peace now again came forward, and certainly with greater success, because, although they met with the same difficulties as formerly, nevertheless they obtained a truce of hostilities. This was in the year 1338, and negotiations for peace were at once instituted. But Alfonso XI. did not seriously desire peace. He was still too much under the influence of D. Leonor. It is certain that when the Portuguese envoy, D. Gonçalo Pereira, Archbishop of Braga, who was entrusted with this negotiation, arrived to Alcala, where the delegates of the King of Castille were assembled, he had proposals made which were of such unreasonable form that, without deigning to discuss them, he at once returned to Portugal.

Hence a new scene of war was laid open which promised to prove even more sanguinary than any previous one, because the King of Portugal allied himself to the King of Aragon, while Castille was about

to be invaded on the east. But the campaign was not opened, because vague rumours began to spread that the Emir of Morocco intended to invade Spain at the head of a powerful army, and at the same time the Admiral Tenorio lost a naval battle against the Moors. Hence Alfonso XI. could no longer despise the warnings and dangers which threatened him on that side, while the alliance of Portugal with Aragon was no less to be feared. At length the King of Castille listened to the Nuncio, who continued to urge a conciliation, and a treaty of peace was seriously entertained. The great danger which threatened Castille likewise threatened the other kingdoms of the Peninsula, and all the reigning sovereigns were conscious of the necessity of joining together against the common enemy. Hence negotiations were not difficult of being entertained. The Portuguese plenipotentiaries were Vasco de Moura, Gonçalo Vasques, and Gonçalo Esteves, while the Castillian ones were Martin Fernandes Portocarrero and D. Fernandes Sanches de Valladolid.

As the plenipotentiaries had ample power given to them, the treaty was easily arranged and signed under the following conditions:—

D. Constancia was free to depart for Portugal, and D. Blanca, the repudiated wife of D. Pedro, to return to Castille with the marriage portion given to her; and the Queen D. Maria, casting in oblivion all past offences, should return to her royal husband, and D. Leonor de Gusman be exiled from the Court. Both kings to enter into an alliance, defensive and offensive, and the King of Aragon to be included in the treaty; and finally, none of the three kings to enter into peace treaties with the Moors without the consent of the three powers.

In this way was war terminated—this humiliating war, which might well be called "a war of women," because, although they actually did not lead the armies, yet it was they who moved the intrigues and enkindled the passions—a war mean in its original motive, mean in its results, and mean in its acts. It is not recorded, while it lasted, that any great battle or any grand feats of arms took place, such as national history loves to record with pride when relating the prolonged strifes of Portugal with the Castillians. The chronicles of this ill-fated war only record robberies and devastations. In this war D. Alfonso lost the best years of his reign without deriving glory or advantage. The alliance which was effected and which put an end to this strife was more fruitful, because it afforded him the opportunity of gathering the purest laurels of his military career, as it led him to take a part in the

brilliant expedition which terminated the invasion of the Moors of Africa against Spain, and which buried on the margins of the Salado all the hopes which the Crescent could yet have of regaining their lost supremacy over the lovely lands of the Peninsula.

Ever since Portugal, spreading its lands towards the south, met the ocean on its extreme frontier, and separated by the vast territory of Castille, the land still occupied by the Saracens, and withdrew from her daily strifes, so did we likewise withdraw from occupying ourselves with the vicissitudes of this Empire, which, founded by Tarik on the fields of Guadalete, was fast proceeding towards decadence.

The wrestling was obstinately protracted for ages, but vast indeed were its results. The brilliant Arab monarchy, founded by the adventuresome chief of the dynasty of the Ommeyas, how reduced had it become! At one time it embraced the whole of Spain, with the exception of a wild portion of the Asturias; it had crossed the Pyrenees in order that its standard of the Crescent should wave from the ancient walls of Narbonne, and now, at this period of history, it was reduced to a small but lovely tract of land called Granada. In compensation, the small monarchy of Asturias, the weak shoot planted by Pelayo, the hero of Cangas of Oniz, on the wild ruggedness of the mountains of the north, grows up and spreads its roots and branches out into four kingdoms towards the south. Of these four kingdoms, Portugal cut out for herself a narrow band on the sea-shore, and was satisfied with this portion because she beheld unfolding before her horizon the limitless ocean through the daring of her navigators; Navarre, traversing the Pyrenees and forming a nation, half French and half Spanish, had by reason of its own geographical position received the death-blow of its own autonomy; and Aragon and Castille threatened on both sides to destroy the distinguished remains of the once flourishing empire of Andaluz.

We have seen how Ferdinand III. and Alfonso X. of Castille, by taking Murcia, Seville, and Niebla, and Alfonso II. of Portugal, by completing the conquest of the Algarve, had totally destroyed the empire of the African Emirs in the Peninsula, and dispersed the secondary and ephemereal kingships which rose up by the side of Granada from the general dispersion of Arab Spain. The discords which had arisen among the Arabs themselves had greatly helped the Christian princes to effect this supreme blow. The discontent which reigned among the Wallis of Andaluz under the African yoke induced

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them to proclaim themselves independent in the same way as Granada had done, and the only one where this independence was lasting. On the other hand, a new dynasty in Africa, the Beni-Merines, strove to dethrone the Almohades, as these had in their turn dethroned the Almoravides. For these reasons the Emirs of Africa lost for ever their dominion over Spain; and if the kingdom of Granada still subsisted in a corner of Andalusia, it was due to the dissensions which existed among the Christian princes, and that kept them divided among themselves.

These dissensions continued, and were the salvation of Granada. It is true that the Beni-Merines, when their co-religionists of Granada were pushed to extreme perils, used to cross the strait and came to succour them with all the forces of the Almaghreb, but they were never able again to take possession of Spain. The defeat of Abu-Yacub by Sancho IV., surnamed the Brave, was the first disillusion which they experienced, and the routing of Salado their last and supreme one.

Meanwhile the kingdom of Granada continued a precarious existence which was gradually extinguishing, and which eventually became totally put out when the greater portion of the Christian States of the Peninsula gathered together their forces, and united themselves into one great power to combat and defeat the Mussalman Empire with their whole strength. But this supreme moment had not yet come—indeed, not for several centuries; and the Arabs, deprived of the sunny lands of Spain, concentrated all their affections within the blissful tract of Granada, which they enriched with all the marvels of Oriental civilisation.

During the reigns of Sancho IV. and of Ferdinand VI. this daily strife continued, with varied fortune; but at length the limits of the Arab possession became lessened, and during the reign of D. Ferdinand IV. the Moors sustained a sensible loss in the taking of Gibraltar, a city which Arab writers call the "key of Andalusia," because, so long as the Moors held it, they were enabled to effect easily the landing of succour from Africa; while, if it was in the hands of the Christians, they, so to say, closed the doors of Spain upon the hordes of the Beni-Merines. A formidable invasion, such as that of the Almoravides and Almohades, was being prepared on the other side of the strait, in answer to the call of Abul Hassan, King of Fez and Morocco.

With the advanced troops in Gibraltar and Algeciras, and in accord with the Emir of Granada, Abul judged the time had come

for repeating and realising the attempts of Yusuf-ben-Tachfin and of Abdelmumen, by bringing into the Peninsula a terrible army, and again reduce to the domination of Islam the divided Christian societies that had reconquered it step by step.

It was a common danger which threatened them, but the Portuguese King manifested himself less panic-stricken at the effect which this disaster might cause than the other States of the Peninsula.

The Castillian King convoked the Cortes in Burgos after his reconciliation with his father-in-law and D. Juan Manuel, and besought large subsidies from him in order to enter at once in the campaign against the Moors. On the other hand, the King of Aragon obtained from the Pope a tenth of the ecclesiastical revenues for this species of holy war, and sent a fleet to join the squadrons of Castille, under the command of the renowned Admiral Jofre Tenorio, and these prevented the passage, which had already commenced, of the African troops.

Accompanied by D. Juan Manuel, D. Juan Nunes de Lara, the Archbishop of Toledo D. Gil de Albernoz, and D. Juan Albuquerque, and a numerous army of municipal troops and military orders, Alfonso XI. proceeded from Seville to attack the enemy along the territories of Antequera, Ronda, and Archidona, without, however, meeting any; and razing to the ground the towns which the Moors had abandoned—leaving in Tarifa D. Ferdinand Peres, and in Arcos D. Ferdinand Ponce de Leon; a bishop of Mondoñedo, D. Alfonso de Biezma, in Xeres—he retired, in the winter of 1339, to the city he had started from, after taking large prizes, and delivering the government of the whole frontier to D. Gonçalo Martinez de Oviedo, Grand Master of Alcantara.

The squadron of Aragon, composed of twelve galleys, commanded by Gilabert de Cruyllas, joined the Castillian, and both endeavoured, although fruitlessly, to prevent the continued passage of the troops of Abul along the strait. Two important events signalised this first period of war. On passing to Algeciras, Abdelmalek, son of Abul, resolved upon taking possession quickly of all the deposits which the Christians had formed in Lebreja, and organising an *algara* on that side, advanced in the direction of Xeres to carry it out. When, however, the Mussalmans' advance-guards had dispersed about the villages, they used to send the flocks they captured, under a strong guard, to Algeciras; but Porto Carraro, the Alcaide of Tarifa, and other frontier governors, used to form an ambuscade and crush these forces,

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meanwhile that the Grand Master of Alcantara surprised Abelmalek himself in his camp.

The violence of this unexpected attack completely disbanded the troops of the son of Abul, who fell one of its victims. This disaster called forth a cry of pain and rage in Granada and in Morocco, which greatly stimulated the Moorish kings. However, this disaster endured by the Moorish troops was soon followed by another on the Christian side to compensate them. This was the unfortunate landing effected by the Aragonese admiral, Gilabert de Cruyllas, on the coast of Algeciras. Routed by the Moors, Cruyllas was slain in this combat, and the fleet of Aragon retired precipitately to Catalonia.

This was succeeded by a new, and, to Castille, more important naval loss. The Castillian squadron, composed of twenty-seven galleys, six larger ships, and a few of minor importance, remained guarding the strait and endeavouring to prevent the passage of the African troops. It was an impossible matter to entirely prevent their passage with such a small force. A Moorish fleet of two hundred and fifty ships, thoroughly equipped for transporting troops, crossed from Africa, sailing towards Algeciras. If the Castillian admiral were wanting ships and people with which to attempt an offensive action, there were not wanting enemies and envious people in the Court who violently accused him of want of activity. His wife, who was in Seville along with the Court, apprised him of all the accusations brought against him, and the gallant sailor, naturally indignant, attempted with this small fleet to rush into an unequal combat with the naval forces of the King of Morocco, wherein he perished, after a desperate, fierce struggle, clasping the Castillian standard.

Another event took place which more considerably aggravated the situation of Castille, and led to the loss of one of its most distinguished generals. The post of Grand Master of Santiago becoming vacant, the Order elected one of its members, Vasco Lopes. But the passion felt for D. Leonor de Gusman by Alfonso XI. continued still to dominate his actions, and led him to appoint as Grand Master his youthful illegitimate son D. Fadrique, a child of seven years of age, and thus annul the election of D. Vasco Lopes. This appointment led to some resistance in the Castillian Court, which either Alfonso XI. would not or could not affront, or else she induced him to cancel the post in favour of her brother, Alfonso Melendez de Gusman, who was appointed Grand Master.

This affair deeply offended many illustrious and powerful *ricos-homens*, among them the Master of Alcantara, Martinez Oviedo, he who had vanquished the army of Abdelmalek, and who now openly and strongly manifested his indignation. Summoned to the Court of Alfonso XI., Martinez, who well knew the summary process the King made use of to silence the daring or more dangerous censors, refused to obey the intimation, and placed himself, with the castles and knights of the Order, in complete rebellion, and furthermore sent a proposal to the King of Portugal, that he would deliver up to him the strongholds on the frontiers occupied by the knights of the Order, should he agree to aid him against the Castillian monarch. The proposal was sufficiently inviting, nevertheless Alfonso IV. nobly refused to accede to it. Then commenced a fresh intestine war, in which the cruel, impetuous character of Alfonso XI. was often manifested in a signally terrible manner. After an obstinate, desperate resistance, the Master of Alcantara, who was strictly besieged in Valencia de Alcantara, decided to deliver himself up to Alfonso XI., who, implacable in his ferocity, ordered him to be beheaded and burnt as a traitor.

It was on his return to Andalusia, after this terrible campaign, that the Castillian King received the news of the disastrous fate of the squadron, which had become reduced to only five galleys. It would be flagrant injustice were we to leave on the minds of our readers the impression that Alfonso XI. did not possess, in an eminent degree, the true qualities of a king and general. His prodigious activity, his firmness of character, and the skilful and vigorous action which distinguished him seemed to increase and become strengthened by disasters and perils.

Finding himself almost deprived of a fleet, his means at the lowest ebb, and wearied out by an intestine war, surrounded by the restless elements of rebellion with an inevitable and stupendous invasion of Moors facing him, the Castillian King developed such rare energy, and a foresight which in him was unusual. While ordering all the ships he possessed in Andalusia, Galicia, and Asturias to be collected together, repaired, provisioned, and equipped in order that in a short time he might send to Tarifa a small fleet under the command of D. Alfonso Ortiz Calderon, the Prior of Saint John, he solicits the Queen, his forsaken wife, to write to her father, the Portuguese King, to beseech him to send a Portuguese squadron to the aid of Castille, and likewise sends an envoy, in the person of John Martinez de Leyva,

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to Genoa to contract for the furnishing of some ships, and on his way back to solicit from the Pope a bull of indulgences for those who should take part in the war of Castille, and for the fleet of the King of Aragon, Pedro IV., as a new naval auxiliary.

In the month of July, 1339, the treaty was signed in Seville, as we said, between Portugal and Castille.

The Queen D. Maria was residing with her son at a convent in Seville when her husband besought her intervention with D. Alfonso IV. in the matter of the fleet. D. Maria at once sent her chancellor, D. Vasco Fernandes, the Dean of Toledo, to Portugal to deliver in Monte-Mor-o-Novo to Alfonso IV. the solicitation of his daughter. The chancellor received the verbal message from the Portuguese King, that should the King of Castille require his aid, to treat directly with him on the affair without the intervention of women, or of the Queen, with whom it was unbecoming to treat upon military affairs.

The chancellor delivered his message, and the Castillian King very quickly sent him to Portugal to reiterate directly his former appeal. Then D. Alfonso IV. ordered an important naval force to be equipped, and appointed to take the command of the fleet Admiral Manuel Pezagno and his son, the same individual that Jofre had taken prisoner, and whom he brought to Seville when he proudly made his triumphal entry. The Castillian King set them at liberty, and sent them now to the Portuguese monarch, probably as a sort of intentional act of redress—triumphant and reinstated to favour—to afford protecting aid in place of the squadron of Jofre Tenorio which had been totally destroyed.

The Portuguese admiral proceeded to take his position outside Cadiz, and prudently limited his action to menacing from thence the passage of the African troops.

The envoy of Castille in Genoa engaged fifteen galleys, equipped and furnished and manned, under the command of Egidio Boca Negra, at the cost of 800 golden florins for each, and 1,500 for the officers monthly.

The King of Aragon, on his part, promised twelve galleys, commanded by Pedro de Moncada, grandson of the renowned Admiral Roger de Lauria. It was too late, however, to effect an advantageous naval action which might save Castille from the terrible invasion which threatened her. Numerous forces had already crossed the strait, and

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in September, 1340, Yusuf Abul Hagiag came in person to place himself at their head, and join at Algeciras the army of the Emir of Granada.

Doubtless the chroniclers exaggerate the Mussalman forces when they compute that these numbered from five to six hundred thousand men, among them seventy thousand horsemen, although it is but natural that they should be numerous, as they wished to make a decisive effort to reduce anew Castille to the dominion of Islam, for which object they had organised and called out an algara, or holy war. A great number of families followed the invading army in hopes of an assured conquest.

The danger which threatened the Peninsula was very great, and terror began to spread among the people. It appears, however, that the generals of the Mussalman army were not great masters of military strategy, because in place of a sharp attack, which would most probably have proved fatal for Castille, they delayed their action by first besieging Tarifa.

This stronghold was held by the Governor, John Alfonso de Benevides, and despite the superiority of numbers and elements of attack enjoyed by the invaders—who, from what we can gather from Arab sources, possessed a rudimentary artillery—the Christians defended themselves most heroically and desperately. The squadron of Ortiz Calderon, which had proceeded to aid and defend them by sea, proved useless to them, as a terrible storm overtook the fleet at the commencement of the siege, and completely wrecked it.

Therefore the Castillian King quickly summoned a Cortes in Seville, and announced to them the resolution he had formed of succouring Tarifa. The need of obtaining aid by a strong alliance with Portugal was also acknowledged necessary, and met with the approbation of the Cortes, even to the point of D. Alfonso XI. declaring that he should proceed immediately in person to Portugal and solicit the aid of his father-in-law.

But the policy of Castillian pride would not allow this act, and Alfonso XI. was therefore constrained to beseech his despised wife to depart to Portugal and plead the cause for him.

Who does not call to mind the admirable verses which this sorrowful embassy inspired in the mind of the grandest singer of epic poetry of modern times, the immortal Camões?

It was in Evora that the Queen D. Maria met her father, the King

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of Portugal, and, bathed in tears, besought him to succour, or rather save her husband, the throne, and the kingdom of Castille.

Alfonso IV. did not turn a deaf ear to the moving pleadings of his daughter, but promised a prompt and unconditional aid; and not long after he met, in Jurumenha, the King of Castille, in whom the imminent danger which threatened him had served to put down the proud boasts of former times, and to whom the King of Portugal, engaged to fulfil the promises made to his daughter, the Queen D. Maria.

On withdrawing from the King to conclude the preparations for this terrible campaign, and place himself at the head of his forces, D. Alfonso XI. ordered that the King of Portugal should be everywhere received with all royal honours within the Castillian dominions.

D. Alfonso IV., personally commanding all the knights and soldiers which had rapidly gathered in Elvas, and ordering other forces to join them in forced marches, entered with his daughter into Spain, and was received as its saviour. On reaching Badajoz all the clergy, both secular and regular, came out to meet him, saluting him with the canticle, "Blessed is the King who comes in the name of the Lord." He was also enthusiastically welcomed in Seville by Alfonso XI., and after conferring together on the plan of campaign to be followed, they marched slowly upon Tarifa on 20th October, to afford time for the contingent troops to be collected from various parts and join the army. A week later they had encamped two leagues from the besieged stronghold, on a spot called Peña del Ciervo, and simultaneously the Aragonese squadron, commanded by Ramon de Moncada, and the Castillian fleet of the Prior of St. John appeared on the waters of Tarifa.

And, in truth, it was time they should do so; the unequal wrestling would most certainly end in the extermination of the heroic yet diminished defenders of the stronghold whom the Christian Kings had endeavoured at once to strengthen and garrison with men and provisions, in order that the garrison should, during the battle which was about to take place, fall upon the rearguard of the enemy.

The Mussalmans had raised the siege, in order to attack the Christian troops which were approaching. The Kings of Morocco and Granada awaited them in separate camps with their respective troops.

Numerically speaking, the Mussalmans had the advantage, but if the spirit of covetousness, of vengeance and glory which impelled them on was very considerable, the feelings on the Christian side were no less

intense and stimulating, since they not only fought for their faith, but to save their families and native land.

The Christian forces in camp held a council of war, and it was arranged that the King of Castille should attack the King of Morocco, and the King of Portugal that of Granada.

Alfonso IV. was accompanied by the Bishop of Braga, the Prior of Crato, the Grand Masters of the Order of Aviz, Lopes Fernandes Pacheco, Gonçalo Gomes de Sousa, Gonçalo de Azevedo, and other distinguished *ricos-homens;* but as they had only been able to collect together little more than a thousand knights, the King of Castille furnished him with a host of three thousand. Hence the Portuguese had some four thousand against seven thousand Granadine troops. The camps were separated by a small river called the *Salado.*

Unfortunately, the common danger did not suffice to appease the intrigues and spites which divided the Castillian nobles, and it appears that, in face of their formidable enemy, grave suspicion of vengeance and treachery rose up to diminish the already sufficiently small hopes of a Christian victory.

The 30th October, 1340, dawned, and the King of Castille entrusted his vanguard, probably with the reserved idea of seduction and odium, to the revengeful D. Juan Manuel, his erewhile deadly enemy. When the signal was given to advance, D. Juan Manuel, with his people, appeared to hesitate, to the point that among the most fervent partisans of the King there arose the idea that it was a diversion of treachery. Two of them, Garcilaso and his brother, at the head of a division of a thousand men, rapidly advanced, and crossing the river Salado by a small bridge, carried before them a Mussalman division.

Meanwhile the brother of the King's mistress, whom D. Alfonso XI. had made Master of Santiago, and D. Juan Nunes de Lara, manifested a similar hesitation as D. Juan Manuel, but the King coming up to them constrained them to advance and cross the river. The King at once followed with the body of the army, and valiantly fought in the battle, which then became general and fierce.

With better fortune, or by reason of commanding a more faithful and better disciplined army, the King of Portugal came down upon the Granadine multitude like an avalanche, and breaking through their ranks, quickly worked havoc and confusion, even before the victory was assured on the side of the Castillians. Panic spread on all sides throughout the Moorish camps, and then commenced a fearful

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stampede. The Christian Kings, joining together their forces, began to pursue the enemy ruthlessly, and carried them pell-mell to the Gualdalmesi.

The Moorish Kings likewise gathered together what soldiers they could, and fled in the direction of Algeciras, where they soon divided, the King of Morocco to embark in Gibraltar and to return to his dominions, and the King of Granada departing for Marbella to return to his Court.

The Castillian chroniclers of the time note a curious incident, which they highly censure—that is, the inactivity of the Aragonese squadron, after receiving orders to land some forces with the object of falling upon the Mussalman rearguard.

Castille was saved, and with her, perchance, all other Christian societies of the Peninsula. The losses sustained by the Moors were very great, and there are some chroniclers who do not scruple to assert that over two hundred thousand Mussalmans perished in this battle, and that on the Christian side only about twenty were slain! Without taking notice of these absurd exaggerations, we can safely assert that the losses were very great, since Arab historians own to it. In the description given by Conde, in his "History of the Domination of the Arabs in Spain," he says, "The battle-field remained covered by broken arms and the slain; the slaughter effected was memorable, and among the enemies it passed into a proverb, this bitter day."

The Moorish camp fell into the power of the Christians, and such was the amount of rich spoils found that, according to the chronicler of the King Alfonso XI., the depreciation of gold and silver such that in Pampeluna, Valencia, Barcelona, Lisbon, and other cities, and even in Paris, gold and silver fell in value one-sixth.

We shall here mention an act of noble disinterestedness and chivalry performed by the King of Portugal. It appears that Alfonso XI. commanded that all rich spoils collected in the besieged camps, as well as all prisoners of war taken, should be sent to the Castle of Tarifa, and he then invited his ally, the King of Portugal, to come and take what portion he pleased. To this invitation Alfonso IV. positively refused to accede; but, on being strongly pressed by the King of Castille, Alfonso IV. selected only, as a remembrance of this memorable victory, a scimitar richly worked with precious stones, a few swords and saddles of exquisite workmanship, and retained as prisoners a nephew of Abul Hassan and a few others. This generous proceeding of the

Portuguese King was much admired by his subjects and foreigners, and history records his magnanimity.

The grief of Abul Hassan was very deep at his losses, not alone as king, but in his domestic life, since his favourite Sultana Fatima, a daughter of the King of Tunis, was slain, a son and nephew taken captive, besides some of his most valiant soldiers.

Two days after the battle, on 1st November, both Kings collected together their troops and proceeded to Seville, and Alfonso IV. departed for Portugal.

The King of Castille, deeply touched at the noble proceeding and aid which he had received from his father-in-law, and whom he scarcely expected would even aid him, much less come in person to save Castille, insisted upon personally accompanying him as far as Cazalla de la Sierra, and returned to effect some further conquests by besieging and taking some of the strongholds of Granada. Since that time he manifested greater respect and consideration to his wife, and broke off all relations with D. Leonor de Gusman, thus proving how deeply had been the impression made on his spirit by the generous acts of the Portuguese King.

The news of the glorious victory achieved in the battle of Salado was echoed throughout Christian Europe as an extraordinary and marvellous event. The King of Castille sent the Pope a brilliant embassage to offer him a part of the spoils as glorious trophies consecrated to the triumphs of faith.

Yet while the Kings of Portugal and of Castille were rejoicing over their triumph, sorrow and mourning filled the cities of Fez and Granada. Their noblest African chieftains were no more, and in Granada they deplored the loss of their most important personages, since the Portuguese sword had cut down the flower of the nobility of Andalusia, among them their chief Cadi, Abu-Abdallah-Muhamed Alascari.

Since the battle of the Navas of Tolosa, in which the Portuguese won some laurels, never had a similar disaster oppressed the Mussalman race on the lands of Spain.

This epoch of the victory of Salado was the most brilliant during the government of Alfonso IV. The grand part he took in the expedition against the Moors assured him a distinguished place among the Kings of Portugal throughout posterity—a place which he would certainly not fill were we to behold in him only the rebel son and the assassin of the hapless Iñez de Castro. Nevertheless, this monarch, whose violent

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character so little attracts our sympathies, was, like his father, an able administrator, and the country he ruled prospered during his reign, and prepared itself to follow out the glorious destinies which were marked out. Yet the evil deeds of the *man* cover, so to say, with a dark mantle the judicious acts of the *king;* and in order that the future should offer homage to his name, it was needful that in the darksome depths of his life should burst forth, under the sun of Andalusia and on the shores of Salado, the brilliant gleams of his uplifted sword.

On the return of the Portuguese King he prepared to follow out a project which the war had interrupted, a project of which few vestiges remain, but which constituted one of the first attempts in the vast field of Portuguese discoveries and conquests beyond seas. We shall reserve this, however, for examination later on in our history, and proceed to narrate an event which is allied to the sanguinary history of the prince-heir of Portugal.

We have already seen how, after a long intrigue and a desolating war, the Infanta D. Constancia, daughter of D. Juan Manuel, was allowed to proceed to Portugal to join her affianced husband, the prince D. Pedro, in August, 1339. It appears the Infanta was accompanied by a lovely maid of honour, the daughter of D. Pedro Fernandes de Castro, and some relation to D. Constancia. As was usual at that time, this marriage was not due to any affection or mutual sympathies, which so often binds and knits souls together, although this wedding cost so many efforts and bloodshed. Hence, although the Portuguese prince surrounded his wife with everything she could wish—and, indeed, she was worthy of all he could lavish upon her—the youthful D. Pedro was unable to resist the charms of the maid of honour, D. Iñez de Castro, and he fell deeply in love with her. This love was reciprocated by Iñez until it became a Court scandal, which, it is affirmed, shortened the span of life of the hapless Infanta D. Constancia.

In the year 1345 the Infanta gave birth to a prince, D. Ferdinand, who later on succeeded to the throne, and a month after the event D. Constancia died.

D. Pedro, finding himself a widower and free to follow his inclinations, now gave himself up completely to the charms of the lovely Castillian, refusing to accede to the wishes of his father and the dictates of diplomacy, of contracting another union with a foreign princess.

Legendary art has so enwrapped this tale of love amid the webs of poetry that it would be a hopeless task in our day to divest its history

from its trammels and place it on the severe arena of discussion. D. Iñez de Castro is one of those ideal types of the great family of Ophelias and Desdemonas which it would be almost profanation to subject to the criticism of investigation.

The tragic ending of this love is generally ascribed to the jealousy of the Portuguese nobility on account of the intimacy which existed between the Castillian knights, more particularly the relatives of Iñez and D. Pedro, and this jealousy naturally gave rise to an intrigue. This intrigue was naturally based on the danger which would threaten the succession of the throne and to the legitimate grandson of D. Alfonso IV. if the extreme affection manifested by D. Pedro were to induce him to legitimise his children by marrying D. Iñez. It appears more rational, however, that this intrigue found in the severe spirit of Alfonso IV. a full appreciation of the danger and offence which such relations would bring.

D. Alfonso IV. endeavoured to induce his son to enter into a new marriage with a foreign princess, but he met with a firm resistance on his part. It was evident that the love which D. Pedro bore for D. Iñez was an insuperable obstacle, since the interests of policy, the fears of a domestic scandal, or the dangers of the dynasty were not able to overcome it.

In face of these objections the violent and even brutal policy of those times did not hesitate to take extreme measures rather than waste time in subtle combinations, and the simplest solution was the deprivation of life. The Archbishop of Braga, as a friend of D. Pedro, warned him of the web of intrigues and political anger and conveniences which was being woven around him. But D. Pedro could never suspect that he would be assailed by such a terrible outrage.

D. Iñez resided with her children in Coimbra, or rather in the palace, which tradition tells us was erected by the Queen D. Isabel, contiguous to the convent of Santa Clara, on the shores of the Mondego. Resolving upon depriving her of life, D. Alfonso himself—so tradition says—accompanied by his chief officer, Alvaro Gonçalves, and two others, called Pedro Coelho and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, proceeded to the palace of Santa Clara on an occasion when D. Pedro was absent, and the three companions of the King carried out the cowardly assassination of this hapless lady.

When this cruel act was made known to the Infante, grief and rage completely overflowed their bounds, and forgetting every consideration,

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and all respect due as a vassal, prince, and son, he broke out in a terrible manner, as though he had lost his reason. D. Pedro had inherited the fierce, implacable character of his father. Associating to himself the brothers of Iñez, Ferdinand and Alvaro de Castro, and collecting together some people, he soon openly raised up a rebellion against the royal throne, and commenced a devastating campaign against it.

Desolating the dominions of those who had concurred in the death of D. Iñez, he marched to Oporto, which the Archbishop of Braga—he who had apprised him of the conspiracy—attempted to defend. Through consideration for this prelate, D. Pedro raised the siege, and proceeded to devastate in another direction. But whether the tardy remorse for the fearful action he had committed, or whether external policy prevented him, we know not, but it is certain Alfonso IV. did not proceed against his son with that impetuous severity peculiar to his character, and which the rebellion of his son would naturally induce. On hearing that he had proceeded to besiege Oporto, the King was compelled to send an army against his rebel son. On reaching Guimarães, he found that D. Pedro was endeavouring to take Oporto. This was the only event of any importance which took place during this short war, and, as we said, the Infante desisted through consideration of the Archbishop, while after the first outburst of anger and blind revenge, better feelings overcame him, and he saw his conduct in its true light, that it was both criminal and against policy—criminal because it was a revolt against his father, and against true policy since he was devastating the very territory over which he was to reign.

The news that the King had arrived as far as Guimarães in order to succour Oporto, no doubt contributed towards inducing D. Pedro to raise the siege, yet it is no less true to say that the Infante ardently desired to be reconciled to his father, and the reason that this reconciliation had not been already effected was due to the fact that there had been no mediator. But now this mediator appeared in Canavezes, in the person of his mother, the Queen D. Beatriz, who, deeply distressed that in her old age the strifes should be renewed which had embittered her youth, had now hastened to interpose her influence between father and son. Her mission was not a difficult one in this instance, since the Infante was ready to fling down his arms, and the King his father unwilling to shed the blood of his own son by entering into this war. The remembrance of the past, and the consciousness of the same conduct

on his part towards his father before him, all joined together to trouble him, and impelled him to vacillate in the resolution of making war.

To the pleadings of D. Beatriz were added those of the Archbishop D. Gonçalo Pereira, he who defended Oporto, but whose affection for the Infante did not prevent from doing his duty as a vassal; and other noblemen, who all joined the Queen in her pious mission of peacemaker, and induced a treaty to be drawn up between father and son. This treaty was sworn to by the Queen in Oporto, by the King D. Alfonso in Guimarães, by the Prince in Canavezes, and included, as we are told by the chronicler of the *Monarchia Lusitana*, the following conditions:—

First—The Prince promised and pledged on oath to pardon, as he actually did, all who had conspired in the death of D. Iñez, either in deed or counsel.

Secondly—That he pledged in future to be an obedient vassal and son to his father the King.

Thirdly—That he would at once dismiss all and every one of those who had abetted him.

Fourthly—That the King pardon all those who had followed the conspiracy of the Prince in whatever way they may have done so.

Fifthly—The King granted general amnesty, and granted to his son royal plenary jurisdiction in criminal and civil affairs, in any part where he should reside, or through which he should pass.

In effect this treaty implied a kind of abdication, or at least the Prince D. Pedro was made regent with small restrictions and reserve.

A new and profound sorrow visited soon after the aged monarch, who had to receive his daughter, the hapless Queen of Castille, as she fled terror-stricken from the fearful cruelties practised by his son.

D. Alfonso IV., however, was not deluded by the oaths pledged by his son, and felt that D. Pedro had only adjourned his vengeance for an opportune moment, to visit it on those who had robbed him of his happiness. Hence when the Portuguese King perceived that the shades of death were surrounding him, he summoned to his side three councillors, Alvaro Gonçalves, Pedro Coelho, and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, and in presence of Alvaro Gonçalves Pereira, the Prior of Crato, whose authority had up to that moment protected them against the vengeance of the Prince, yet who judged that they were not safe in the kingdom as soon as the lover of D. Iñez should ascend the throne, counselled them

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to quit the country and take refuge in Castille. These three followed the advice given them, but which proved of little use, as we shall see further on in our history.

But the sorrows of these latter years had rapidly done their work, and broken up the health of D. Alfonso IV.; and death, which he had felt coming on, soon did its work. Two years had elapsed since the assassination of D. Iñez, and it appears that hapless lady had summoned him within a certain term to appear before the judgment-seat of God. But let us not anticipate history, and let us glance back on the events of the last years.

After the campaign of Salado, it appears the former alliance which was then renewed did not long subsist, but as soon as the common danger was over, intrigues and suspicions were again renewed which had severed the peninsularian triple alliance. Grave disorders took place in Aragon, engendered by the deep hatred existing between the celebrated D. Pedro IV. and his stepmother D. Leonor of Castille, sister to Alfonso XI.

In order to counteract the disguised hostility of Castille, the King of Aragon naturally desired to enter into a strong alliance, and for this object sent an embassage to Portugal, comprised of Lopo de Garrea and Pedro Guilhem de Escaymbos, to solicit the hand of the Infanta D. Leonor, daughter of Alfonso IV., in marriage. This embassy was received by the Portuguese King in Santarem on 4th June, 1347.

As soon as the King of Castille heard of this project, he at once sent to the Aragonese King a deputy in the person of Fernan Sanches de Tovar, to desire him not to wed the Portuguese Infanta, because he, the King of Castille, had, at the solicitation of D. Pedro IV. himself, asked her hand for his brother the Infante D. Ferdinand, and nephew of Alfonso XI.

The King of Castille likewise sent to Portugal, with the same object of dissuading the King to give his daughter's hand in marriage, D. Juan Alfonso Albuquerque. But neither these nor other embassies had the desired effect. Moreover, with a certain contempt, or perhaps rude indifference, for the objections brought forward by the Castillian King, D. Pedro of Aragon and D. Alfonso of Portugal quickly arranged the marriage between them, and on the 11th of June the respective contracts were signed in Santarem, while before the end of the year 1347 the Infanta D. Leonor landed in Barcelona as the Queen of Aragon.

On the death of D. Jayme, speedily did D. Ferdinand, to whom by right belonged the government of Valencia, cast himself with his adherents to aid the revolt that broke out in that kingdom. It was the commencement of a general rising, the horrors of which were further increased by the breaking out of a terrible epidemic called the *black pestilence*, and a few months after landing in the kingdom of her husband, the Infanta of Portugal fell a victim (1348).

Notwithstanding the varied fortune of war, and having suffered the cruellest humiliations, the Aragonese King attained not only to separate from the revolutionary cause his stepmother and brothers, but even win the goodwill of the King of Castille, who promised to aid him.

Wishing to maintain the great moral prestige which the victory of Salado had afforded him, the Castillian King formed the project of conquering Algeciras, which stood like an open door for new invasions from the Moors of Morocco, and succeeded in obtaining from the Cortes convoked in Burgos (1342) large subsidies for that object. The fleet engaged in Geneva, commanded by Boca Negra, arrived and joined that of Castille, and a squadron of ten galleys furnished by the King of Portugal, under the command of Carlos Peçanha.

After several small engagements, the three squadrons were able to destroy completely a large armada of eighty galleys and other ships of Granada and Morocco, followed by a new victory obtained by the Aragonese squadron against the Mussalman fleet.

It was then that D. Alfonso departed for Algeciras. But the Portuguese fleet had returned to Lisbon, and the Aragonese one had been ordered home. The Castillian army was alone to continue the siege, which was becoming prolonged, as it met with a skilful and obstinate defence; moreover, the army suffered intensely owing to the severity of a hard winter.

Alfonso XI. again solicited the aid of the Portuguese King by a loan of some two million maravedis, for which were given as security various castles and towns. Aragon and France were likewise besought to aid Castille, and the lengthened brave campaign, known under the name of "Siege of Algeciras," was continued until it ended in the capitulation of the stronghold.

This event, and the disorders which broke out in Africa, induced the King of Castille to undertake the conquest of Gibraltar, and in 1349 he pitched his camp opposite this stronghold. But pestilence

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was desolating Europe, and in Spain it caused a dreadful havoc among the besieging army, one of the victims being Alfonso XI.

The death of the King of Castille caused a profound sensation, while in Portugal the sedition of the prince-heir and the treaty of Canavezes had concentrated national policy. But despite all the grave external affairs which up to the last moment fettered the policy of Alfonso IV., and even the disasters and embarrassments which befell the internal government of the country, the work of reformation and social consolidation, and the efforts for the aggrandisement of the living forces of the country, cannot be said to have relaxed. His efforts were very great to develope navigation and national commerce, and serve as a brilliant relief to this reign so stained with cruelty.

Were we to state that the first announcement of the great naval poem, which so splendidly was worked by Portugal, appeared during this reign, we should not be far wrong. We must confess that the resolution of obtaining a certain maritime power ever accompanied, during the earliest governments, the lengthened, persistent labour of consolidating the Portuguese State. D. Alfonso IV. continued this work by promoting and developing the royal navy, whose importance commenced to be considerable in the war of Castille and against the Moors; a most noteworthy fact being the idea entertained by this King to conquer the Canary Isles, and the attempts he made of starting naval expeditions of discovery.

We find that in the year 1344, Pope Clement VI., then in Avignon, conferred on a Spanish prince the seigniority of those islands, and at the same time requested the King of Portugal and other monarchs to aid him in establishing this singular sovereignty, and D. Alfonso, in his reply dated 12th February, 1345, apprises the Pope that he had already entertained the idea of conquering the Canary Islands, and for this object he had sent men and ships to reconnoitre the islands, and that these had brought to the kingdom men, animals, and various objects. The Portuguese King adds, that when he was preparing to organise an expedition of conquest, the wars with the Castillians and the Moors had broken out meanwhile to prevent him from carrying out the project.

We have positive evidence of an expedition having been sent from Lisbon in 1341; and it further appears that among the commanders of this expedition there was a Genoese called Nicoloso de

Recco, and a Florentine, Angelino del Tegghia dei Corbizzi. While the impulse given to maritime commerce daily increased, it would be impossible for us to give a sketch even of the enormous legislative labours which signalised this reign. Commercial relations with England and France also increased, and it was about this epoch that a Fisheries Treaty was entered into by the cities of Lisbon and Oporto with the reigning English sovereign, Edward III., by which leave was granted to fish on the coasts of England, and those of Normandy and Guienne, provinces which now belong to France, but which in those days constituted the Continental apanage of the Crown of the descendants of William the Conqueror. D. Alfonso likewise contributed very largely to the collection which in the reign of Alfonso V. was formed under the title of *Ordenações Affonsinas*. Five times he held Cortes, in Evora in 1328; Santarem in the years 1331, 1334, and 1340; and in Coimbra in 1335.

On the 28th May, 1357, D. Alfonso died, surrendering his soul to the Almighty, Who would weigh in an impartial balance his virtues and his crimes. He was sixty-seven years of age.

He left only one son, the Infante D. Pedro, who succeeded to the throne, although he had seven children, who all died before him, his daughter, D. Maria, the Queen of Castille, dying only a few months previously, on 18th January, 1357.

Of all Portuguese kings, D. Alfonso IV. is, perchance, the one whose memory has been most severely open to criticism. The ambitious conspiracies and rebellions against his father, his obstinate and implacable persecution against one of his bastard brothers, the death of another on the scaffold, the assassination of Iñez de Castro, the suspicion—we believe unfounded—of the poisoning of his daughter, the despoiled Queen of Castille—all have invested the form of this king, otherwise eminent, with a sinister and repellent aspect, and covered his memory with the cloak of condemnation, obscuring many good qualities and brave actions.

It is well known that in domestic life he ever preserved good morals, and he never gave any scandal in his conjugal life, and on this point offers a notable contrast to his father, D. Diniz, whose conduct at the Court was extremely reprehensible. Between father and son, D. Alfonso IV. offers in this instance a perfectly distinct feature; he was an exemplary husband, and ever employed his royal authority with especial force in preserving morality and preventing the corruption of

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good customs. Hence the defects which darkened his acts as a man did not prevent that the administration of Alfonso IV. should prove enlightened and profitable to the country, and concurred to the development of its forces. Portugal found herself growing robust after a stormy infancy, and an adolescence which was still beaten about by tempestuous winds, and was rapidly advancing to its period of vigorous strength. All the Kings of Portugal, whatsoever may have been the defects of their character individually, had ever impelled the nation to take a forward step in the path marked out for her. Alfonso I. widened its territory; Sancho I. populated it, and planted on the deserted wastes whole cities and towns, castles, and, as it were, gave birth to the municipal existence which became so vigorous in the Middle Ages; while Alfonso II., among other benefits which his administration energetically conferred on the kingdom, placed a serious obstacle to the development of feudalism in Portugal. D. Sancho II., by extending the Portuguese dominions throughout the province of Alemtejo and a part of the Algarve, completes, so to say, the formation of the kingdom, because to his successor it sufficed to enter into a sharp campaign to terminate the work to which the finishing blow was given by the brave sword of the husband of D. Mecia de Haro; and D. Alfonso III. covers the kingdom with municipalities vigorously organised, and introduced into the Cortes—which up to that date had been simply wards of nobles and the clergy—the representatives of the councils, infuses energy to the arm of the people which only the enervating absolutism of the sixteenth century weakened and paralysed. We see how D. Diniz appeases the discords with the clergy, subdues the nobility, places bounds to the prodigality with which the Crown properties were distributed by private individuals, favours the development of agriculture and commerce, gives a decided impetus to the navy, and establishes regular studies; while his successor, D. Alfonso IV., continued the administrative work of his father, and draws the respect of Christianity to his kingdom by the brilliant manner he contributed to win the victory of Salado. Finally he held the reins of government with prudence amid the storms which in his time devastated the Peninsula, and even Europe; and we shall see further that the reigns of D. Pedro I. and D. Ferdinand, although stained with cruelties and follies, were those which more greatly co-operated towards developing the activity and the vital forces of the country.

When Alfonso IV. breathed his last sigh, he left the kingdom of Portugal to his successor in a perfect state of internal and external peace, and it would be an act of great injustice to deny that his government had realised an important progress in the work of the political consolidation of Portuguese society.

END OF SECOND BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE THIRD.

1357—1367.

D. PEDRO I.

D. Pedro I. ascends the throne—Negotiations with the King of Castille—War between Castille and Aragon—Royal marriages—The assassins of D. Iñez—The marriage of D. Pedro with D. Iñez is disclosed—The Cortes—External policy of the country—Cortes of Elvas—Internal policy—Claims of the States—Justice of D. Pedro I.—Death of D. Pedro.

In the year 1357, D. Pedro I. ascended the throne of Portugal at the age of thirty-seven, as he was born on 8th April, 1320, and, like his father, he took up the reins of government at a mature age, and hastened, as is usual, to notify the event to the Kings of Aragon and Castille.

External policy appears to be the first affair that merited the attention of the King. The King of Castille solicited permission from D. Pedro I. to translate the remains of his deceased mother, D. Maria, to Seville; this permission was at once granted, sending to Castille as ambassadors Martin Vasquez and Gonçalo Annes de Beja, to establish negotiations for various marriages between the princes of both Courts, and thus strengthen anew friendly relations.

Flattered by these auspicious advances, or foreseeing the advantage which might follow from a close alliance with the Portuguese Kings, D. Pedro of Castille, while sending the Archbishop of Seville and other prelates to receive the body of his mother, hastened to send to Portugal his chancellor, John Fernandes de Melgarejo, to ratify his good and loyal friendship and discuss the projected marriages.

It happened that about this time D. Pedro of Portugal received from Huesca an intimation from the legate of the Pope to the effect that he should not establish any relations with the Castillian King, who

had been excommunicated, or aid him in his war against Aragon. This war had broken out a short time previously, in consequence of some supposed affront, which had wounded the majestic pride of D. Pedro of Castille. War was therefore declared in 1356, and D. Pedro of Castille commenced a series of violent extortions, in order to obtain money and open a campaign on the frontiers of Aragon and Valencia. Former odiums, domestic and dynastic, were rekindled, and while the Count of Trastamara and his partisans succoured the Aragonese King, the brothers of the latter, the Infantes D. Fernando and D. Juan, fought against him.

It was with some difficulty that the legate of the Pope was able to effect a short truce between the two kingdoms, which truce was treacherously broken by D. Pedro. The legate a second time attained to establish an amnesty in 1357, exchanging hostages and comminating pain of excommunication against whoever should violate the treaty.

But such were the evil designs of the Castillian King that the mediator excommunicated him, and, as we have seen, intimated to the King of Portugal this act, perchance because he suspected the negotiations were commenced between them. Hence at the beginning of his government, the son of Alfonso IV. found himself, like his father had been, in the advantageous situation of having his alliance besought by Aragon and by Castille, States which it was their interest not to have Portugal as their enemy.

The war between these two States soon terminated, but the intrigues and antagonism existing in both Courts invested the peace treaty effected by the Pope's legate with a very precarious aspect.

Skilful and far-seeing in the midst of his perverse ferocity, D. Pedro of Castille took advantage of the amnesty to endeavour to obtain an effective alliance with the King of Portugal against Aragon, by flattering the desires and projects of his father; and for this end he sent three envoys, D. Samuel Levy, Garcia Goterres Tello, and Gomes Fernandes de Soria.

As we shall see further on, the intelligent diplomacy of Alfonso IV. was worthily continued by the government of his son. In June or July, 1358, was celebrated between the two monarchs a treaty of alliance vaguely offensive, but which was at the same time a negotiation for three marriages. By this treaty it was arranged that the Infante D. Ferdinand, the legitimate son of D. Pedro of Portugal, should wed the Infanta D. Beatriz, daughter of the King of Castille; and the

Infantes D. João and D. Diniz, sons of the Portuguese King by D. Iñez de Castro, should marry D. Constancia and D. Isabel, in six years' time, the sisters of the future Queen of Portugal, the bridegrooms and brides elect being largely dowered by their respective countries. As, however, both contracting parties required military aid, and the King of Castille besought it against Aragon, Portugal imposed as a condition, that Castille should not make peace with Aragon, nor any other State, without the previous knowledge of the King of Portugal. The Castillian King very soon took advantage of this treaty to solicit, through his envoy Juan Fernandes de Enestroza, the aid of some galleys against Aragon. With instructions to serve in this campaign for only three months, the Admiral Lancerote Pessanha quitted Lisbon with a fleet of ten galleys in 1359. It appears that on this occasion, or soon after, D. Pedro sent a trusty messenger to his son-in-law, D. Fernando, to promote a secret league between him and the King of Aragon against the King of Castille.

Some historians attribute the facility with which D. Pedro lent his alliance and aid to the neighbouring monarch to the fixed, unrelenting idea of seizing the assassins of D. Iñez de Castro, who had taken refuge n that kingdom. It is certain that in 1359 a new treaty was celebrated, by which the King of Castille was obliged to deliver up to the King of Portugal, Pedro Coelho, Alvaro Gonçalves, and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, in return for D. Pedro Nunes de Gusman, Mem Rodrigues Tenorio, Fernan Gudiel Toledo, and Fernan Sanches Caldeira, who had fled to Portugal. The pact was a cruel one, and was carried out, with the exception of the surrender of Pacheco, who had escaped to Aragon and taken refuge under the protection of D. Henry of Trastamara.

In order not to revert again to the tragic history of the love and death of Iñez de Castro, we shall close it with the two extraordinary events by which D. Pedro ended it. It was a fearful vengeance he wrecked upon the two noblemen, whom he tortured and slew with unheard-of cruelty. He ordered that Pedro Coelho and Alvaro Gonçalves should have their hearts torn out, the King assisting at this execution perfectly unmoved.

The other event was the revelation of his clandestine marriage with D. Iñez de Castro—a singular revelation, which ought to have been publicly made known long before, and which must have filled with deep remorse those in the Court who had, so to say, assisted at the execution of this hapless lady, by command of Alfonso IV. Some have denied

the truth of this, while others have obstinately supported it, and therefore we think best to explain simply the facts, to be impartially judged by our readers.

On the 12th June, 1360, D. Pedro summoned a Cortes, or a special meeting of his Court, in Catanhede, and in presence of the Chief Mayordomo, the Count of Barcellos, the Chancellor João Alfonso, the Notary Gonçalo Pires, and other dignitaries, he declared on oath that he had married clandestinely D. Iñez de Castro seven years previously —that is to say, 1357—in the city of Braganza, and that this marriage was witnessed by two individuals, the Bishop of Guarda D. Gil and his chaplain Estevão Lobato, who testified that the extraordinary royal declaration was correct, and that authentic documents were drawn up at the time.

Some days later another and more numerous assembly took place, in which the Mayordomo repeated the revelations of D. Pedro, and the testimony of the two witnesses, and further declared that the King did not wish to make public his marriage during the lifetime of his father, fearing lest he might place objections, since his consent had not been demanded, on account of the parentage existing between D. Pedro and D. Iñez; and read a brief from Pope John XXII., dated February, 1327, by which he dispensed him of all canonical impediments which existed on both sides, "between D. Pedro and the lady he wished to marry," &c. The Mayordomo-mor finished his discourse by demanding certificates of the documents for use, and in favour of the Infantes D. João, D. Diniz, and D. Beatriz, children of D. Pedro by D. Iñez, and thus the session terminated.

It appears that this extraordinary revelation gave rise to grave doubts, especially on account of the delay in making the marriage public, and by the singular fact that the day and month could not be assigned, since one of the witnesses affirmed it took place on the 1st January.

But D. Pedro heeded not these doubts, and ordered the body of D. Iñez to be translated with regal pomp from Santa Clara de Coimbra to Alcobaça, where she was laid in a splendid tomb. Years after, on the eve of his death, the son of Alfonso IV. still affirmed his marriage with D. Iñez de Castro.

It is said that the first nobility of the kingdom and the highest dignitaries of the Church assisted in the funeral cortege of the translation of the remains of Iñez de Castro. Throughout the road, men bearing lighted torches were ranged in two lines, extending from

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Coimbra to Alcobaça. The road at nightfall presented a magnificent scene. On the arrival of the body to Alcobaça, it was laid in the tomb ready to receive it, and on its slab was sculptured a lovely statue, representing her image bearing the queenly crown which the poor martyr had been unable to wear.

In that tomb slept in eternal sleep the hapless Iñez until the year 1807, when the vandalism of the French soldiers who invaded Portugal came to disturb her rest. Judging to find treasures hidden within those magnificent tombs, the hordes of Junot wrenched off the slab of the sepulchre of Iñez de Castro, and strewed her ashes on the pavement of the church. A sad fate had pursued that body, which had been dowered with so much charm and beauty. An atrocious act of violence had deprived her of life, and some centuries later even those remains must needs suffer further violence, infamous and sacrilegious, at the hands of senseless profaners!

Following the project of establishing peace between the two monarchs of the Peninsula, to whom he was closely bound by blood relationship and loving traditions, the Portuguese King proposed openly, in 1360, to the King of Aragon to accept him as mediator, and with this object sent two envoys, Alvaro Vasques da Pedra Alçada and Gonçalo Annes de Beja.

The King of Aragon replied, complaining that Portugal had aided Castille against him, who had ever been a loyal friend and ally of D. Alfonso IV., but he would willingly enter into peace treaty, should the Infante D. Ferdinand, his brother, and Count D. Henry de Trastamara assent, who were already on the Castillian frontier, and then the Portuguese King could send his envoys to Castille to enter into respective negotiations with these. For this object was nominated as ambassador D. Fr. Martin do Avelar, Master of the Order of Aviz; but, whether owing to incapacity, or because the King of Castille would not agree, the attempt was frustrated, and in the year 1362 we see organised an offensive union against Aragon between Castille, Navarre, Portugal, and the Emir of Granada, and the son of Alfonso XI. marched upon the Aragonese frontier, leading a large force, a part of which were Portuguese troops, some three hundred knights, and others.

It was but natural that even at that date the suspicion that the Count de Trastamara intended to ascend the throne of Castille should stimulate the Portuguese King, uncle of the King of Castille, to aid the

latter, and it is certain that the alliance projected by Portugal and Navarre was not very sincere or friendly, as subsequent events proved.

In these wars, wherein domestic odiums and dissensions take so important a part, the most extraordinary changes rapidly succeed each other.

A new attempt at peace made in Murviedro fell through on account of the exigencies and bad faith of the Castillian King, and Navarre and Portugal definitely withdrew from him.

The Aragonese King endeavoured by all possible means to win the concordance of Portugal, by sending successively two embassies and proposing the marriage of his daughter, D. Joanna, with the son and heir of D. Pedro.

In the midst of this intrigue and the tortuous disloyal policy of that time the Aragonese King treacherously assassinated his brother, the Infante D. Ferdinand, and husband of the daughter of D. Pedro of Portugal.

Feeling himself seriously threatened by the triumphant forces of Castille, by the intestine discords, and by the war in Italy, he endeavoured to appease the Portuguese King, meanwhile that he planned to free himself by the assassination of D. Henry de Trastamara, and perchance disarm the wrath of the Castillian King. But the war suddenly assumed a very diverse aspect, which altered the relative position of the adversaries.

D. Henry de Trastamara, being at the head of a formidable army of Castillian fugitives, French adventurers, English, and Aragonese, among them the celebrated Bertrand Duquesclin, invaded Castille, proclaimed himself king in Calahorra, and continued to march triumphantly to the very heart of the kingdom.

Disheartened, betrayed, and hated, the Castillian King retreated as far as Seville, and from thence sent his own daughter, D. Beatriz, betrothed to D. Ferdinand of Portugal, with an ambassador, Martin Lopes de Torgilho, to ask the aid of the Portuguese King and urge the realisation of the marriage of his daughter with the Infante heir. The Infanta took all her dowry and trousseau, and it was not long ere her father overtook her, for he had quickly quitted Seville for Portugal on learning that Count Trastamara was marching upon Seville.

On reaching Coruche, the Castillian at once communicated to D. Pedro that he came to solicit from him immediate aid and complete the marriage negotiations between his daughter and his son,

the successor to the Portuguese throne. The situation was a grave one.

Far more than to the brave impetuosity of his soldiers and allies, D. Henry was assisted in taking possession of Castille by the general odium which the legitimate son of Alfonso XI. inspired on account of his oppressions and cruelties.

To side with the latter would be to involve the country in a perilous quarrel and all the evils of a war which would bring no certain advantages. Personally the friendship of the Portuguese King for the one of Castille could not be very great: the vile treatment to which he subjected the sister of D. Iñez de Castro after wedding her could not have entitled him to sympathy from D. Pedro of Portugal, who was of a more revengeful mood than the brother of these ladies, D. Ferdinand de Castro, who, though brother-in-law to the invader, held Galicia for a length of time in favour of the exiled king.

On the other hand, by the side of Trastamara stood the sister of the first wife of D. Pedro of Portugal and the invader himself, who found here an asylum against the persecutions of the Castillian monarch, and was no enemy to the Portuguese fidalgos, but deeply offended by D. Pedro of Castille and by his partisans in the short campaign to which they joined against Aragon.

But above, however, personal influences stood evidently the interests of the State, and Portuguese policy, which in justice could not be accused of disloyalty in this crisis, because Portugal had then no engagements on hand with the King of Castille, and could even be considered exonerated in relation to the union of the Prince D. Ferdinand with D. Beatriz, as this had not been celebrated within the stipulated term of the treaty of 1358, steered with great skill and prudence.

A royal council was held, and it was decided that it was not expedient to aid D. Pedro of Castille, because his own people disliked him and the Count of Trastamara already ruled nearly the whole kingdom while, on the other hand, if this aid was denied, it would be indecorous for the Portuguese King to grant what he came to ask.

D. Pedro of Portugal sent a message to that effect couched in gentle terms, through D. João Alfonso Tello, to the dispossessed king, who, retreating to Albuquerque and not being received there, besought a safe conduct across Portugal in the direction of Galicia.

The King sent the Count of Barcellos and Alvaro Pires de Castro to accompany him as far as Lamego, from whence he proceeded to

embark in Galicia for Bayonne. But the Portuguese King did not allow him to take the daughter of Trastamara, D. Leonor, whom he held possession of as a hostage.

In view of the triumphant usurpation of the neighbouring kingdom, Portuguese policy appears to preserve a dignified reserve.

It was the new King, D. Henry of Trastamara, who was the first to come forward and endeavour to enter into a negotiation for peace and friendship, by addressing a letter to D. Pedro to express his cordial wishes and solicit him to send envoys to the frontiers, in order to confer with those he should himself send, and arrange a treaty between the two crowns. And in effect, towards the end of 1366, the Portuguese envoys, D. João, Bishop of Evora, and D. Alvaro Gonçalves, Prior of the Hospital, met in Caia the envoys of Castille, D. Juan, Bishop of Badajoz, and Diogo Gomes de Toledo, and ratified the treaty of peace and alliance celebrated in Agreda between the Kings D. Diniz and D. Ferdinand; moreover, arranging that D. Henry should urge upon the King of Aragon to reconcile himself with the King of Portugal and grant peace and free liberty to D. Maria, the widow of the assassinated Infante D. Ferdinand of Aragon, with all belonging to her.

Soon after this event, two ambassadors arrived from the King of Aragon—Fr. Guillen Conil, the Prior of San Domingos of Barcelona, and Alfonso Castel-Novo—to definitely establish peace with the Portuguese King, and beseech in marriage the hand of his daughter, the Infanta D. Isabel, for the brother of the Aragonese Queen, D. Fadrique, King of Sicily.

While thus rapidly sketching the tangled web of the external policy of the kingdom, we have been unable to speak of the interior government of the country, wherein may be characteristically traced the historic features of D. Pedro.

In 1361 he convoked the Cortes in Elvas, which met on 23rd March. To the individual complaints of the various States of the kingdom succeeded a lengthened tissue of evils which oppressed the people, and the needs of the clergy and of the nobility. As was natural, the people were those who had most to complain, and these complaints were brought forward by the representatives of the Councils, who did not hesitate to express them in severe and daring language.

D. Pedro was possessed of a high sense of justice, and, moreover, desiring to win the popular favour in order to strengthen his royal authority by the strong arm of the popular classes, who were more or

less always agitated by the rise and fall of historic and social evolutions, and who now were lifting up their heads in proportion as feudal traditions declined, at once took up these complaints to vigorously redress them. The administration of justice was provoking general dissatisfaction. Torture was applied and abused; investigations were despotically carried out in an arbitrary manner; accusations were brought forward against the minions of the law that they delayed and involved law suits. The nobles complained of violation of their privileges. . The clergy likewise demanded the rights of respect for the immunities conferred, arranged, or attributed to the Church. In a word, it was a long list of grievances which all classes brought forward.

Portuguese society had arrived to the limits of civil consolidation, and found in this King the opportune expression—rude, no doubt, but sincere and necessary—of a more firm and wider rule than the direct oligarchic rights of the conquest and of feudal tradition. A supreme force, national and capable of organisation—the incarnation, so to say, of an abstract power, of a moral power, or, as we should say at the present day, a constitutional power—the royal authority exercised by by D. Pedro naturally assumes a juridical aspect; it became a magistrature, a priesthood, a social commission, the embodiment of the law.

In the long and nearly always beautiful legend which enwraps the memory of this King, there are many episodes which are deeply characteristic.

The events which were taking place in Castille completely altered the projects of the marriages arranged between the royal families of Portugal and Castille. Not only was the marriage of D. Fernando with D. Beatriz broken off, but D. Pedro did not attain to see his son married. Two sons of his by D. Iñez de Castro, who, in 1358, had arranged to wed the daughters of the then King of Castille—the Infante D. João married clandestinely D. Maria Telles de Menezes, while D. Diniz married a daughter of D. Henry II. of Castille. Notwithstanding the absorbing affection and sorrowful passion for D. Iñez, D. Pedro married a third time, the third wife being, it appears, D. Branca, by whom he had no children. However, there are historians who doubt that this marriage ever took place.

On 18th January, 1367, D. Pedro I. died, in his forty-seventh year, and tenth of his reign. He was greatly bewailed by the people,

with whom he was a general favourite, notwithstanding his extravagances, or probably for that very reason. His heir to the throne, D. Fernando, was twenty-one years of age. He found the country peaceful and relatively safe, externally and internally, the treasury sufficiently prosperous, commerce in a good state, the throne respected and esteemed, and the general situation of the kingdom prosperous and easy.

We must here speak of the Master of Aviz, who was to become later on the heir and successor of the throne, under the title of D. John I.

It appears that, after the death of Iñez de Castro, the late King, D. Pedro I., had an illegitimate son by a noble lady of Galicia, called D. Theresa Lourenço, who was born in Lisbon and received the name of John. During his early years he was entrusted to the care of Lourenço Martins, an opulent, honoured citizen of Lisbon, and later on he passed on to the care of D. Nuno Freire de Andrade, Master of the Order of Christ, as the King judged he would be the most fitting person to inculcate all the gifts due to a knight.

The Master of Aviz, D. Martin de Avelal, died in 1364. Owing, probably, to the affection he had taken to his youthful charge, D. João, the Master of the Order of Christ conceived the idea of transmitting to him that appointment, and for this object proceeded to Chamusca, where the King was at the time, and communicated to him his project, which D. Pedro warmly approved. He then summoned all the heads of the Order of Aviz, and laid before them the wishes of D. Pedro. At an epoch when religious orders held a lofty independence and prestige, it was only natural that the Order should not accept a mere child as their chief and Grand Master. But D. Diniz, in his time, had so protected the military orders, and at the same time had made them so dependent on the throne, that not one of the commanders thought of raising any objection. In this way D. John, the bastard son of D. Pedro I., was, at the age of seven years, elected Master of Aviz, and who was to win for that Order the honour of giving its name to one of the dynasties of the Portuguese sovereigns.

END OF BOOK THE THIRD.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FOURTH.

1367—1383.

D. FERDINAND I.

Character of the new King—Reconquest of Castille by D. Pedro—D. Ferdinand enters into a treaty with him—New invasion by Count Trastamara—Death of D. Pedro—War between Portugal and Castille—Siege of Lisbon—Heroic defence of the Portuguese—Peace—The administration of D. Ferdinand—European policy—Political events in Portugal—War with Castille—D. Nuno Alvares Pereira—War—Devastations by the English—Heroic acts of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira—Peace with Castille—Despair of the English—Political results of the peace with Castille—Marriage of the Infanta D. Beatriz—Death of D. Ferdinand—Influence of his reign on the future of the kingdom—Political conquests of the third State—Democracy.

Youthful, generous, gallant, dowered with a handsome figure, and an insinuating, affectionate disposition, D. Ferdinand easily won an auspicious popularity which he knew not how to preserve, or render himself worthy. Like his father and grandfather before him, he was a great lover of the hunting-field, but he did not likewise inherit their energy of character, nor the rare political skill which so greatly distinguished them. Inconstant and mild, he was easily influenced by sentiment and pleasures, yet nevertheless it appears that D. Ferdinand, at the commencement of his reign, was urged by useful and generous projects to promote agricultural progress and increase national navigation. Perchance in this was principally manifested a certain ambitious spirit of adventure and ostentation, which is not rare to find, together with singular improvidences and easy strifes, in these volatile and imaginative characters. Probably D. Ferdinand had dreams of a great naval power, since he, though friendly with D. Henry of Castille, proposed to dispute the crown with him when he definitely had released himself of his rival, the hapless D. Pedro.

As soon as D. Ferdinand succeeded to the throne of his father, he sent to the King of Aragon envoys in the persons of Alfonso de Castro Novo and Fr. Guilherme, to negotiate a treaty of peace and friendship. This was effected in Alcanhões, where D. Ferdinand was at the time, and where soon after appeared also envoys sent by D. Henry of Castille, with the same object.

In that small town was ratified the treaty of 1366 between Portugal and the new Government of Castille. But this ratification was certainly not very sincere as regards D. Ferdinand.

The exiled D. Pedro of Castille was negotiating a treaty (1366) at Libourne with the celebrated *Black Prince*, Edward Prince of Wales, son of Edward III. of England, in order to reconquer his former kingdom.

At the beginning of the year 1367, the invasion commenced its triumphant blood-stained march. On 15th April of the same year, Trastamara was completely routed in the famous battle of Aleson, between Navarrete and Azofra, and D. Pedro, believing that he was already restored to the sovereignty of Castille, was despatching from Seville an ambassador—his chancellor, Matthew Fernandes—to the King of Portugal to establish a treaty by which to secure his friendly neutrality, or even his aid, which might be so necessary at any moment, whether against the pertinacious bastard or against the English allies. The conditions under which D. Pedro obtained the aid of the latter had been most onerous, as was natural, and with his usual bad faith the Castillian King had already commenced to fall short of the treaty, by which serious disputes arose day by day among the conquered.

D. Ferdinand received the ambassador of Castille in Coimbra, and a treaty of peace and alliance was made between the kings, which they successively ratified. Up to a certain point, politically considered, the procedure of the Portuguese King may be excused.

The Count of Trastamara was compelled to intern himself first into Aragon, and afterwards into France, while Portuguese policy, wrongly advised, either knew not of the aids he received from that kingdom and the efforts made to re-conquer the crown, or else did not believe in the efficacy of these efforts.

It is certain that soon after the treaty of Coimbra between D. Ferdinand and D. Pedro, the Count of Trastamara, with a small portion of daring men, had broken into Aragon, where he was assisted powerfully by distinguished officers and French and Aragonese nobles,

and in the month of September of this same year of 1367 was a second time acclaimed King of Castille in Calahorra. Similarly as the first invasion, this second one was increasing, and rapidly advanced.

On the south D. Pedro was pursuing his accustomed system of cruelties and vengeance. Forsaken by the English, whom he basely betrayed, he entered into closer relations with the Moors of Granada, who made him pay dearly for his vacillating alliance.

He resolved finally to march against Trastamara, and in this campaign an event took place which was calculated to end the strife against the brothers by a fratricide. Through a treachery of Duquesclin, they were brought face to face. The two fought a fierce duel, and D. Henry beheaded his brother (1369).

D. Ferdinand received the news of this tragic affair on the 5th of April, and impelled by an unreflecting ambition, he at once prepared to dispute the crown of Castille with him. And while some of the towns of Castille adverse to D. Henry acclaimed the Portuguese King the legitimate King of Castille, as being the great-grandson of D. Sancho, he entered into a league with the Emir of Granada for the term of fifty years, in order that together they should make war to Count Trastamara, his partisans and allies dividing the kingdom between them. Not feeling secure with this absurd negotiation, D. Ferdinand endeavoured to invigorate the alliance with Aragon, and sent to that kingdom Badassal de Espinola, Alfonso Fernandes de Burgos, and Martin Garcia to solicit the hand of the Infanta D. Leonor.

At the same time he despatched from Lisbon to Seville a numerous fleet of some thirty men-of-war, and twenty-eight Portuguese galleys, and four fully equipped Genoese galleys. He then proceeded triumphantly in person to march upon Corunna, which received him without offering any resistance. Besides Corunna, other towns had already declared themselves for the Portuguese King, such as Zamora, Ciudad Rodrigo, Alcantara, Valencia de Alcantara, Tuy, and others.

Galicia was held by D. Henry, yet its brave governor, D. Ferdinand de Castro, was manifestly in favour of the Portuguese sovereignty, and perchance, had the son of D. Pedro I. been any other individual, he might have realised at the time an annexation which would have proved advantageous.

Count Trastamara then marched upon Zamora, and on to Corunna, but whether D. Ferdinand did not deem himself secure among his

vassals of yesterday, far from his own States, or because he thought of organising the war with Castille under other conditions, we know not, but we know that he embarked in one of the galleys, and proceeded by sea to Oporto.

D. Henry then proceeded to the Portuguese frontier, and entering in, assailed the territory of Entre Douro and Minho to besiege Braga.

From Oporto D. Ferdinand rapidly descended as far as Evora, from whence he sent to the invader a nobleman and a Breton merchant of Lisbon, called Beltran, to negotiate a peace treaty.

This singular attempt of the King of Portugal to enter into a campaign of that nature, although it might represent only an expediency of delay, nevertheless proves that the policy of D. Ferdinand, adventuresome and weak, was far from being the strong policy of D. Alfonso IV.

Braga defended itself nobly, and a few days after, on being besieged by the King of Castille—that is to say, between the 13th and 18th of August, 1369—it entered into a convention with the besieger to surrender, should the Portuguese King not send succour within fifteen days.

However, on the 17th the Breton merchant arrived on the camp of D. Henry, having left his companion in Oporto, and commenced negotiations for peace. Very quickly were these negotiations broken, and the city was forced to surrender. Setting fire to the town, D. Henry marched upon Guimarães, which resisted him. By promising to induce this town to surrender, D. Ferdinand de Castro, who accompanied the Count of Trastamara as his prisoner, obtained leave to proceed to that place, and taking advantage of this permission, he joined the Portuguese against the pretender. At the same time the latter was apprised that D. Ferdinand was marching against him, so he hastened to raise the siege, and retired to Tras-os-Montes, where he took Braganza, and then retired to Castille.

The Moor of Granada on his part took possession of Algeciras and wrecked the fortifications. On the following winter the Count Trastamara further attempted to subject some towns of the north, among them Ciudad Rodrigo, which upheld the rights or pretensions of the Portuguese King; but besides the obstacles which the winter opposed, what troubled him more than the energy and tactics of his rival was the difficult problem of paying foreign adventurers who had aided him in the Castillian re-conquest. Nevertheless, it is certain that

D. Ferdinand did not desist from disputing with him the Crown of Castille.

Towards the end of 1369, D. Pedro IV. of Aragon sent to Portugal two ambassadors, D. João de Vilaragui and Bernardo de Miragle, to arrange the marriage of his daughter D. Leonor with the Portuguese King, stipulating an alliance against Castille.

By the treaty celebrated in Lisbon, it was agreed that, besides the projected union, Aragon was to make war for two years against Trastamara, and lend to Portugal 1,500 lances, at the expense of the latter, for six months. But the most important part of the agreement was the anticipated division of the Castillian kingdom which was then established. Aragon acknowledged D. Ferdinand as legitimate King of Castille, and other kingdoms dependent on that Crown, with the exception of Murcia and Molina, and various other places. Navarre at once entered into the treaty, and D. Ferdinand sent an ambassador, the Count D. João Alfonso Tello, to Aragon to further the results of the former treaty. Meantime the Portuguese King was appointing other envoys—Balthasar Espinola, Affonso Fernandes, and Martin Garcia—to negotiate new alliances.

The city of Carmona was one of those which declared for D. Fernando. This city was besieged by the Queen of Castille, D. Juana, and compelled to enter a convention, by which, should the governor not be succoured within a short term, it would capitulate. Notwithstanding that this aid did not appear, Carmona continued to resist, and the Queen was forced to raise the siege, in the same way as Trastamara had had to abandon that of Ciudad Rodrigo. But the latter did not delay to come in person to assault Carmona after vainly soliciting the promised aid from the Portuguese King, and at length had to surrender. When the situation appeared thus auspicious for D. Ferdinand, the mediation of the pontifical legate suddenly brought a pacific solution between Castille and Portugal. On 31st March, 1371, there met together in Alcoutim, the Count of Barcellos, as plenipotentiary of D. Ferdinand, and D. Alfonso Peres de Gusman, on the side of Trastamara, when a treaty of peace and friendship was entered into, in which the King of France also appears as one of the contracting parties, which can only be explained by the close bonds which united Trastamara to the French sovereign.

By this treaty D. Ferdinand was to marry the daughter of the Castillian King, the Infanta D. Leonor, who should bring as a marriage

portion Ciudad Rodrigo, Valencia de Alcantara, and other points which maintained the Portuguese candidature, and would belong to the Crown of Portugal, the latter ceding all those she had taken possession of, or had been delivered up to her.

As was natural, the King of Aragon, who had so lately allied himself with Portugal, was surprised at the ending of the pledged alliance and conventions effected, and was filled with wrath against the Portuguese King, and proceeded to take possession of all he possessed in Barcelona and other places.

On the other hand, a new phase was taking place in the spirit of the son of D. Pedro, which prepared greater misadventures for Portugal. The weak, fickle heart of D. Ferdinand was moved to love a beautiful, noble lady of an ambitious disposition, who was married to one of the most notable persons of the Portuguese Court. This lady was D. Leonor Telles, daughter of D. Martin Alfonso Telles, and wife of D. João Lourenço de Cunha of Entre Douro and Minho.

D. Ferdinand of Portugal promised to annul the marriage of D. Leonor, and substitute her in place of the Infanta de Leonor, whom he was to wed in a few months, as arranged by his treaty with Castille. The husband easily consented to give up D. Leonor to the King, and retired to Castille. The lady was eager to be proclaimed Queen of Portugal, and D. Ferdinand, completely blinded by his folly, yielded to the ambition of D. Leonor Telles, and at the very time when in Toro was sworn to, at the request of the King himself, the treaty of Alcoutim (10th August, 1371) by the Court of Castille, he tore asunder this very treaty, rejecting the Infanta D. Leonor as his wife in favour of this new favourite.

The scandal of the affair and the presumption of this woman met with fierce resistance and deep condemnation from the people, especially the masses, and in Lisbon the manifestation of discontent of the burghers assumed grave proportions.

A popular leader, Fernam Vasco, a tailor by trade, even went so far as to address a rude and severe reprimand to the King on behalf of Portuguese democracy.

D. Ferdinand became alarmed, and replied protesting that he had no thought of marrying Leonor Telles, but illuding in this way the people of Lisbon for the moment, he hastened to quit the city with her, and proceeded to Santarem.

The storm then broke out violently, but popular fury, wanting

discipline and a wise, energetic guidance, was spent in simply threats, complaints, and curses. But D. Leonor Telles had skilfully prepared her plans: she had foreseen the difficulties, and reckoned upon meeting resistance, because having possessed herself of the spirit of the King, she knew how to stem the torrent against her.

From Santarem issued stern orders against those who had mutinied in Lisbon, and the daring leader was put to death. The lovers proceeded on their journey as far as the monastery of Leça, where D. Ferdinand, summoning his Court together, publicly announced his marriage with D. Leonor Telles, and exacted that she should be acknowledged Queen of Portugal, and the Court kiss her hand as in homage due, meanwhile endowing her with extraordinary gifts. Only one individual had the manliness to refuse his homage to the reigning scandal. This individual was the Infante D. Diniz, son of D. Iñez de Castro, brother to the King.

A more grave circumstance, however, was the offence offered to the King of Castille, whose daughter D. Ferdinand had promised to marry, this marriage being a conditional and essential part of the peace treaty with Castille, and of acknowledging the Portuguese sovereignty over certain towns.

D. Ferdinand, even in 1371, sent an embassy to Castille, to settle amicably the difficulty which had arisen concerning the marriage with the Infanta D. Leonor, and beseech a modification to the treaty of Alcoutim.

The first reply of the Castillian King was rudely in the negative. The Count of Trastamara demanded the integral fulfilment of the treaty. The Portuguese King insisted in his demands, and sent a second embassage in April, 1372, which succeeded in obtaining the reform besought in that treaty at the cost of renouncing and ceding to Castille, Ciudad Rodrigo, Valencia of Alcantara, Monte Rei, and Alhavaz, which places would have belonged to him had he married the Castillian Infanta, besides various castles, such as Araujo, Alva de Listra, and Cabreira.

The King of Castille on his side restored some places on the northern frontiers which he had taken possession of. Securities were exchanged, and the new treaty was ratified and sworn to by both sovereigns and their respective Courts.

In this way terminated this shameful affair, and the projects of aggrandisement of D. Ferdinand.

Scarcely had the new treaty been signed than the disloyal adventuresome policy of D. Ferdinand prepared to make war against D. Henry of Castille. But a new rival of the latter appeared on the field to dispute the crown.

This was the Duke of Lancaster, the son of Edward III. of England, who had married a daughter of D. Pedro of Castille by his mistress, D. Maria Padilla. D. Henry was not altogether freed from meeting serious resistance to his claim, for in this same year he had to undertake a vigorous campaign in Galicia. D. Ferdinand sent to the Duke of Lancaster one Vasco Domingues Chantre of Braga, and the Duke at once sent to Portugal João Fernandes Andeiro and Roger Hoor to sign a treaty of offensive alliance against Castille and Aragon, which was effected in Braga.

Anticipating a rising, D. Ferdinand took various ships which were off Lisbon, belonging to Biscay, Guipuzcoa, and Asturias, and retained them as prisoners. D. Henry was at the time in Zamora, and from thence despatched to Portugal the aged assassin of Iñez de Castro, who had been exiled to his States, exacting from D. Ferdinand the restitution of the ships to the merchants to whom they belonged, and demanding a formal declaration of peace or war.

Notwithstanding the reply and unfavourable informations which he received, D. Henry sent a new embassage to the Portuguese King, who comprehended the hostile intentions of the latter. The King of Castille no longer hesitated to invade Portugal, in spite of the attempts at mediation which Cardinal Guido of Bologna, the pontifical legate, had attempted, and rapidly marched upon Almeida, Pinhel, Celorico, Vizeu, and Coimbra, and reached the environs of Lisbon in March, 1373, after provoking vainly in Santarem the Portuguese King to come out on the field.

Great indignation was felt throughout the kingdom, and even at Court, that D. Ferdinand should have allowed the King of Castille to prosecute his invading march with impunity upon Lisbon without stopping his course in Santarem.

Lisbon was plunged into an indescribable anguish when it became known that the Castillian army was approaching. The greater portion of the population were in the suburbs, and being unable to take refuge within the walls of the city, some were of opinion that they should form themselves into an army, and proceed to arrest the course of D. Henry at the bridge of Loures, and thus expose themselves to a

certain death; others, that they should barricade themselves in the respective streets which abutted in the Rocio, and concentrating in that spot the principal defences of the city, provide arms to all friars and clergy. The last opinion prevailed, and they hurriedly began to improvise fortifications.

Meanwhile that this was going on, D. Henry, accompanied by the Infante D. Diniz, were entering on the side of Villaverde to lodge themselves in the Monastery of St. Francisco, which was erected on the mountain or hill of that name, and offered therefore an excellent point of observation.

The people of the city who were below became terror-stricken on beholding the numerous forces of the Castillians that were coming on them, and leaving their barricades, fled precipitately with what goods they could hastily carry to take refuge within the rampart walls. Confusion reigned supreme, and while all this was taking place, D. Ferdinand from Santarem was merely sending the Count D. Alvaro Peres de Castro, who was the Alcaide of the city, and the Admiral Lançarote Pessanha, and a few other knights, to oppose the invasion of the Castillians, he meanwhile remained with D. Leonor Telles in Santarem, thus entrusting to a handful of men the defence of the greatest and most important city of his kingdom, in order to revenge himself, counselled by the Queen, for the affronts received from the inhabitants of Lisbon on the occasion of his marriage, as Herculano tells us, or through the cowardice peculiar to his character, as we draw from Fernam Lopes.

When these knights and officers arrived to Lisbon, they agreed to furnish four galleys and some ships which lay in the Tagus, and proceed to encounter the Castillian fleet, commanded by Ambrosio Boca Negra, which had already left Seville.

When the Portuguese squadron was speeding out of the bar, they sighted the fleet of Castille. One of the knights, João Focim, was of opinion that they should open fire at once, but the Admiral Lançarote being weak-hearted, said it would be better to postpone the battle until the Castillian fleet stood opposite the city, in order that all should witness the glory and triumph of conquering. A large portion of the city was, as we know, undefended; nevertheless, he allowed the enemy a free entrance into port!

The Castillians therefore quietly entered the waters of the Tagus without being disturbed, steered their galleys to the naval arsenals

(*tercenas navues*), and calmly landed large numbers of soldiers. Meanwhile Admiral Lançarote at this juncture landed, and proceeded to consult the *Camara* of Lisbon as to what he ought to do! And while he was doing this, the galleys of Boca Negra, well fitted and armed, were rowing towards the Portuguese squadron, which, left without captain or admiral, now endeavoured to fly to Ribatejo, but the Castillians grappled them and captured some of the ships, and thus remained masters of the waters of that port!

Admiral Lançarote was severely and justly censured for his cowardly behaviour, and D. Ferdinand dismissed him from his post, and appointed in his place a brother of D. Leonor, João Alfonso Tello. A report began to be spread within the city walls that some of the Portuguese were in league with Diogo Lopes Pacheco to treacherously allow the Castillians to enter. Among the suspected ones were those who held the keys of the twelve gates of the enclosure. The people rose up and apprehended them, took the keys from them, and subjected them to torture, but were unable to draw any confession from them. Two others were dragged through the streets until they were torn to pieces.

In all these events may be seen the great change which had been worked in Portuguese society during this reign, and the dissolution of the higher classes, a dissolution which proceeded from the example set by the throne. The nobility which was nearer to the King became easily perverted by its contact with the King. The masses, being further off, ever preserved a noble feeling of morality, an honourable aspiration for justice in the midst of the perversion of the aristocracy. It was the voice of the people which rose up to condemn the marriage of the King with D. Leonor Telles, and it was the energetic arm of the classes which defended Lisbon at the cost of the direst privations; and whilst their King was reclining on the soft couches of the palace of Santarem the people defended his country, loving it for itself and for its kingly traditions, and in the excess of its patriotic devotion even practised atrocities towards those it deemed traitors.

The King in Santarem slumbered tranquilly while the people in Lisbon watched over the city by day and by night, says Fernam Lopes. It suspected treachery from within and aggression from without. It was the lion defending the den of its cubs.

In our opinion, the reign of D. Ferdinand, in as far as concerns the third state of Portugal, carries with it a high—nay, a lofty importance. It was the daydawn of democracy. It was the sudden awakening to

the consciousness of its rights. The masses were wearied out of enduring the whims of kings and nobles, and the spectacle of their rashness. They remembered that the blood of their grandsires was spilt to wrench the royal power from the hands of the widow of D. Henry, who scorned the memory of her husband by her life with the Count de Trava; that D. Alfonso II. had disputed with his sisters the paternal inheritance; they bore in mind the anarchy which was promoted by the nobility during the minority of D. Sancho II.; they remembered likewise that they had been only an instrument in the hands of Alfonso III. when he endeavoured to strengthen himself against the nobility and against the clergy; and they also remembered that they were sacrificed during a contention of brothers between D. Diniz and the Infante D. Alfonso, and in a similar conflict between D. Diniz and his son. That on account of the repudiation of the daughter of D. Alfonso IV. they had to fight against the Castillians for the space of four years; and in order to avenge the death of the favourite, Iñez de Castro, they had seen the horizon to the north of the country reddened by the conflagrations which rose up, because the vengeance of Pedro I. passed over towns and cities like the genius of extermination; and now it sees before it the beautiful Leonor de Telles spreading more and more her powerful influence, like the lethal tree, which spreads its branches, poisoning all things over which its deadly shadows fall. What forms rise up to soften the dark tints of the picture? Scarcely two. The heroic form of Alfonso Henry the Conqueror and the sweet, gentle figure of the saintly Queen Isabel!

The people awake from its torpid sleep: it is the lion which is aroused. It suddenly comprehends that the blood of the people has a value, because it is fertilising. And, in truth, the blood of the tailor, Fernam Vasques, was duly prized by the spirit of the people, and fertilised the earth over which it fell, infusing life into the germs of democracy. Its conscience is also awakened, and the people understand that among their rights is the one of making kings, and later on they comprehended that it could also unmake them. D. John I. belongs to the number of the kings created by the people. From the moment of the acclamation of the Master of Aviz a representative government commences to germinate in Portugal, and the people are made conscious that it has a voice. When the people of Lisbon began to understand their grand and noble mission they endeavoured to win their rights at the sacrifice of their lives and properties. The Castillians, on learning

that the inhabitants of the city had, on fleeing to take refuge within the walls, cast all their valuables into the wells, endeavoured to hook them up, from which resulted fights and skirmishes with the Portuguese, who fought with such daring that D. Henry, who watched them from his point of observation in the Monastery of St. Francisco, was struck with admiration. The incursions of the besiegers were frequent, and signalised by the cutting down of vineyards and olive plantations, by sacking the houses, setting fire to the farms and homesteads. One of these incursions, led by the son of the King of Castille, proceeded towards Cascaes, which, being poorly defended, surrendered, many of the inhabitants made prisoners, and their houses pillaged. Moreover, as the Castillians had taken possession of some residences close to the ramparts, and from thence shot arrows upon the besieged, the latter resolved upon setting fire to these houses. When the Castillians beheld the glare of the first conflagration they tried to rob all the city and then set it on fire, saying that as the Portuguese desired to kindle a fire, they would assist them to keep it up. The whole of the Rua Nova, with its important commercial establishments, was burnt down, as well as the parishes of Santa Magdalena and San Julião, comprehended in the new town of Gibraltar to the south of the Episcopal See. It was an enormous devastation, while the greed for robbing increased on a par with the desire of destruction, which laid waste the finest streets of Lisbon. The Castillians even went so far as to wrench the gates of the Custom House of the city—which gates, Fernam Lopes tells us, were of exquisite beauty—in order to carry them away when they should return to Castille, and if they did not effect equal damage to the magnificent bronze horses of the fountain of Rua Nova, it was because the Portuguese removed them in time to save them from destruction.

But, despite all this, the greater part of the population of Lisbon gathered together within the narrow circle of the rampart walls continued energetically to resist all the horrors of the siege, without allowing the magnitude of the devastations effected to dishearten them, or the spectacle of famine and thirst, which lay before them, to weaken their resistance for a single moment.

Meantime the province of Minho was invaded by the *Adiantado* of Gallicia, Pedro Rodrigues Sarmento, and the Count of Côa, D. Henry Manuel, came out to encounter him, with all the people he could gather together, but the Portuguese were defeated. Then the Alcaide of the

Castle of Faria, Nuno Gonçalves, delivered up the castle to the care of his son, and sallied out with his troops to avenge the Portuguese, but was conquered and taken prisoner. Suspecting that the Castillians would take him as a prisoner to the castle walls and there inflict torments upon him in order that his son, to save his father, should deliver up the fortress, besought the *Adiantado* of Gallicia to take him to the castle because he desired to counsel his son to surrender. This was granted, and the Castillian troops, with Pedro Sarmento at their head, accompanied Nuno Gonçalves. On reaching the fortress, the Alcaide summoned his son, and in presence of the Castillians, instead of advising him to surrender, bade him resist. The Castillians, who beheld how they had been deceived, struck him down with swords and lances; but the Castle of Faria was saved, because the youthful Alcaide, inspirited by the words of his father, resisted until, in despair, the Gallicians were forced to raise the siege.

Happy the people who would not allow themselves to be corrupted by the cowardice of their king, and found the way to defend so heroically the land of their birth!

D. Henry of Castille fully comprehended this sublime truth, and desired to raise the siege. In this sense he consulted his counsellor, Diogo Lopes Pacheco, who had begun life by assassinating a woman, and ended by being a traitor to his country.*

Pacheco was considerably astonished at the discouragement of the Castillian King, and replied that the Portuguese were within the ramparts like so many sheep in a pound, and being so great their numbers they must sooner or later be forced to surrender through want of provisions, and that to take Lisbon was equivalent to taking possession of the whole kingdom, which must soon surrender.

D. Henry did not wish to betray weakness, and therefore resolved upon continuing the siege, and ordered four military engines to be prepared for casting showers of broken flints within the rampart walls. This was done by D. Henry unwillingly, because he had seen with his

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* Pacheco was one of the assassins of Inez de Castro. He took refuge in Castille and curried favour at the Court, but when D. Ferdinand ascended the throne, he presented himself in Santarem and besought, not only pardon, but a restitution of his rights. D. Ferdinand granted what he asked for. Why, then, did he again withdraw to Castille? It is the opinion of Fernam Lopes, that as he had counselled the King not to marry D. Leonor Telles, he had withdrawn to Spain, fearing the wrath of the Queen.

own eyes that the Portuguese were capable of great heroism, and fully expected they would prove more obstinate than himself. This is what may be logically deduced from the narrative given, and which we will briefly state.

Pope Gregory XI. sent to the Spanish Peninsula a legate to establish peace negotiations between the Kings of Castille and Portugal. This legate was D. Guido of Montfort, Cardinal of Bologna. When the Cardinal arrived to the Portuguese frontiers, D. Henry had already proceeded to Lisbon, hence the legate's first interview was with D. Ferdinand, in Santarem, whom he found willing to listen to peace-making, as was natural, more particularly as the aid he expected from England was not forthcoming. From Santarem the Cardinal proceeded to Lisbon, where he conferred with the King of Castille, whom he also found willing to raise the siege, despite the counsels of Pacheco. From Lisbon, the Cardinal Montfort returned to Santarem, where D. Ferdinand nominated as plenipotentiaries D. Alfonso, the Bishop of Guarda, and the knight Ayres Gomes da Silva, to arrange negotiations, which were at length effected.

The conditions were as follows: The Kings of Portugal, Castille, and France to make a treaty of reciprocal alliance, for themselves and their descendants, against England and the Duke of Lancaster.

The King of Portugal pledged himself, not only to refuse aid to the English when visiting the ports of his kingdom, but also to expel them; and, were it necessary, to ask the co-operation of the King of Castille for that object.

D. Ferdinand engaged to expel from his kingdom all Castillian fidalgos who frequented the Court, among them D. Ferdinand de Castro, brother to D. Iñez de Castro. The King of Portugal would pardon D. Diniz, his brother, and Diogo Lopes Pacheco, and any other Portuguese who had followed the party of D. Henry, restoring all their inheritances and properties; and he would also be equally indulgent to all towns and places which had adhered to D. Henry.

D. Beatriz, sister of D. Ferdinand and daughter of D. Pedro by D. Iñez de Castro, to wed D. Sancho de Albuquerque, brother of D. Henry.

In the event of either of the contracting monarchs breaking the treaty, he would incur the penalty of perjury and pay 30,000 gold marks.

As securities of the contract, the King of Portugal would deliver up

to Castille as hostages some of the Portuguese fidalgos, among whom would be included João Alfonso Tello, brother to the Queen, the Admiral Lançarote Pessanha, six citizens of Lisbon, four from Oporto, and four from Santarem; and as pledges, the strongholds of Vizeu, Miranda, Pinhel, Almeida, Celorico, Linhares, and Segura.

These conditions being accepted—conditions which were heavy indeed for Portugal—it was resolved upon that they should be solemnly ratified by the two sovereigns. This was done on board ship on the waters of the Tagus, opposite Santarem, at which conference the Cardinal Montfort assisted.

The Castillian nobles who were to be delivered up in virtue of the treaty of Santarem were, however, not willing to make the sacrifice, and they fortified themselves within the castle of Ourem. As D. Ferdinand found himself, by this act, in the predicament of having to pay for the infraction of the treaty, he therefore entreated them not to hesitate; and at length the Castillians yielded to his supplications, and resolved to depart. This was done in Portuguese galleys, conducting them to the port of Valencia, which belonged to the kingdom of Aragon.

The lesson was a severe though just one. D. Ferdinand, who hitherto had not lifted up his arm to defend the nation and his subjects, judged it expedient now to erect a wall of defence around Lisbon, and decreed that the expense of this construction be defrayed by the neigh bouring towns. This wall was commenced in September, 1373, and was concluded two years later. The new gates of the rampart wall numbered thirty-four, besides twelve which already existed, and upon the wall itself seventy-seven towers were erected.

When the inhabitants of Lisbon beheld the stonemasons and labourers hastening from the suburbs and encamping close to the works, they began to curse the King who thus erected this new bulwark to please his idle notions, and who had calmly witnessed the people bravely defending the ancient bulwark; but in proportion as the walls rose up, the people of the city were forced to acknowledge that they really required some further defences, which they could not possibly hope to obtain personally from the King.

On concluding and signing the treaty of peace with France and Castille, D. Ferdinand strove to establish a prudent and wise administration in the interior of the kingdom, and maintain skilful diplomatic relations externally, with the object of awaiting the results of the

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measures he had taken with respect to agriculture. These measures constituted the celebrated law called *Sesmarias*, which "enjoined that all proprietors of arable land be compelled to cultivate it, either on his own account or by others; and these said cultivators be obliged also to have the necessary number of oxen for the proper working of the land; and should the oxen be on other land at exorbitant prices, the authorities of the councils to compel the owners to sell the oxen at reasonable prices. The lands which, notwithstanding these laws, were not worked advantageously by their proprietors, would be at once confiscated, and reverted to the profit of the municipality, who would see that these said lands be cultivated on its own account, and receive the rentals." Sons of farmers who were not employed in some office of importance to the republic, or could not prove to possess five hundred pounds of their own, were obliged to employ their time in agricultural labour, either cultivating their own heritage or taking that of others on hire, or should their means not allow of this, they must serve as journeymen labourers on the lands of more wealthy agriculturists. Besides this, it was not permitted to any one to have oxen who had no lands to cultivate, and those who had oxen must work lands in proportion to the number of oxen; or, on the contrary, would forfeit them, to the profit of the municipality.

Beggars and vagrants were by law obliged to work, under pain of the lash for the first offence, and expulsion on the second conviction.

Such measures must ensure some results in course of time, although not so great as the enthusiasts of D. Ferdinand would wish us to suppose, because it was very difficult, if not impossible, to carry out the law in all its force, since it depended in a great measure on a general fiscal watchfulness, which must needs be strict to be of any use.

But D. Ferdinand was wishing to obtain means, even at the expense of promulgating laws which deeply affected property and private rights. It appears, however, that he had in view a fresh strife, and that he secretly entertained the idea of entering into a new war, or rather series of wars.

He issued orders that all Portuguese intending to construct ships of one hundred tonnage and upwards might cut down the necessary timber from the royal forests, and that all materials imported from abroad for that object should enter free of duty, likewise all required from other ships which bartered or sold; that proprietors of shipping be also exempted from paying custom-house dues for merchandise which

they carried as freight during the first voyage, and on their return voyage entered into the port of Lisbon.

These measures, while infusing fresh spirit into the merchant navy, were injurious to the royal navy, since it placed the timber for the construction of its ships at the disposal of private proprietors; besides which, the exemption from duties on the sale of ships might prove prejudicial to the nation if foreign Governments purchased these constructions in any considerable number. Thus, under the ostentation of converting Portugal into a dockyard for the whole of Europe, we behold the dangers he incurred, more particularly as D. Ferdinand was projecting a new war, and by the treaty of Santarem he was bound to expel the English from all Portuguese ports, thus offering to a powerful nation a deep provocation, and bound himself to furnish the King of Castille, whenever he should need it, the aid of the Portuguese fleet when sending a squadron of a certain importance against England; therefore it appears to us that the guarantees granted to the merchant navy ought not to have been so ample and open.

During the reign of D. Ferdinand there already existed, in the city of Oporto, a commercial exchange, created at the request of the merchants of Portugal and the Algarve, by the King D. Diniz, in the year 1293. As a consequence of the measures adopted by D. Ferdinand, he had to amplify and extend in Lisbon the institution of commercial exchanges which embraced the contributions of the whole commercial body. In the amplification of the establishment of *bourses* was added the *Statutes of a company of ships* organised by D. Ferdinand, the object of which was to indemnify the owners for the losses of any of their ships.

Hence the commercial exchange was neither more nor less than the accumulation of a fund resulting from commercial imposts, which were designed for assigning a pension to merchants in precarious circumstances. Therefore the glory of founding this institution was not due to D. Ferdinand, but only that of widening the object, of this, which may be justly called a commercial association, because from the moment that D. Ferdinand offered such ample privileges to the merchant navy, there necessarily followed the further privilege of preserving the owner against the loss of ship and cargo. From this need, and from the former institution of commercial exchanges, naturally resulted the erection of the first company established for maritime insurances. We may add, in passing, that owing to the perturbations which arose in the

kingdom after the death of Ferdinand—perturbations which affected the establishment of exchanges—D. John I. had to renew them by a provision from Santarem, dated 11th July, 1397.

We must here mention, that owing to the enormous outlay which had taken place on account of the wars with Castille, D. Ferdinand, fearing to be censured for the step he was taking of altering the coinage which avowed the poverty of the kingdom, effected this change secretly. Fernam Lopes tells us "that D. Ferdinand took this resolution without the consent of the people of his kingdom, or even the knowledge of the prelates, nor any other consent." The secret design of D. Ferdinand for doing this was, according to the testimony of Chagas, because ever since he celebrated the peace treaty of Alcoutim, he nurtured a deep odium against the King of Aragon, who had, with very little ceremony, taken possession of the Portuguese gold, which he had sent to Barcelona for defraying the expenses of the war which had become so suddenly interrupted by the King of Portugal. These reprisals were certainly justified, as being allied to the King of Aragon, and being about to wed his daughter, the King D. Ferdinand had made peace with Castille without having forewarned him, and arranged another marriage without first giving even a frivolous excuse to the father of his first promised bride. Perchance the very consciousness of the greatness of his fault, and how justified the monarch of Aragon was in being offended, induced this odium in the heart of D. Ferdinand. We must indeed confess that this trait in the character of D. Ferdinand does not honour him.

After the treaty of Santarem, D. Ferdinand endeavoured to plot with the King of Castille, who was himself offended with the King of Aragon, to make war against the common enemy, and with the King of England to make war to the Castillian King! For this war against Aragon, which so greatly occupied the spirit of D. Ferdinand, the Portuguese monarch was to send four galleys immediately after the siege of Lisbon. But D. Henry, who secretly negotiated the marriage of the daughter of the King of Aragon, D. Leonor, with his son and heir D. John, informed D. Ferdinand that he would not oppose his peacemaking with the Aragonese King, because his wishes were that he should make amends for some of his errors, and for this object to send commissioners to arrange this, and that as he himself had to send succour to the King of France, his ally, against England, he besought his co-operation with six or ten galleys. "Hence," as Pinheiro Chagas

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says, "the King of Portugal, with all his pretensions as a shrewd diplomatist, was no more than a pliable instrument in the policy of others." But he was more than this, he was false and untrustworthy.

Soon after the signing of the treaty of Santarem, in which he had, as we know, entered into an alliance with the King of France and Castille against England and the Duke of Lancaster, he was sending plenipotentiaries to London to negotiate a treaty of peace, friendship, and alliance with Edward III., in which treaty he newly confirmed those he had entered into with the Duke of Lancaster, as King of Castille, further stipulating that the King of England should send to Portugal a military aid to assist him to combat Henry the *Bastard*, King of Leon and Castille; in this way endeavouring to avenge the invasion of the Castillians and the siege of Lisbon.

But as D. Ferdinand was eager to war against the King of Aragon, he did not hesitate to violate the treaty of London, and with this object to come to an understanding with D. Henry of Castille. The King of Castille, who had already experienced the perfidy of D. Ferdinand, besought him, as we have seen, the aid of ten galleys; and D. Ferdinand, who kept in view the King of Aragon, would have sent him the ten to war against he who by the treaty of London was his ally, were not deficient of galleys, owing to the King of Granada having captured some, and being unable to send those which remained so far away.

Meanwhile the negotiations for the marriage of D. John, son of the King D. Henry of Castille, with D. Leonor, daughter of the King of Aragon, were continued. At first the Aragonese monarch resisted, but at length he yielded, despite the wishes of the Queen. This marriage actually took place, as well as that of D. Carlos, son of the King of Navarre, with the daughter of the King of Castille, the same D. Leonor whom D. Ferdinand was about to wed.

But, despite this marriage and treaty, D. Henry was not disposed to aid the vindictiveness of D. Ferdinand against the King of Aragon. In despair, D. Ferdinand wished to confederate with the Duke of Anjou, brother of the King of France, Charles V., in order to make the greatly desired war in Aragon. Diplomatic negotiations were commenced, and envoys were sent on both sides, but it appears that no records exist of this war.

Before D. Henry departed from Portugal, the marriage was

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celebrated in Santarem of his brother D. Sancho with D. Beatriz. Another marriage was arranged at the time, but not realised, owing to the youth of the intended bride, that of D. Alfonso, illegitimate son of D. Henry II., with D. Isabel, a daughter of D. Ferdinand previous to his marriage with D. Leonor Telles. The King of Castille took back to his Court the infantile bride to be educated until she should be of an age to be married. It appears D. Henry feared lest the inconstancy of D. Fernando might frustrate the projected unions.

As we have seen, directly after the treaty of Santarem, D. Ferdinand endeavoured to form an alliance with England against the King of Castille, but as the desire to revenge himself upon the King of Aragon was greater than that of avenging the nation for the injuries sustained on the occasion of the Castillian invasion, D. Henry acceded to the demands against the King of England. But Edward III. was dead, and had been succeeded by Richard II., who allowed himself to be dominated by his uncles, two of whom were the Duke of Cambridge and the Duke of Lancaster. The latter judged it was an opportune time for renewing his pretensions to the crown of Castille, and obtain the alliance of D. Ferdinand against the Castillian King. Meanwhile D. Ferdinand was playing a double game, since he on one hand was leaguing with the King of England against the Castillian monarch through the intermediary of Juan Fernandes Andeiro, a Castillian nobleman who had been expelled from Portugal in virtue of the treaty of Santarem, while on the other he was in treaty with the Duke of Anjou to form an alliance against the King of Aragon.

It mattered nothing to D. Ferdinand that he had recently arranged the marriage of his daughter D. Beatriz with the King of Castille. Treaties, in his regard, especially those relating to marriages, were of small moment to him, and he would make them and break them at will. Hence, being in Santander, D. Ferdinand ordered a council to be held, and informed them that he projected making war with Castille in order to avenge the affronts which Portugal had received from the King D. Henry. The Ministers who formed the council, believing that the monarch consulted them, pleaded for three days' time to consider the question, and at the end of this short term pronounced an adverse opinion, as would naturally be supposed, against the war. D. Ferdinand smiled and cynically told them that he did not desire to hear what they had to say against or in favour of the war, because he declared to them

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that the affair was fully decided in his own mind, and that he simply wished to confer with them on the best manner of carrying the war out with the greatest results.

It appears Juan Fernandes Andeiro had secret interviews with the King and Queen, and from these diplomatic interviews a warm attachment sprung up between the Castillian nobleman and the Queen.

The report of the new war which was contemplated spread rapidly through Portugal, and crossing the frontier, reached the ears of D. Juan of Castille. He soon learnt of the alliance which had been entered into by the English and the Portuguese with the object of supporting, by force of arms, the pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster to the throne of Castille.

This report was not long before it was confirmed by the fact of D. Ferdinand ordering the galleys to be fitted out, and appointed border governors for the Alemtejo. Finally, war was declared publicly between Portugal and Castille in May, 1381. And while the three armies of Portugal, Castille, and England were preparing to enter into the campaign, let us retrace our steps and see what were the conditions of the negotiations entered into between Juan Fernandes Andeiro and D. Ferdinand. Let us hear what the Viscount of Santarem tells us in this respect:—

"Five years had elapsed since the violation of the London treaty, and no diplomatic transaction had passed with England, as we may judge from the absence of documents and the silence of historians, until 23rd May, 1380, when Richard II. gave credentials to the celebrated Juan Fernandes Andeiro to adjust an alliance and treaty of mutual aid between England and the King D. Ferdinand and the Queen D. Leonor, in conformity with the stipulations contained in the former letters and conventions with the said king. And in effect, the celebrated Minister obtained from the King D. Ferdinand and D. Leonor the confirmation of the treaties adjusted with Edward III., and which he himself had witnessed and signed as plenipotentiary of Portugal. And by another letters patent of the 15th he ratified the alliances made with the Duke of Lancaster and with his wife, D. Constancia, *as King and Queen of Castille!* Lastly, Ferdinand promised that, on the Duke of Cambridge arriving at Portugal with 1,000 men-at-arms and 1,000 archers, he would receive the Duke and his troops as friends, and as soon as he appeared he would *open the*

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war against Castille in aid of the Duke of Lancaster and his wife, to whom he gave the titles of King and Queen!

"But he did not confine himself to these obligations alone, but even promised that, should the said Duke of Cambridge be accompanied by his son, the King D. Ferdinand *would give him in marriage his own daughter D. Beatriz, and would have him proclaimed and acknowledged King of Portugal after his death, as had been promised in his name by Juan Fernandes Andeiro,* while he directly made the same declarations to the Duke of Cambridge in a letter dated on 15th July, and likewise signed by the Queen D. Leonor.

"Notwithstanding that England was at that epoch engaged in war with France and Scotland, the King of England and his Council judged it expedient to send troops to the King D. Ferdinand to continue the war with Castille. But this decision displeased the English, because the King of Portugal intended this war to be one of extermination against the King of Castille, in which he had been hitherto unsuccessful, and it was these losses experienced by D. Ferdinand which had induced him to exact from the English alliance aids for continuing this very war. On the other hand, it was not an easy matter for England to send out troops when she had to defend her own sea-coasts. The influence of the Duke of Lancaster was, however, very great in the Council, and therefore it was resolved to send troops to the King D. Ferdinand, taking as a pretext for so doing that the King of Castille was a deadly enemy to England, while in this solely prevailed the private interest of the Duke. The latter assumed the title of King of Castille by reason of the rights of his wife, who was the daughter of D. Pedro of Castille. After obtaining the approbation of Parliament, the troops were organised and the command given to his brother, the Duke of Cambridge. At this moment the amnesty or truce made with Scotland had nearly expired, and it was resolved in Council that, owing to the above-mentioned circumstance, a proposal be made to the King of Scotland to prolong the term of amnesty, in order to enable troops to be sent to Portugal. For this object the Council appointed and sent ambassadors to the frontiers, where they joined those sent to Scotland."

In truth, it is a difficult matter to adjust these rapid changes in the policy of D. Ferdinand to a criticism which will satisfy the spirit of the reader. The caprices of the King were such that no possible explanation can be given otherwise than that his policy proceeded

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from a morbid state peculiar to his organisation. The historian Schœffer leads us to infer that the alliance with England was moved by the Queen D. Leonor, to whom the treaty concluded with Castille was displeasing, because her own influence would thereby be diminished after the demise of the King. But Fernam Lopes asserts that D. Leonor desired that her daughter should marry in Castille, in order that she should be regent in the event of the death of the King D. Ferdinand, as was agreed upon in the treaties with the Duke de Benavente, and in this way she would freely take possession of the kingdom. And, in truth, what appears most expedient to D. Leonor was that her daughter should marry in Castille either the King or his successor, because by this means there was a probability of becoming regent of Portugal. Facts tend to demonstrate that she was bent on dissolving the contract of marriage of D. Beatriz with the Duke of Benavente, who was not heir to the throne of Castille, and in signing a new contract for the marriage of the Infanta with D. Henry, successor to the throne. The marriage of D. Beatriz with any foreign prince who was not a reigning one would bring to D. Leonor the evil of having to call him to the throne of Portugal, and thus be herself despoiled of power. Therefore we fail to see the advantage which would accrue to D. Leonor in the alliance with England, furthermore in the marriage of her daughter with the Duke of Cambridge under condition of being proclaimed and acknowledged King of Portugal, because by this means, not having other throne, he would occupy that of Portugal, leaving D. Leonor to play a secondary part.

But whatever be the motive, the King D. Juan of Castille prepared for war, and entered into an alliance with Charles VI., King of France, renewing former leagues and confederation, while arranging at the same time what should be done in the event that the Duke of Lancaster, his eldest born, heirs, or any other member of royal blood be taken prisoners.

In this treaty the King of Castille, D. Juan, already assumed the title of King of Portugal. It was the Castillians who broke hostilities. The Master of Santiago of Castille entered into Portugal through Elvas, and effected an incursion over the area now belonging to the district of Portalegre, capturing all the peasants and cattle on the way, and setting fire to some towns. The resistance on the Portuguese side would have been but small, had not D. Alvaro Peres de Castro, Count de Arrayolos, who was the governor of the frontier of Elvas, assisted in a brilliant

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manner by the brave knight, Gil Fernandes, come out and pursued the Castillians, who were vigorously repulsed on the frontier.

Notwithstanding that D. Ferdinand had declared, without any reasonable foundation, a grave war, the consequences of which might prove disastrous for the kingdom and for himself, he remained quietly in his paradise of delights, Santarem. It was in Santarem that he learnt that the Master of Santiago was daringly entering into Portugal, and this filled him with indignation. What were his frontier governors doing? inquired D. Ferdinand. Oh, they were doing similar to himself. They were calmly resting. While the Master of Santiago, before entering, mocked the Portuguese frontier governors, he nevertheless apprised them beforehand of the day he intended to cross the frontier. The governors would meet to combine what best to do, and meanwhile that they were discussing the affair, the Master of Santiago would enter in.

D. Ferdinand then sent his prime minister, Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, to the Alemtejo, to bid the frontier governors join together and oppose the Castillians. Many of these captains understood that he sent his favourite minister in the capacity of captain-general whom all were to obey, and they deeply resented this, says Fernam Lopes. But at length they met at Villa Viçosa, with their people, and were joined by the knight D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, whom the King had summoned to the Court. D. Nuno was at the time between Douro and Minho, and the King, when writing to him, apprised him that he had appointed him governor of the frontier of Entre Tejo e Guadiana. The knight at once hastened to Portugal, where he had an interview with his brothers, one of whom was Pedro Alvares, the Prior of Crato.

We must here interrupt our narrative in order to give a brief sketch of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, one of the most notable and heroic characters of the history of Portugal during its chivalrous cycle.

D. Gonçalo Pereira, Archbishop of Braga, had a son by D. Theresa Peres Villarinho, called D. Alvaro Gonçalves Pereira, who was ordained and became the Prior of Crato. The son of the archbishop, in his turn, had thirty-two children: one of these sons, by a lady of Elvas, called Iria Gonçalves do Carvalho, was D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, the Achilles of Portugal.

When the Prior, D. Alvaro, came to the Court, he besought the King D. Ferdinand to allow him to be his subject. The King assented, and

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D. Nuno was actually sent to the Court in the company of a maternal uncle, called Martim Gonçalves do Carvalhedo, who also remained in the Court as tutor to his nephew. When D. Henry of Castille entered into Portugal at the time when D. Ferdinand was in Santarem, the youthful D. Nuno and his brother Diogo Alvares, on hearing that the Castillians were near Santarem marching into Lisbon, quickly mounted their steeds, and, accompanied by a few men, proceeded to reconnoitre the strength of the forces which they brought. These young men, however, did not meet the Castillians, and returned to the castle, where the King and Queen interrogated them. Although they had seen nothing of the invading army, yet the Queen D. Leonor was greatly charmed at the manner in which D. Nuno, a lad of thirteen, so intelligently answered all the questions put to him, and she expressed a wish to appoint Nuno Alvares her shield-bearer: this was not only assented to by the King, but he appointed his brother Diogo Alvares as his own shield-bearer (escudero). It is a notable fact that at the hour when the Castillian army was crossing the heights of Santarem, D. Ferdinand and the Queen were spending their time in these chivalrous amusements, as we know that D. Leonor was so fired with enthusiasm that she declared the lad should be knighted by her own hands. Then she sent for a coat of mail that would fit him, but all that were brought to her were too large, until she remembered that the Master of Aviz still retained the one he wore when a child, and this was sent for. D. Juan at once sent it to the Queen, and it was a strange coincidence that the same suit of armour was vested by the two individuals who were destined at a future time to become leagued in a common cause.

When D. Nuno was about sixteen years of age, his father desired him to marry a widow lady, by name Leonor d'Alvim, who had inherited from her husband a large fortune. At first he refused, but at length consented, and the marriage took place.

By this marriage three children were born: two died in infancy, and the third, D. Beatriz, later on married the illegitimate son of D. João I., and became the stem of the house of Braganza.

At the death of the father of D. Nuno, he was succeeded in his appointment by another of his many sons, Pedro Alvares.

This was briefly the history of the early years of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, but his biography, his glorious poem, only became developed side by side with the greatest political events of the epoch. Legendary art, as generally happens in the chronicles of heroes, blended itself in

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his biography, and invested many deeds with touches of the marvellous. In this way tradition tells us that the father of Nuno heard from the mouth of an astrologer, during the infancy of his son, that he was born predestined to effect great warlike deeds. Prophecies are inseparable from legends of that epoch; witness the traditions of the Cutler of Santarem and the predictions of Master Guedelha respecting D. Duarte.

It was in Portalegre where D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, when summoned by D. Ferdinand to serve on the frontier, had an interview with his brothers, and probably his mother also, because she resided in a house in the Largo do Corro, which at the present time is incorporated to the Palace of the Fonseca Achaioli. At this meeting of the Pereiras with all the frontier governors of Alemtejo, it was resolved upon effecting a raid as far as Elvas. The imagination of D. Nuno, excited and swayed by the ardour of youth, already conjured up triumphs which he was impatient to realise. When they were marching upon Elvas, D. Nuno wended his way amid a wood, perchance dreaming of warlike deeds, and beheld in the distance, on the brow of a hill, a multitude of people. The sun, which was breaking through the horizon in the east, glinted on the polished steels, and threw out dazzling gleams. D. Nuno at once hastened back to his companions to apprise them that he had sighted the enemy, and that they were indeed going to war. But his disappointment was very great when they perceived that what D. Nuno had seen in the far distance was a train of war preceding the advance guard of the Portuguese, which was accompanied by foot-soldiers armed with the lances which he had beheld gleaming in the sunrise.

On arriving to Elvas, they stopped to deliberate upon what was best to be done. A report was then spread that D. João, the assassin of D. Maria Telles, was coming with a large body of foot-soldiers and cavalry to aid the Master of Santiago. It was therefore resolved that the frontier governors should return to their respective posts; but this resolution greatly grieved D. Nuno, who ardently desired to enter into war.

And in effect the Infante D. João arrived to Elvas with a numerous army, and laid siege to the place. But D. Nuno was impatient, and formed the daring resolution of sending a challenge to the son of the Master of Santiago for him and nine other Castillians to come forward and meet ten Portuguese, one of whom would be D. Nuno. The son of

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the Master of Santiago accepted the challenge, and D. Nuno easily found nine Portuguese to volunteer to accompany him. All things were ready, when his brother, the Prior, informed D. Nuno that he had received a letter from the King, who had heard of the challenge, and was adverse to its being carried out, because the King bade the Prior repair to the Court and bring his brother with him.

The displeasure and annoyance felt by D. Nuno may be easily imagined when he had to journey to Lisbon. On the arrival of the brothers to the Court, D. Fernando requested an explanation from D. Nuno for sending this challenge. He gave the following reasons—first, he wished to grieve the Master of Santiago, who was greatly attached to his son, should D. Nuno slay him in the combat; secondly, he wished to serve the King to whom he owed so many favours, and die honourably in his service, in case he should fall the victim. D. Ferdinand at once opposed this project, and bade D. Nuno not to precipitately risk his life and court death, which he held in such esteem, because he, the King, expected from him higher services. D. Nuno was thus foiled, and had no option but to obey his king.

D. Juan ordered seventeen galleys to be equipped in Seville, and D. Ferdinand twenty-one in Lisbon, adding a galliot and four war-ships. João Alfonso Telles was appointed admiral, and took the command of the Portuguese fleet, and Captain Fernam Sanches de Tovar that of Castille. But how did D. Ferdinand muster together nearly six thousand seamen to man this numerous squadron, in view that the war was displeasing to the whole kingdom, because the people judged it senseless and of no advantage? By capturing the working men and labourers, and forcing all able-bodied men to enter the galleys. It no longer mattered to D. Ferdinand what became of the agriculture of the country. What had become of the agricultural laws so lately promulgated? He tore them asunder. By these laws he compelled all sons of agriculturists and farmers who did not hold any official position or were possessed of a rental of five hundred pounds, to become farmers, even if for doing so they had to hire lands. Yet now he compels all these labourers to become soldiers and improvising combatants, and forces them violently to serve in the galleys; and it is to these men who are totally inexperienced in the art of warfare that he entrusts the defence of the fleet! Under these circumstances, the least he could expect was to be vanquished, and this proved the case; and Portugal was deprived of the two greatest means of recovering herself available

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to fallen nations—agriculture and industry—because both one and the other had been bereft of workers. But let us follow the Portuguese squadron which unfurls its sails and proceeds in the direction of Algarve.

The Castillians feared, and with reason, the numerical superiority of Portugal in the naval engagements which they were about to enter into. But this first impression very quickly disappeared on beholding the senseless acts of the Portuguese, and more than once recalled the celebrated sentence of Homer, which became converted into a Latin proverb: "*Quos vult perdere Jupiter, dementat prius*," and that Racine paraphrased in two lines of verse, which has an opportune application at this moment:—

"**. . . cet esprit de vertige et d'erreur,**
De la chute des rois funeste avant-coureur!"

When the galleys reached the Algarve they were already short of water! But being apprised that the Castillian fleet had left Seville, D. João Alfonso Tello, the inexpert admiral, would not delay to take water; and, contemning the wise counsels of Alfonso Annes, did not combine on their plan of attack, but proceeded to meet the Castillian armada, in the greatest disorganisation, by sending twelve galleys ahead, and at a great distance from the rest of the fleet.

The Castillian squadron was anchored off the port of Saltes when it sighted the Portuguese advancing. The Castillians, who, as we said, feared the numerical superiority of the Portuguese, were well satisfied at beholding only twelve galleys approaching, which completely turned the tables, and gave them the superiority of numbers. Therefore the Admiral Fernam Sanches, who was a consummate military strategist, arranged his galleys in battle array, and, stepping into the centre ship, ordered the fleet to proceed to meet the Portuguese. Running foul of the ships, victory smiled on the Castillians from the first moment of the encounter. The rest of the fleet, which had remained behind, now attempted to come to the relief of those engaged in the combat, but it was too late, because the twelve ships had been captured. Nevertheless, they fought, and met with a similar fate, with the exception of the ship commanded by Gil Lourenço of Oporto, who, under the circumstances, judged it more in reason to retreat, and fled to Lisbon.

The Portuguese wounded were very numerous, and the prisoners were all conducted in the Portuguese galleys to Seville, where the whole population came out to witness the arrival of both fleets, the

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Portuguese flag being carried dragged down on the water in sign of defeat.

Alas! poor standard of Portugal, thou that wast so gloriously unfurled in Ourique, in Santarem and Lisbon, in Silves and in Alcacer do Sal; thou which, even on those very waters of Algarve where thou art so humbled, didst see fleeing before thee, thou sacred banner, the ships of the Moors, which departed never more to return; thou who madest thyself respected and feared by that very Spanish nation which now humbles thee, when, to aid her, thou didst unfurl in Tarifa; thou, poor, despised standard, art bowed down, more by the weight of the hand of a mad king than by the power of Castille! Thou goest draggling down over the waters of the ocean as though thou wert unworthy to float above it; nevertheless, kiss those noble waves of the Atlantic, because these very waters will raise thee up—these very waters will ennoble thee, proclaiming the glory of thy name on its waves, and carrying thy renown to the Indian seas!

The Portuguese prisoners were incarcerated in the arsenal of Seville, with the exception of the imprudent admiral and Gonçalo Tenreiro, the captain of the fleet, who were detained in the palace of the King of Castille.

The galley of Gil Lourenço, which had retreated, entered the Tagus and laid at Cacilhas, but as he dared not hoist the national flag, there were doubts in Lisbon whether she was Castillian or Portuguese. But when it became known that nearly six thousand Portuguese prisoners were confined in Seville, the grief and dismay of the inhabitants were very great.

D. Ferdinand, who was in Santarem, was deeply saddened at the news, and felt profoundly remorseful at his own senseless acts and misdeeds. D. Leonor Telles, in place of encouraging him with words of comfort, told him with inopportune candour that since he manned his ships with peasants who knew nothing of warfare, he could not expect any other result. These words of the Queen, while they revealed her intention of casting the blame on the crews of the fleet, which, nevertheless, entirely fell on her brother the admiral, clearly shows that she was adverse to the new war.

Meanwhile the King of Castille, D. Juan, had entered into Portugal and laid siege to Almeida, and the Infante D. João, son of Iñez de Castro, attacked Portugal along the district of Riba-Guadiana.

When the King of Castille learnt in Almeida the news of the defeat

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of the Portuguese squadron, he greatly rejoiced, because he supposed that in view of these results the English would not dare to defend Portugal; and the Infante D. João, as soon as he knew of it, proceeded to interview the King in Almeida, beseeching him to be allowed to proceed to Seville to induce some of the Portuguese prisoners who were more partial to him, to proceed to attack Lisbon by sea, by promises of ransom and great favours. Supremest degradation to which the soul of a prince can descend!

D. John of Castille assented to this request, and the Infante departed to Seville; but, contrary to his expectations, the Portuguese refused to accede to enter his bribed service. But the Infante did not hesitate in choosing a means, as we have seen, and compelled them to embark by force. But when Lisbon beheld the galley of Castille approaching her ports, she energetically combated them, and the Infante had to retire to Seville, taking with him the Portuguese he had brought, with the sole exception of one, Alfonso Eannes, who availed himself of a stratagem to escape. This Alfonso Eannes feigned great sea-sickness, and when the galley approached Outra Banda, besought permission to land to breathe the air of his native land. The desired permission was granted him on condition of being watched by a sentinel. But on stepping on shore he promised his guard to give him his sister in marriage, this marriage placing him above want, should he consent to escape with him. This he promised to do.

The sad impression caused by the loss of the Portuguese fleet was, up to a certain point, counteracted by the news that the English fleet was approaching to Lisbon. This event took place in July, 1381. When D. Ferdinand was apprised that the fleet, composed of forty-eight ships and crafts, was nearing Buarcos, he quitted Santarem, and proceeded down the river to meet the fleet. He stepped on board the vessel which conveyed the royal party—the Duke of Cambridge, the Duchess D. Isabel, and their son Edward, a child of six years of age. Many English knights composed the suite, and also some of the Portuguese, who by the former treaty of Santarem had been expelled from the country, among these being Juan Fernandes Andeiro. The English army numbered some three thousand of *handsome forms, well disciplined and ready to fight*, as Fernam Lopes tells us.

The landing of the Duke of Cambridge and party was effected with marked solemnity. The whole of the personal suite of both the English and Portuguese Courts attended, and brilliantly accompanied them from

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the fleet to the landing-place of Ribeira, where they disembarked and proceeded on horseback to the monastery of St. Domingo, D. Fernando leading the reins of the mule upon which rode the Countess Elizabeth. The Duke and Duchess were lodged in the monastery, and the suite distributed in various houses of the city.

D. Ferdinand was full of joy at the arrival of the English. A few days later the Queen and her daughter arrived to Lisbon. The English Court went out to receive her with every demonstration of joy. Feasts were held, and the King of Portugal, after a banquet given in the palace, presented the Duke and English noblemen with valuable pieces of silk richly embroidered in gold; and the Queen D. Leonor presented to the Duchess and ladies of the Court jewels and stuffs. Visits were exchanged, and brilliant cavalcades filled the streets of Lisbon.

The English rode magnificent mules and horses, which D. Ferdinand had pledged himself to furnish under conditions of being deducted from the pay. There is no doubt that on all sides horses were sought for to supply the English, taking them from those who possessed them under promise that they should be paid for; but it is nevertheless true that the English never paid for them, and that the King, imitating the English, never paid for them either. D. Fernando presented to the Duchess of Cambridge with twelve mules splendidly caparisoned, the best he could find, and the Duke with twelve beautiful horses, among the number was one which had been sent to him by the King of Castille. It was a strange coincidence that this horse should have been given to the Duke of Cambridge, who was coming to make war to the son of the very monarch who had sent it to D. Ferdinand. The English at last possessed so many horses that Fernam Lopes assures us that each Englishman took away with him between twenty and thirty.

The espousals of D. Beatriz, daughter of D. Ferdinand, with Edward, the infant son of the Duke of Cambridge, took place according to the English ritual, the King of Portugal stipulating the condition that should he die without leaving male issue, Edward and his bride would be the heirs to the Portuguese throne.

As soon as the English arrived to Lisbon, D. Ferdinand apprised the Count D. Alvaro Peres de Castro, who was besieged by his own nephew, D. João, governor of Elvas. The Count was very pleased at the event, and the news soon spread throughout the Castillian camp. The siege of Elvas was raised, and the Infante D. João joined the King of Castille in Almeida.

Meanwhile the conduct of the English soldiers in Lisbon was most reprehensible. Throughout the city and suburbs they proceeded to devastate the gardens, and slaying people who opposed them, taking all the cattle and goods which were brought in for the supply of Lisbon, and violated the women. At first the people bore these outrages uncomplainingly, but at length they laid their complaints before D. Ferdinand, and he in his turn complained to the Duke of Cambridge, but no redress was obtained.

The only measure taken by the Duke was to counsel the proprietors of houses and estates in Lisbon and its suburbs to hoist over their properties the flag of the Duke, with the device of a white falcon on red ground, in order that the English soldiers should respect all properties over which fluttered his flag. The peasants who brought goods for sale to the city resorted to the same expedient. But the English, not content with robbing the proprietors and retail dealers who did not carry the device of the Duke, attacked likewise the property of the King himself, since they took on one occasion all the beasts employed to take water to the palace, on the plea that as they were not paid their salaries they would take these beasts in pledge for what was owing to them, and they furthermore practised the greatest atrocities, some of which are described by Fernam Lopes.

When the English sacked the towns on the suburbs they decimated the inhabitants. D. Ferdinand appealed to the Duke, and after listening to the appeal, he took no further notice, and affairs continued in the same state. D. Ferdinand at last decided upon sending the greater portion of the English to the frontier. The English, however, instead of effecting incursions into Castille and robbing that kingdom, would devastate and pillage like so many highwaymen the fields and districts of Ribatejo and Alemtejo, and instead of fighting the Castillians, combated the Portuguese and took their towns, sacking Villa Viçosa, Borba, Monsaraz, Redondo, Aviz, and even attempted to scale Evora-Monte, but were unable to do so. When the dwellers refused to tell them where provisions were concealed, they put them to death. It was an enormous devastation which weighed on the Portuguese people meanwhile that D. Ferdinand was chivalrously leading the mule upon which rode the Duchess of Cambridge through the streets of Lisbon, and João Fernandes Andeiro was fanning the flame of love in the heart of D. Leonor Telles.

But the spirit of the Portuguese people, which daily yearned more

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and more for emancipation, at length, wearied out with bearing the yoke of absolute power, was casting itself into the arms of liberty, for which it thirsted. The people fully comprehended that it ought to govern itself, because it could always do so with greater advantage than by D. Ferdinand. The people then resolved to hold the English in the light of veritable enemies, and commenced in their turn to decimate them so energetically that the chronicler assures us that only barely two-thirds of the English returned to their own country.

Meantime the English squadron was lying at anchor on the waters of the Tagus, awaiting the appearance of the galleys of Castille. And in effect the news arrived that the Castillian admiral was steering towards Lisbon, leading the very same fleet which had captured the Portuguese squadron in the Algarve. As soon as this became known the English and Portuguese ships were ranged in battle array opposite Sacavem. On entering the mouth of the Tagus, the admiral, Tovar, was astonished to see the river undefended as far as the city. He was informed that the fleets were in Sacavem, and he then proceeded to meet them ; but when he sighted them, and saw that the ships were so splendidly fitted, he judged more prudent to retire to Seville.

It was affirmed at the time that the armada of Castille would not return, and that the Castillians had resolved upon only resorting to pitched battles ; and with an improvidence which cannot be explained, the English squadron likewise retired loaded with merchandise, and left the port of Lisbon totally undefended !

Scarcely had the English weighed anchor than D. Ferdinand and the Duke of Cambridge left Lisbon and proceeded to Santarem. No plans were arranged or any method followed in this war. Lisbon was abandoned, and every attention was directed to the Alemtejo, without remembering that the Castillians returning into the waters of the Tagus might drive the Portuguese to the frontier, and both they and the English be pushed on either side.

From Santarem the King ordered a bridge of ships to be made across the Tagus, to enable the Portuguese and English to cross over to Alemtejo, and proceed to Evora, where fresh preparations for war were being carried on. This was at the beginning of the year 1382. The English were then distributed along Borba, Estremoz, Evora-Monte, and Villa Viçosa, where the Duke of Cambridge had taken his residence in the Monastery of Saint Augustin.

Meanwhile, as the Tagus was free, some eighty Castillian war-ships,

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which had been furnished in Biscay and other seaports, were quietly entering the Tagus. Lisbon closed the gates of its new boundary walls, and therefore, as the Castillians met with no opposition, they sailed on as far as the city, and proceeded to effect a landing opposite the Monastery of Santa Clara. The inhabitants of Lisbon wished to come out and prevent their landing and fight them, but the Governor of Lisbon, Gonçalo Mendes, would not allow this, because the king's orders were that he should guard the city; but notwithstanding this advice, a number of Portuguese rushed out to attack the Castillians, resulting in the death of some of the Portuguese, among them Gomes Lourenço Fariseu, Judge of Lisbon. After this affair he ordered the gates to be closed, and Lisbon seemed to relapse into tranquillity within its walls.

The Castillians essayed a fresh landing in the suburbs of Santos. As no one came forth to prevent them, they boldly completed the work of devastation commenced by the English around Lisbon. They tore along the harvest-fields, robbed and destroyed the castle, and set fire to the royal palaces of Xabregas, Friellas, and Villa Nova da Rainha, and proceeded along the shores of Ribatejo, taking possession of all they found, then crossed the Tagus, and sacked and set fire to the outskirts of Almada and Palmella.

When D. Ferdinand heard of all these ravages, he was very wrath with the Governor of Lisbon, who only defended the city wherein he judged himself safe, and allowed the outskirts to be destroyed. He was dismissed, and appointed Pedro Alvares, the Prior of Crato, in his place, and together with the youthful D. Nuno, his brothers, and other brave knights, such as the renowned Gonçalo Annes de Castello de Vide, he entrusted the defence of Lisbon—in all, some two hundred lances; but the warrior band of the Alvares did not need a further number.

When this band came into Lisbon, they learnt that the Castillians were in Cintra, robbing the herds. They at once proceeded towards Cintra, and on the road they lay in ambush, awaiting the Castillians to pass, and when they did so, fell on them, casting down many and taking all their goods from them.

This small adventure enkindled enthusiasm in the spirit of our brave D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, and at length he had come to blows with the Castillians. On arriving in Lisbon, they were joyously received; but Nuno, perceiving that the Castillians kept back, not daring to come

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so frequently to the front, resolved to seek adventures, since adventures did not seek him. Without a word to his brother, Pedro Alvares, he arranged with his brother-in-law, Pedro Alfonso do Casal, to effect a sortie. The Castillians used to sally out to the suburbs to rob cattle and fruit. D. Nuno learnt that for some days previously they had commenced to devastate the vineyards of Alcantara, and therefore it was to that spot that he directed his attention. He departed with a small party and hid themselves to await the Castillians. They approached, and the Portuguese suddenly dismounted and fell upon them just as the Castillians were ascending a hill upon the top of which grew the finest grapes. The Portuguese pursued them, and the Castillians fled so precipitately before the Portuguese that on reaching the sea-shore were driven on all sides and were forced to cast themselves into the waters. From the height of a neighbouring hill, opposite the monastery of Santos, D. Nuno witnessed the flight of the Castillians and their efforts to swim to the ships, but he very quickly noticed that the officers of the fleet were preparing to come to land to avenge the fugitives. Nuno was delighted at the prospect of a fresh skirmish, and exhorted his party to fight boldly, yet the Portuguese party were full of fear owing to the greater number of the Castillians, nevertheless D. Nuno did not shrink.

Like the Black Knight in the "Eurico" of Alexandre Herculano, who passed across the hosts of the enemy brandishing his powerful weapon and cutting down all before him, D. Nuno embodied the ideal of Herculano in the suburbs of Lisbon. Noticing that his own party vacillated, he cast himself upon the group of Castillians lance in hand, and when his lance was split in two, he brandished his sword; while the stones hurled upon him and the arrows shot rebounded from his coat of mail; and the blows, says Fernam Lopes, macerated the body, but effected no injury. The horse he rode fell wounded, and a buckle in the coat of mail caught the harness of the fallen horse, thus rendering our brave knight quite helpless and his life at stake; but the Portuguese, gaining courage, rushed to his rescue, and a priest quickly severed the strap which held him down. D. Nuno rose up, and hurriedly grasping a lance which lay on the ground, fired by the thirst for warfare, his strength appeared to redouble, while his brothers, who now became aware that he had sallied out unknown to them, on hearing the uproar on the side of Alcantara, ran out to his relief. The party now strengthened fell on the Castillians, who, unable to withstand the attack,

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fled precipitately back to the ships, and in their terror many fell into the waters. Others who had been wounded were taken prisoners and conducted to Lisbon in triumph, where the Prior received the conquerors with every demonstration of joy.

Although the description given in the narrative of Fernam Lopes may have been somewhat exaggerated, this feat of arms is, nevertheless, one of the most brilliant which ennobles the military history of the nation. To behold the courage of D. Nuno when, on witnessing the landing in great numbers of the Castillians, he awaits them on shore with the serenity of a hero, and invests the grandeur of the fact with the romance of an epic poem. But more than this, he was the first to advance his glorious lance in hand when his own party hesitated through fear.

The English, it appears, decided upon continuing the war, and proposed to effect an entry through Castille, and the Master of Aviz was invited to accompany them. A meeting for this object was held in Arronches of English officers and the Master of Aviz with his people, and Vasco Peres de Camões with his own. They decide to advance to the frontier and combat the Castillians. The result was the taking of two castles by their force, and in one of these the Castillians actually besought mercy through the mediation of the priests, who, robed in their vestments, showed an image of Christ from the heights of the walls to the allied armies, the revenge of the English being especially incited by their having wounded a knight who was the natural son of the King of England.

D. Ferdinand, who was urged rather by secret plans than by the presence of the English, resolved upon approaching the camp, and proceeded with the Queen to Elvas, where he awaited the arrival of the Duke of Cambridge. It was then that two new appointments were created in imitation of the English, that of Constable and Marshal. D. Alvaro Peres de Castro was created Constable, and Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo, Marshal.

As it was evident that a great battle was imminent, since D. Ferdinand was already encamping in Elvas and the King of Castille was marching upon Badajoz, the Prior of Crato, Governor of Lisbon, manifested a desire to follow the fate of arms; but the King enjoined him that on account of the Castillian fleet being still anchored in the Tagus, he should summon all the fighting men of Estremadura and hold them ready for orders, not permitting any to wander outside the walls, in

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order to prevent them from proceeding to the frontier and abandon the city itself.

When this order was issued, D. Nuno Alvares Pereira was rendered perfectly desperate. Was he, whose spirit was formed to exercise a grand liberty of action, to remain imprisoned within the narrow circle of the walls of Lisbon! He besought his brother, the Prior, to allow him to depart and proceed to Alemtejo, because it was there where the battle was to take place, and furthermore, because he had already won the right of combating whithersoever he wished. The Prior replied that the order was a general one, and that he would punish with equal severity every transgressor, be whom he may. D. Nuno made no reply, but he secretly endeavoured to gather together horses and arms to organise an expedition. But the secret transpired and came to the knowledge of his brother. In order to defeat the projects of D. Nuno, the Prior ordered the guards on the ramparts to be redoubled, as well as the sentinels at the gates; and by this means preventing his brother from getting people to join him in the sortie he planned.

A biographer of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira tells us that he saw the scheme, and that to all appearances he manifested himself repentant for what he had done, but this was only a blind to another project of his. He spoke disparagingly of his late attempt at campaigning, was zealous for the defence of the city, and repairing the breaches made, encouraged the soldiers to defend the place, and acted in such a manner that they believed his words of self-condemnation, with the exception of the Governor himself, whose experience of life was such that he doubted, or rather did not believe in the sudden change of ideas of a strong-minded man. Some days elapsed, until, believing that vigilance had been relaxed, he proceeded one morning at daydawn with five companions to seek the gates of Saint Vicente de Fora, where he met with greater resistance from the guards to whom they were entrusted. He attempted to respectfully overcome their resistance, but as the laws of Mars holds a higher place in valour than courtesy, fearing less death than punishment, they opposed him persistently, until from words they proceeded to blows, and a cruel strife was started, to which others joined on hearing the uproar, and for a length of time held the place until they were forced to yield. Forcing a passage, D. Nuno marched upon Elvas, and sped on with the four pages who accompanied him, and proceeded in the obscurity of night towards the frontier. On

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arriving to Elvas, D. Nuno described to the King how, impelled by the desire of combating, he had quitted Lisbon without permission, and had forced his way. As was natural, the King forgave him, and this exploit of D. Nuno was much applauded by those very ones who had not the courage to act like him.

Nuno was burning with desires to enter into battle, and quite hoped that now his desires would be realised, because D. Juan of Castille had arrived at Badajoz, collecting together at that place his army, which consisted of five thousand foot-soldiers and one thousand five hundred horsemen, besides a great number of archers and knights; while D. Ferdinand and the Duke of Cambridge with six thousand lancers and many archers and foot-soldiers were ready at Elvas. Moreover, on one occasion the Anglo-Lusitanian army had actually been ranged in battle array on the shores of the Caia, the English Duke with his army occupying the front, and D. Ferdinand with the Portuguese following in the rear. All these preparations and this appearance of an imminent encounter inflamed the warrior instincts of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira; but did D. Ferdinand really intend to make war to the Castillians, or was all these preparations and attempts no more than a comedy, in which the Duke of Cambridge in good faith was acting his part? We shall further on unravel this tangled web.

While the Anglo-Lusitanian army was thus ranged, the ensign of the Duke of Lancaster, who had been sent to Portugal, unfurled the flag he carried, and all the English cried out, "Castille and Leon for the King D. Juan of Castille, son of the King Edward of England!" But the English grew hoarse with shouting and declaring for the rights of the brother of the Duke of Cambridge to the throne of Castille, and became weary of supporting from early morn until midday the fiery sun of Alemtejo, without finding a response from the Castillians, who never stirred.

Meanwhile D. Ferdinand, whilst allowing his army and that of his allies to fruitlessly await the assault of the Castillians, amused himself by investing some English and Portuguese gentlemen with the order of knighthood. It appears that in the midst of this farcical playing at warfare, some one reminded D. Ferdinand that he had no authority to confer the order of knighthood upon any one, since he himself was not a knight. This remark, made in the presence of the English, would have been a great offence, but the King was accustomed to rude remarks, as his own courtiers had scorned him in Santarem when D. Henry of

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Castille came unresistingly upon Lisbon, and he had not manifested his indignation, and now that he was more advanced in years, and his energies spent, he cared not for the lessons which his own subjects gave him. "Ah! am I not a knight?" he replied. "Well, then, I will soon be one." He then asked the Duke of Cambridge to solemnly invest him. After this parody, he turned and conferred anew the order of knighthood upon those he had previously called to that honour.

But was all this, and all the preparations of war against D. Juan of Castille, no more than a simple comedy on the part of D. Ferdinand? Every night two emissaries of D. Ferdinand would quit the camp of Elvas on foot, and, unknown to the English, stealthily proceed to the Castillian side to arrange peace terms with the King of Castille. These emissaries were Count de Arrayolos (D. Alvaro Peres de Castro) and Gonçalo Vasques de Azevedo. What motives could have impelled him to act thus treacherously towards the English? Was it from weakness of spirit proceeding from the bodily ailments which daily increased? Was it through hatred at having for his allies the English, who had devastated the kingdom as though they were enemies and not allies? Or was it because he had reconsidered the inconvenience of persisting in a war which had been so inopportunely declared?

The reason for this new peace treaty we can only ascribe to the indecision of character peculiar to D. Ferdinand. What is certain is, however, that the conditions of peace proposed by Portugal were as follows: 1. That the Infanta D. Beatriz, daughter of D. Ferdinand, wed D. Ferdinand, second son of D. Juan of Castille, and thus breaking off as a consequence the betrothal of that same Infanta with the son of the Duke of Cambridge. 2. The King of Castille to deliver up to D. Ferdinand the strongholds of Almeida and Miranda. 3. To restore all the galleys taken in Saltes, with all arms and furniture. 4. To release D. João Alfonso Tello, brother of the Queen, and Admiral of Portugal, and all others captured with the fleet. 5. The King of Castille to furnish as many ships of his fleet anchored on the Tagus as should be needed to conduct the Duke of Cambridge and his people to England free of any expense. 6. Securities to be exchanged on both sides as pledges of the treaty.

But why did D. Ferdinand propose the marriage of his daughter with the second son of the King of Castille, instead of confirming the betrothal with his eldest born which had been arranged before the war? Fernam Lopes tells us, "because as D. Ferdinand was the second

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son, he would become King of Portugal through his marriage with D. Beatriz, and thus the kingdom would not be joined with Castille." It appears to us this could not be the reason, but that this condition was either proposed by the King of Castille, impelled by the ambition that his two sons should eventually be at the head of both kingdoms; or else it was proposed by D. Ferdinand, against the will of D. Leonor, in order more easily to obtain peace, and thus flatter the sentiments of ambition he supposed were fostered by the King of Castille.

Yet another question arises: Which of the two Kings first proposed peace? Senhor Pinheiro Chagas inclines to the opinion that peace was proposed by the King of Castille, through fear of the English, who had already defeated his father in the battle of Najera. Other authors believe that it was first thought of by D. Ferdinand, considering the falseness of his character, and his manner of effecting it, the mystery which surrounded the departure at night of the emissaries from the camp of Elvas, it would be turning the tables on the King of Castille, whom he would only be too glad to boast had besought peace, and the fact of D. Juan I. having refused to fight; or that should the war be continued, would afford a great moral force to the English and Portuguese, since hitherto all the advantage was on the side of the Castillians. The recollection of Najera would rather be an incentive for vengeance than a motive for fearing war. Yet the King of Castille not only, says Sr. Pinheiro Chagas, pledges to deliver up the strongholds of Almeida and Miranda, but likewise to restitute the galleys and prisoners, and to furnish the ships for the conveyance of the English. All this is true; nevertheless, in view of the concession of the whole kingdom of Portugal, which, at the death of D. Ferdinand, would pass on to the reigning family of Castille, and to the Infante D. Fernando, what mattered the small value attached to the strongholds of Almeida and Miranda? Besides this, we must remember that the King of Portugal was in ill-health, wearied, and could not exist any great length of time. As regards the galleys and prisoners, and the ships which were to be furnished for the transport of the English, we are told that when the Portuguese envoys took to the Castillian camp the minutes of the conditions of peace, the King of Castille did not even peruse them, but was *eager to make public the peace proposed by D. Ferdinand*, and caused a trumpet to be sounded to collect together all the people, and after having had the treaty read out, he refused to accede to the condition of restoring the galleys and

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prisoners, and to furnish ships for the transport of the English. It was then that the Master of Santiago came forward and said, "Is it on account of four-and-twenty rotten crafts which are worthless, and the loan of four or five ships, that your majesty refuses to sign the treaty?" Then taking the hand of the King, he laughingly laid it on the conditions as though to express that all these were nothing in comparison to the exchange of a kingdom. The King at length comprehended, and smiling, took the pen and signed the treaty.

But it was D. Leonor Telles who by no means agreed to the contract of marriage between her daughter and the second son of the Castillian king, who would come, at the death of D. Ferdinand, to take possession of the kingdom of Portugal; and she tried every effort to undo this new marriage.

When the English knew of these negotiations for peace, they were highly indignant, and the Duke of Cambridge openly declared that had he the English army on the same footing as when he reached Portugal, he would make war to Castille on his own responsibility to defend the interests of his brother, notwithstanding that D. Ferdinand had agreed to peace. But the English were detested, and the smallest hostile movement would have been met by the Portuguese with vengeance. Hence they were obliged to resign themselves, embark in Castillian ships in Lisbon, and depart for England, leaving behind a sad idea of the courtesy and affability of their nation, but likewise carrying away with them a no less dismal opinion of Portuguese royalty if they estimated it by the actions of the King D. Ferdinand. The resentment of the English was certainly great and justifiable when later on D. Ferdinand had the audacity to send an ambassador to England, Ruy Cravo by name, to notify the marriage of his daughter with D. John I. of Castille, and confirm his former alliance and friendship with that nation. Richard II. scornfully received the messenger, and refused to take cognisance of the embassage; while the youthful son of the Duke of Cambridge, who scarcely numbered seven years, actually refused to see the ambassador.

The King of Portugal, who was at one time all English, now turned to acknowledge Clement VII. as Pope, at the request of Cardinal D. Pedro de Luna, against the opinion of the most learned doctors of the kingdom, among them being Doctor João das Regras, who had just returned from concluding his studies in Bologna. But now D. Ferdinand was all for Castille. Meanwhile events appeared to favour D. Leonor

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Telles. As the wife of the King D. John of Castille had just died in childbed, and D. Leonor suddenly beheld her desires crowned, it was her scheme to see her daughter wedded to the widowed king. She would thus remain Queen-Regent in the name of the kings of Castille, and on her side would behold her beloved Count of Ourem seated on the throne at the death of D. Ferdinand. She at once sent the said Count to Castille to make the offer, which D. John accepted joyfully, since it gave him hopes of thus joining together the two crowns of Castille and Portugal, and sent to Lisbon the Archbishop of Santiago to betrothe the Infanta in his name and arrange the conditions of the marriage. The poor little bride, although she had not yet seen ten summers, had already changed bridegrooms for the fifth time!

D. Ferdinand was already in very failing health, and was unable to accompany the Queen, who went as far as the frontier with D. Beatriz to deliver her up to her intended husband. The Queen, on reaching Elvas, was received with great feasts and pomp, and delivered up her daughter to the King of Castille, receiving in return as security the Infante D. Frederic, as was agreed upon in the marriage treaty, because the Infanta of Portugal was about to reside in the Court of her husband before she should definitely become Queen of Portugal, which she could not be until she became of a marriageable age.

After the conclusion of the feasts and receiving the infant prince, who was barely two years of age, D. Leonor Telles returned, accompanied by her brilliant suite, to Santarem, where she had left her husband, but he had already departed.

Feeling that his life was ebbing away, he quitted Santarem and proceeded to Almada. But the change of air did not afford him the desired relief, and he quitted Almada for Lisbon. The autumn of 1383 had commenced, and the season of falling leaves was telling its work on the emaciated form, or rather dying one of the King of Portugal, and no one who now gazed on that dying face would suppose that D. Ferdinand had been one of the most handsome men of his time. Feeling that death was approaching, he asked that the last sacraments be administered to him, and in the very act of receiving them confessed the sins of his life with many and bitter tears. The agony of D. Ferdinand was truly fearful, and his miserable want of fortitude in view of the grave and of the mystery of eternity. It was the deathbed of a criminal who feared death; he wept, he confessed his sins, he implored the mercy of God and the pardon of his sins. Those who around his

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bed witnessed his despair, the consciousness of his crimes, and the inevitable presence of death, felt pity for the expiring King, and wept at the sight. Wishful to afford every proof of his repentance and his humility in that last supreme hour, he asked to be clothed in the humble habit of Saint Francis, and thus robed received the Holy Viaticum. On the night of October 22nd, 1383, the King of Portugal, D. Ferdinand, surnamed the Beautiful, expired in the thirty-eighth year of his age, and sixteenth of his reign. His last hours were not assuaged by the loving care of D. Leonor Telles, that woman for whom he had felt so ardent a passion, and to please whom he had so deeply sinned. She shed no tear, not even of remorse, over his death.

On the following day the body of the deceased King was conducted to the monastery of Saint Francis in Santarem. It was for the last time he was proceeding to his favourite spot. Few people accompanied the *cortège;* were it not for the presence of the monks, we might well say all had forsaken him, and no sorrow was expressed. The Queen did not take the trouble to accompany the body. The people murmured at this further proof of her ingratitude. These signs of dissatisfaction reached the ears of D. Leonor, and she understood the risk of her position, and that it was not expedient, therefore, to contemn popular indignation. Hence she commenced to simulate great grief; she cried, she lamented her loss in loud cries, but nevertheless she smiled within herself. The people, says the chronicler, did not forget the evil fame which she had acquired during the lifetime of her husband. Continuing her system of hypocrisy, D. Leonor Telles at once thought of ordering funeral obsequies, and masses for the repose of the soul of her husband, in order to diminish somewhat the bad effect produced in the nation on account of the poverty and desertion of the funeral of the King.

Fernam Lopes tells us that the sepulchre of the remains of D. Ferdinand was as simple as had been his funeral. It also appears that the King was deposited in the sarcophagus of his mother, and afterwards translated to his own tomb, which is at the present day in the Archæological Museum of Carmo, to which it was removed from the Church of Saint Francis of Santarem.

We have endeavoured to sketch the political history of Portugal until the end of the reign of D. Ferdinand, and afforded some idea of what Portugal was in those remote, obscure times. We are now about to enter into another phase of its existence; we are to behold our brave ancestors engaged in an intrepid wrestling with the Castillians, with

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the object of maintaining its autonomy; we are going to assist at those grand scenes in the streets, the palace, the courts, and the wide battle-fields; and after traversing through these periods of storms, wherein the nation's spirit becomes tempered as in a sublime crucible, after witnessing our independence consolidated, we shall see Portugal entering, with proud mien, the path of discoveries, lending the highest services to the civilisation of the world which any nation bestowed, extending its empire to the very confines of the East, and finally raising the flights of its daring deeds to such a height that not even the Roman eagles, spreading their imposing wings, could follow them as they soared to sublime regions which the sun of history illumines.

END OF FOURTH BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE FIFTH.

1383—1385.

FROM THE DEATH OF D. FERDINAND TO THE ACCLAMATION OF D. JOHN I.

D. Leonor Telles assumes the Regency of the Kingdom—The Third State gains ground—National independence—Grand wrestling of democracy—Influence of the Master of Aviz—Assistance lent to him by the popular classes—Is acclaimed Regent and Defender of the Kingdom—Political and administrative skill of the Regent—Nuno Alvares follows the party of the Master—Democratic revolution spreads—Important adhesions—Diplomatic negotiations with England—Financial measures adopted by the Master of Aviz—Entry of the King of Castille into Portugal—Resistance offered by Coimbra—Discords arise between D. Leonor Telles and her son-in-law—Plan and ill-success of a conspiracy—Last political act of the widow of D. Ferdinand—Approach of the King of Castille to Lisbon—Nuno Alvares Pereira—Battle of the Atoleiros—Deeds performed by the Portuguese—Heroic defence of Almada—Death of João Lourenço da Cunha—Reasons for raising the siege of Lisbon—Cortes of Coimbra—Acclamation of D. João I. of Portugal.

After the death of D. Ferdinand, D. Leonor Telles took possession of the kingdom as Regent without meeting any resistance. This had been combined in the treaties with the King of Castille; and, despite the small sympathy and goodwill which the people offered her, she took her place as Regent without finding any opposition. This position of affairs had been expected, and, as a consequence, they accepted it.

In order to somewhat counteract the ill-will against her which had been produced by her non-appearance at the funeral obsequies of her late husband, she simulated, in her retirement within the Palace of San Martinho, all the grief of an affectionate widow. Concealing herself from the public gaze, D. Leonor only allowed her most intimate

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friends to enter, to whom she manifested a most poignant grief. Perchance these tears were sincere, and proceeded from remorse when dwelling upon that man who had lavished so much love upon her, and whom she had so basely repaid by staining his name and shortening his days. Her absolute retirement was, however, broken by a deputation of the men of Lisbon, to propose certain affairs relative to the welfare of the State. The Queen-Regent received them affably, and acceded to their request, which was to elect a governing council wherein should enter some of the citizens of the principal lands of the kingdom—not to change constantly of residence, but to inhabit alternately Lisbon, Coimbra, and Santarem; to intervene in the question of the possessions of noblemen, which continued with the same daring, notwithstanding the laws of D. Ferdinand; and, lastly, not to allow the Jews to exercise public charges or hold palace appointments.

Satisfied with the reply obtained to their petitions, the deputation retired, and nothing seemed to disturb the harmony between the Regent and her people until the King of Castille, on learning the death of D. Ferdinand, addressed, in his name and that of his wife, a letter, desiring her to acknowledge them, in conformity with the treaties made, as King and Queen of Portugal. Faithful to her engagements, D. Leonor ordered that D. Beatriz be proclaimed Queen, and the Count de Côa, D. Henry Manuel, the chief Alcaide of Cintra, proceeded to announce publicly in the streets the fact, by waving a flag, and in a loud voice shouting, "*Vive* the Queen D. Beatriz of Portugal!"

The people of Lisbon, believing that the result of the ascension of D. Beatriz to the throne would be the union of Castille to the nation, murmured and revolted, causing grave fears to D. Henry himself. Some of the fidalgos who accompanied him joined in the cry in favour of D. Beatriz, but in their countenances and manners manifested their dislike, while D. Alvaro Peres de Castro, among others, openly declared that the throne belonged by right to their nephew, the Infante D. John, and not to the wife of the King of Castille.

In Santarem the revolt was more serious. The Alcaide who proclaimed the news met with no response, and the people even drew their swords to slay the Alcaide, who had to set spurs to his horse, and take refuge in the castle. The people rushed about and endeavoured to enter into the castle, but the gates were closed upon the populace, who had to content themselves with shouting all day throughout the

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streets, "Long live the Infante D. João!" In Elvas similar scenes were repeated, and with greater significance, because the people raised another banner, with shouts of "Long live Portugal!" and, in a menacing attitude, surrounded the castle and attacked it, destroying a part of the walls and burning the gate. Aid was sought from Badajoz, which, however, was unable to effect any result. The whole of the nation was in a state of disturbance at the mere idea of seeing the King of Castille assume the royal power. The nobility which had gathered together in Lisbon to attend the exequies of D. Ferdinand, a month after his decease, manifested themselves almost unanimously in favour of the pretensions of D. Beatriz and her husband D. John; but the populace were commencing to make their voice heard, and were manifesting a determination not to allow their fate to be easily disposed of without having a vote in Council.

But the person who was more greatly the object of the fury of the people, and of the odium of the nobility, was Count João Fernandes Andeiro, the acknowledged lover of the Queen-Regent. The people accused him not only of being the accomplice of the Queen, but of likewise being the principal factor in the work of delivering over Portugal into the hands of the Castillians, because it was he who had negotiated the affair. The nobility, wearied out by the insolence of this obscure nobleman and foreigner, who had obtained through the love of the Queen for him such a high position, signal honours and power, feared lest, after the death of D. Ferdinand, he should be raised still higher, and therefore they seriously thought of disencumbering the kingdom of this intrusive Castillian.

It was not the first time that the dagger of the irritated nobles had been pointed to the breast of the Queen's lover. When Count D. Juan Alfonso, the brother of Leonor Telles, returned to Castille after his imprisonment for having lost the naval battle of Saltes, and he became aware of the relations which existed between the Queen and Juan Fernandes Andeiro, he wished to avenge the honour of his family, but D. Leonor, who knew well how to appease her brother, gave him large gifts, and through that magic prism D. João Alfonso beheld the fame of his sister fair and stainless. Time passed, and Juan Fernandes Andeiro was sent as ambassador to Castille. The odium of the fidalgos was not diminished, and the Count of Barcellos, D. João Alfonso, whose purse was getting empty, began to see, in proportion as funds became

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scarce, some clouds dimming the fair fame of D. Leonor. This terrible brother once more came forward, dagger in hand, and receiving the assent of the Master of Aviz and some noblemen of the highest rank, resolved upon putting the Count of Ourem to death. Their victim was to return from Castille, and, as they thought, by the road of Leiria. Hence they proceeded to meet him, armed with deadly weapons. But Providence seemed to watch over that man's life, as though to reserve his punishment for the solemn day when that very chastisement should be a signal for the awakening for a nation's individuality. The Count took a different road.

Fernam Lopes tells us that often was the dagger lifted over his head, and once the order of death came from the lips of the offended husband. Wearied of suffering in silence, indignant at the offences offered to him, and wounded by the deepest odium against the man who dishonoured him, he, when death was already approaching, actually wrote a letter from Almada to the Master of Aviz, bidding him slay Count Andeiro. This letter, however, he tore asunder before sending it. To do this, to confide this mission into the hands of the Master of Aviz was to increase in a formidable manner the popularity which, already large, surrounded him; and, moreover, death was so near. Who could insure that the crown would encircle the brow of his daughter, unless the struggle between the rival ambitions became mutually neutralised? Who would save from the vengeance of the people that hapless being whom he had loved and still loved? These thoughts followed each other rapidly in the imagination of the stricken monarch, and the flame of odium became put out as with a trembling hand he tore the parchment deed, and delivered into the hands of Providence the cause of his revenge. Once more the Count Andeiro was saved.

At length occurred the death of the King, and when all was sadness and grief at the palace, and ere scarcely the last sigh had passed the lips of D. Ferdinand, Count Andeiro, fearing what might take place, stealthily fled, and proceeded to his county of Ourem to await and watch the course of events. At first nothing justified his fears: the regency of D. Leonor had been peacefully acknowledged, and the Count, as though ashamed of fearing people who were so gentle, fearlessly took the road to Lisbon.

But meantime the country was becoming agitated, the acknowledgment of D. Beatriz was meeting a passive as well as a violent resistance. Then reports reached D. Leonor from Castille which alarmed her. It

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was said that the King had arrested the Infante D. John, son of Iñez de Castro, whom the people here were already acclaiming as its legitimate king, and his natural brother, Count de Alfonso de Gijon, being the husband of an illegitimate daughter of D. Ferdinand, might allege pretensions to the Portuguese crown. It was also reported that D. John I. was preparing to enter into Portugal, and this did not suit the Queen, because she would then lose the regency, and her object was to retain the jurisdiction agreed upon by the marriage treaty. In order, therefore, to withdraw the Master of Aviz, whose concurrence she feared, from the Court, she appointed him Frontier Governor of Riba-Guadiana. Therefore the Master of Aviz had to depart for his new appointment. But the people were more or less disquieted, and the prudent portion of the Portuguese foresaw that it was necessary to have a chief who should not be leagued with those of Castille, and this chief all agreed must be the Master of Aviz. As yet no one had thought of dispossessing D. Leonor from the regency; but by her side stood Count Andeiro, and so long as he, from behind the curtain, directed the affairs of the realm, the Master of Aviz could not obtain the position desired by all. Hence two ideas were linked together in the spirit of all Portuguese patriots: the defence of the kingdom confided to the Master of Aviz, and the death of Count Andeiro.

Such was likewise the thought of Nuno Alvares Pereira, who had come from the Minho to Lisbon in order to attend the obsequies of D. Ferdinand. He conferred with his uncle, Ruy Pereira, whom he found of the same opinion. The Master of Aviz was spoken to on the subject, and he appeared decided on the course to be taken, but subsequently changed his mind, because he judged that the people were still too peacefully inclined for the death of the Count to have the beneficial results which his partisans expected. This was conveyed to Nuno Alvares, and, to the regret of this enthusiastic youth, once again did Count Andeiro escape his fatal destiny.

It was at this juncture of affairs that D. Leonor appointed the Master of Aviz Erontier Governor of the Guadiana, as his presence was odious to her.

One instant of hesitation and all would be lost. The Master of Aviz was on the eve of departing; the people, left without a leader, would only spend themselves in noisy manifestations which the Queen well knew how to smother in blood; and the power of the Count of Ourem would be established for good, and his adultery find a reward

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instead of punishment. There was at the time an influential individual of the city who had been appointed Chancellor by the late king, and by especial decree had a vote in all municipal decisions. This individual was Alvaro Paes. As the Master of Aviz had the greatest respect and deference for this gentleman, whose popularity he could not gainsay as a dictator of public opinion—if this phrase can be applicable to the fourteenth century—he resolved, before departing for the frontier, to confer with the former Chancellor. Alvaro Paes at once entered into the question, and counselled D. John to deliver the country from this insolent foreigner, who had abused all things—the confidence of the King, the condescension of the nobles, and the patience of the people. He said more—he pledged solemnly that should the people rise up, he would do so also. The Master of Aviz seemed decided, and conferred with the Chancellor various times, accompanied by the brother of the Queen, the Count de Barcellos, who was in the conspiracy. All things were combined: the death of the Count, and at the same time the departure of one of the pages of D. John, who was to remain at the palace gates, and as soon as he had notice of the event, to run throughout the city declaring that they sought to murder the Master of Aviz. The people would then rise up *en masse* and sally out to defend him, and finding the Count punished, would prevent the Queen from avenging the death of her lover, and thus afford the Master of Aviz some force to impose upon her his conditions.

Nevertheless, the Master hesitated, and, somewhat dispirited at beholding some of his people retiring as the decisive instant approached, he resolved to depart to the frontier, leaving the Count alive. But he proceeded with unwilling feet, and as he withdrew from the city he thought of the brilliant future which the stroke of a dagger would open to him—of what the other conspirators would think of him, were he to shirk what lay before him after so many solemn promises made; the risk he was placing them and himself, should the conspiracy be discovered, as it would most probably be. Pensive, he drew the reins of his horse, and stood still for some moments in silence, his countenance pale but resolute; he then turned towards a knight of his Order, called Fernão Alvares de Almeida, who was chamberlain of his household, and said to him, "Return to sleep at Lisbon, and early in the morning issue orders for dinner, and tell the Queen that I intend to return, because it appears to me that I am not sufficiently reinforced."

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The rubicon had been passed, and fate was now to decide between Portugal and Castille.

It was late at night when the messenger entered into Lisbon. The city was wrapped in a tranquil sleep, little dreaming that the dawn, which was already commencing to lift the shades of night, was to be the dawn of one of those grand days wherein a nation's independence and popular liberty were to be so splendidly manifested.

On the following day, 6th December, 1383, the Master of Aviz entered into the capital, accompanied by many partisans, and proceeded, to the number of twenty, to the palace, where he was informed that the Queen was in her chamber. The porter allowed him to enter, but refused to permit the retinue of knights to enter without first asking leave of the Queen, who was in her private apartments. The Master of Aviz bade them come in, not heeding the porter's words.

At the moment of entering the Queen's apartment she was surrounded by her ladies and several knights, and the Count Andeiro was on his knees at her feet, conversing in a low tone. Her brother, the Count of Barcellos, was also present. D. Leonor Telles was considerably alarmed at this intrusion, but endeavoured to disguise her fears, and, with a placid countenance, bade her cousin take a seat and explain what was passing.

The Master of Aviz had invented a pretext, and explained to her that the district between the Tagus and the Guadiana was very vast, and that it was necessary to have a larger force to guard and defend it. The Queen replied that she would accede to his request and send more men, and bade her secretary summon together all subjects of that district who were able to serve.

Meanwhile, Count Andeiro, who saw all the escort of the Master of Aviz fully armed, became suspicious, and ordered his own to arm themselves, and meanwhile invited very pressingly the Master of Aviz to dine with him. Probably João Fernandes Andeiro had, at that moment, thoughts of slaying the Master of Aviz, and thus put an end to the man whom he and the Queen so greatly feared. Notwithstanding the explanation offered to the Queen, she continued feeling vague apprehensions, more particularly as she noticed that the Master's followers were all armed, and she even went so far as to remark that she admired the customs of the English in respect to soldiers and knights not wearing arms in times of peace. The Master replied that should the

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Portuguese not become familiarised in time of peace to the use of arms, they would not know how to bear them in time of war.

Perchance, still nourishing the secret plan of putting to death the Master of Aviz, or else endeavouring to win him over by a false courtesy, Count Andeiro urged him to dine with him. D. João declined. and taking the arm of the Count, after bidding adieu to the Queen, he led him out of the chamber, and entered a large apartment, where the two approached a window. The suite of the Master followed in. A few words in a low tone were exchanged, and the Master of Aviz quickly drew a long cutlass, and struck a blow at the head of Count Andeiro, who, finding himself wounded, endeavoured to rush to the Queen's apartment. One of the Master's suite then stepped forward, Ruy Pereira by name, and with a narrow sword pierced him through, and he fell dead. The palace resounded with cries and uproar, and the Master ordered the doors to be closed, and bade the page, Fernam Alvares, to run out through the streets, as had been arranged, and cry out that in the palace they were endeavouring to kill the Master.

The crowds rushed towards S. Martinho, and the news spread from mouth to mouth, and Lisbon, which had been so peaceful and calm, rose up in revolt, and assumed a threatening aspect. Meantime, within the palace all was terror, and even the intrepid heart of the Queen became stricken with fear Scarcely was the death known, but all fled in terror, even throwing themselves from the windows. The Queen, pale, and judging she was lost, demanded of the Master of Aviz whether she herself was to be put to death; but the Master replied reassuring her that he had only come to *slay that man who had so greatly deserved death.*

The Queen then regained her self-possession, and as was proper to her dignity, ordered the Master of Aviz to leave the palace at once. But all things announced that her reign could only be of short duration. Her courtiers, who gathered around her, told her so, and the tumult and cries of the populace as they hastened to the palace, armed and carrying faggots and wood to set fire to the palace, fully justified her apprehensions.

At the summons of the page who shouted that the Master of Aviz was in danger, the populace rose to save him, and were preparing to effect an entry through the windows of the palace, when he, judging that the moment had come to show himself, rushed to a balcony, and at the top of his voice cried, "Friends, here I am safe and sound, thank

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God!" At first he was not recognised by the people, but when all doubts had been dissipated, one enormous cry of joy rose up.

Had not the Master closed the doors of the palace, or rather had he not manifested himself at the window so quickly, the populace would most certainly have entered in and murdered the Queen and set fire to the palace. But the Master had shown himself, and counselled by his party, he descended to the street, and leaping on horseback, rode through the streets, followed by the people. His presence was indeed hailed with the greatest enthusiasm, and it was a true triumphal march, which reminded them of the Roman conquerors. On all sides he was cheered and blessed. D. Leonor Telles then felt that she was indeed conquered. What could she do, even possessed as she was with the courage of a lioness and the craft of a panther, against that man who could arouse and appease at one time that lion still more terrible, the people, and that panther still more bloodthirsty, revolution?

The Master proceeded to the residence of the Admiral D. João Alfonso. The brother of the Queen was passing over to the enemy's side, because in his vile heart he could forgive his sister her criminal life and shame, but not her reverses.

But the people ran about free and disorderly through the streets of Lisbon. Wild with joy, they must needs manifest their feelings by imbruing their hands in blood. The Bishop of Lisbon, D. Martinho, was a Castillian. This sufficed, and the people sought him in order to put him to death. The Bishop took refuge in the cathedral, with the Prior of Guimarães and a notary of Silves, who were at dinner with him; but the populace broke down the doors, and hunted the poor objects of their wrath who had concealed themselves in the highest part of the tower, and they were cast headlong from that great height down below, the body of the Bishop being dragged about and so fearfully mangled that historians of the time tell us the dogs began to devour it. After this murder of the Bishop, the populace, to show their impartiality, turned to attack the Jews and make an end of them: these, however, appealed to the Master of Aviz, but he excused himself on the plea that it was to the Queen they should address themselves, to whom belonged the peaceful custody of the capital. The poor Jews, however, plainly told him that he was the only man who was respected by the people, and yielding to their representations, he proceeded to the Jewish quarter. It was not too soon: the people had already invaded the Hebrew suburb, and threatened to murder all,

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and pillage and burn their houses. The voice of the Master of Aviz was all-powerful, and the Jews were saved.

On the following day the Master of Aviz proceeded to the palace to reassure the Queen, pay her his homage, and ask pardon for what he had done. D. Leonor received him with haughty scorn, which was unheeded by D. João, but which irritated some of his companions. He then departed, the result of the interview being that animosity and hatred were enkindled more deadly than before, reconciliation being quite out of the question, despite that not a single word of actual hostility had passed between the two principal actors of this admirably represented scene.

It was at the moment of departure that D. Leonor beheld, as she followed them to the door of the room, the corpse of her lover stretched on the ground. She was exceedingly surprised that it had not been carried away, and indignantly bade them bury him, since he was as great a noble as they were. They heeded not her words, but departed, and the body was left there, barely covered with a green cloth, until the night, as no one would touch it—a sad example of the emptiness of ambitions, of the strifes and passions of men, since scarcely had death touched the heart than it became an object of indifference for those very ones to whom a moment earlier he had inspired love, odium, jealousy, or fear. At nightfall the Queen had the body stealthily buried in the Church of Saint Martin, and she herself closed the slab over the grave of the man whom she really loved.

Thus ended suddenly the brilliant career of the Count Andeiro. His death was the signal for a great contest. D. Leonor Telles, who had been hitherto adverse to the Castillians, because she saw them disposed to wrench the power from her, now turned to favour them, thus endeavouring to obtain at the same time vengeance and a refuge; since the Master of Aviz, now that all hesitation was ended, acclaimed by the people unanimously as the avenger of their injury and the hope of their nationality, had cast the dagger in their midst, and in conformity with the usages of that barbarous epoch, did not scruple to brandish the heroic sword whose polished steel was to glisten in the glorious sun of Aljubarrota. And in order to escape, perchance from the spectres which were beginning to crowd around her imagination, and from the ghastly sight of that murdered body, D. Leonor Telles fled that same night from the Palace of Saint Martin, and went to the Castle of Alcaçova, as it was then called. From the royal Palace of

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Alcaçova, the Queen watched the city, which descended almost to the very shores of the Tagus, and from thence she could distinguish the cries of the populace, which, grouped in knots here and there, gesticulated passionately, and seemed to be driven by fierce passions. Perceiving that they spoke of her, and discussed her proceedings and life, the Queen at once thought of counteracting the action of the people. The most prudent plan which occurred to her was this—to escape from the crater of the volcano, Lisbon.

It was Alemquer that D. Leonor Telles selected as the best place to fly to. Among the suite which accompanied her we shall mention two persons, the Admiral João Alfonso Tello, the individual who, a few days previously, had passed along the streets of Lisbon, riding by the side of the Master of Aviz, and the Chief Treasurer D. Judas, who went disguised as a page, in order to escape, being a Jew, from the wrath of the populace.

It was an episode worthy of the pen of Cervantes. Count de Barcellos was the Don Quixote of the Court, that Knight of La Mancha who, in order to repair the dishonour of his sister, did all in his power, even to accepting the tenancy which she offered him in Alemquer. D. Judas, the Sancho Panza of the committee, with cap on head and lance in hand, was the faithful fat page, who with one hand held the reins, and with the other stuffed and arranged the panniers, filled with the money robbed from the people.

The departure of D. Leonor Telles to Alemquer was an open declaration of war to the capital. All felt instinctively this to be the case. The Queen, on reaching the gates of Alemquer, turned towards Lisbon, and cursed the rebel city with wrathful words, desiring to see it razed to the ground and burnt. These words inspired fear and terror, and clearly manifested the fearful spirit of revenge which was brewing in the bosom of the widow of D. Ferdinand. Lisbon felt it was doomed; hence, disquieted by the flight of the Queen, and left to itself, and wishing to take shelter in the arms of some one who would befriend it, the inhabitants of Lisbon all turned their eyes with redoubled ardour towards the Master of Aviz. The latter took advantage of this to represent what we must really qualify as a comedy, but which had for its object to secure his popularity.

Scarcely had the Queen departed than all the people of Lisbon became disquieted, and anxiously asked one another what was to be done? A report was then spread that the Master of Aviz, judging that

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his life was in danger, intended to depart for England. In effect, a merchant ship, which was at the time anchored in the Tagus, was being fitted and prepared to receive on board a brilliant escort. The Master of Aviz actually bade his friends farewell, and announced his determination to save himself. This announcement filled the people of Lisbon with terror. Forsaken by the Queen, who did not disguise her hostile intentions, and left to themselves by the Master who was their only hope, they felt they were indeed lost. They foresaw the King of Castille, despite the treaties made and signed by himself, preparing to enter the kingdom and take possession; they beheld the Queen, irritated by the death of the Count of Ourem, resolved to favour the pretensions of her son-in-law, and they already saw themselves besieged by Castillian troops, invaded, sacked, unable to defend themselves, because they had no chief, because they had no flag, because they had no man around whom they might gather and who could guide them. All these considerations impelled the populace to do exactly what the Master desired—implore him not to depart, and offer him their arms, their fealty, and, in a word, deliver up to him the supreme power in return for his protection and security.

The Master of Aviz resisted not only the pleadings of the people, but even those of some fidalgos who had taken his part, and the reasons put forward by Alvaro Vasques de Goes to dissuade him from quitting the kingdom, until he was at length induced to accede by the intervention of Father João de Barroca, of inspired mind, and held as a saint by the people, who, by the influence of his powerful voice, turned the balance in favour of the people's wishes.

By this strategic act the Master of Aviz had the art of winning by popular acclamation the supreme power, which he so greatly coveted, in a manner which rendered the country grateful to the illustrious man who was resigning himself to be placed at the head of the destinies of the nation.

Hence, when the Master of Aviz decided upon remaining in Portugal, the citizens of Lisbon wished, even then, to convey words of conciliation to the Queen, and by this means prevent the anarchy which would be manifested in the kingdom. Yet the idea or scheme suggested by the people to effect this conciliation appears to us very strange. They wished to ask the Queen to marry the Master of Aviz, and beseech the Pope to dispense him from the vows which he had taken when invested with the habit of a monk-knight! They wished to offer

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the woman who so dearly had loved Count Andeiro the hand of the very one who had assassinated him!

Nevertheless, it is true that political considerations often smooth down what appear as insuperable difficulties, and very possibly some arrangement might have been effected, were it not for the profound hatred felt by D. Leonor towards D. John. In the bosom of the Queen rancour was a sentiment far more firmly rooted than even ambition, and oftentimes did the desire of vengeance frustrate the calculations of her subtle policy; even in the case which was now debated. D. Leonor had to bewail bitterly in the prisons of Tordesillas having sacrificed her true interests to the inextinguishable hatred which devoured her.

It is certain that the proposal was actually made, that it was taken to Alemquer by the aged Alvaro Paes, and Alvaro Gonçalves Camello, who became later on Prior of the Order of the Hospital. The Queen replied evasively, and the envoys retired at all speed, because they were secretly informed that it was intended to slay them, although they had been received with the greatest courtesy. Alvaro Paes was the one who was most unquiet, because it was he who was received with the greatest affability. This aged and experienced vassal well calculated the quantity of venom contained in each smile with which he was greeted, and departed at once to Lisbon, nor did he consider himself secure until he had crossed the gates of the capital.

Meanwhile Lisbon was daily more disquieted, and, apprised that the King of Castille was approaching the frontier, it was felt that a decision was urgent, and insisted that the Master should take the post and assume the title of Defender of the Kingdom. It was a provisional appointment which could alarm no one, and left the question of the succession to the crown undecided. The Master of Aviz declared that he accepted the mission which they desired to confide to him, but would only do so on the condition that the citizens should meet together with their aldermen in the church of St. Domingos, and be nominated by them officially. The meeting was held, and proved a stormy one. The mayors, and generally the wealthy burghers—who at all times were enemies to revolutions which disturbed commerce—trembled to thus affront the Queen D. Leonor, whom they knew too well.

The negotiations of Alemquer, if carried out, would conciliate all things, and there might be some chance of tranquillity. But the burghers, as always happens, the first promoters of the revolt, were

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set aside. The mob, nevertheless, were murmuring below, and disturbed with their sullen complaints the discussions of the burghers. At length a cooper, by name Affonso Eanes Penedo, rose up, and with a fearless voice cried out—as on a former occasion had risen up the tailor, Fernão Vasques—to the burghers the following words: "What are you all doing? Are you going to authorise what you are told to do, or are you opposed? Because in the latter case I only risk this throat, and if any one here will not agree to the appeals, let him pay for it with neck ere he depart from this spot."

These words of the cooper were noisily applauded by the populace, and the mayors, in presence of this popular manifestation, closed the meeting, and the Master of Aviz was elected by acclamation defender and ruler of the kingdom. When Alvaro Paes and Gonçalves Camello returned from Alemquer, the Master of Aviz barely heeded them. What did it matter to him now what the reply was of D. Leonor? The power was now in his grasp, and his energetic hand convulsively held the hilt of the sword, and he declared, moreover, that he would not give it up easily.

Elevated to an important post, the Master of Aviz endeavoured to surround himself by his partisans, and organised his household in a regal manner. He appointed Chancellor the Doctor João das Regras, and with him formed his council of the Archbishop of Braga, D. Lourenço, and D. João Alfonso d'Azambuja, and the licentiate João Gil, and Lourenço Esteves and Martim da Maia. To the post of Treasurer—a charge held by the Hebrew D. Judas in the time of D. Ferdinand, and who accompanied D. Leonor in her flight, disguised as a page, was appointed an Englishman called Percival—the mayoralty of the city was given to a merchant called Lopo Martins, and João Domingues Tonado was named Almoxarife of houses and rents. It was then that the "Chamber or Corporation of Twenty-four" was instituted, composed of two men of each trade, which formed a species of council, without which the chamber could not decide upon any affair of importance. In the royal seal was then added the cross of Aviz to the arms of Portugal in the centre between two castles, and the title assumed by D. João was as follows: "Dom João, by the grace of God, son of the most noble King Dom Pedro, Master of the Knights of the Order of Aviz, Regent of the kingdoms of Portugal and Algarve."

The Master of Aviz, like a good politician, now endeavoured to gather around him persons of legitimate standing, and as he perceived

that the general opinion was in favour of recognising the Infante D. John, son of Iñez de Castro, in preference to D. Beatriz, he sent an emissary to the Infante, who was imprisoned in Castille, to inform him that if he had assumed the title and charge of defender of the kingdom, it was solely to guard the kingdom against the attempts of foreigners, and deliver it up faithfully as soon as an opportune occasion should arise, because he only considered himself as holding the crown in trust. The Infante replied thanking him for his message, but strongly urged him to assume the royal title at least apparently, because coming forward as the defender of his legitimacy to the crown would most undoubtedly aggravate his own fate.

The emissary who had been entrusted with this secret mission to the Infante returned to Portugal with the reply, and passing through Toledo, met João Lourenço da Cunha, the first husband of Leonor Telles, who was coming to place himself at the service of the Master. The latter received him graciously, heard the reply of the Infante, and kept silence. Whether this step was inspired by the former friendship which intimately united the two brothers, or whether by calculations of a shrewd policy, we cannot decide, because the Master appears to have read the character of both these men who later on became the two supports of his throne. At times the soul of the Master of Aviz presents itself to us as deep and dissimulating as an abyss, or like the spirit of João das Regras; at other times it rises before us chivalrous and loyal as his sword, or as the soul of Nuno Alvares Pereira. It was at this juncture that the latter came to join him, and whose name is indissolubly united to his. We have already given a short sketch of this hero. We need not say that the Master of Aviz received joyfully Nuno Alvares on his arrival at Lisbon, since he was receiving the adhesion of a man who in his youthful days had already merited the name of hero. The mother of Nuno Alvares did not experience a similar joy, because every one around her told her that the cause which her son embraced was a lost one. She came from Portalegre to Lisbon solely to dissuade Nuno from following the cause of the Master of Aviz, but when she arrived and witnessed the enthusiasm of her son and of the inhabitants of Lisbon, she felt within her bosom sentiments of patriotism rising up, and instead of dissuading her son, she confirmed his resolves and promised, moreover, to send him his brother Fernão Pereira. The Master of Aviz being apprised of the motive for her journey to Lisbon, and fearing that she would

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deprive him of his best soldier, went in person to receive her, and overcame her objections and convinced her to side with him.

Hence the Master of Aviz had at length enlisted to his side that hero whose sword was to open an easy path to the throne, and place upon it the great man who bore in Portuguese history the name of D. João I. What could he not effect and aspire to, since he now had at his side João das Regras, the able diplomatist, and the brave general who was to wield the sword so gloriously, Nuno Alvares Pereira?

When the Master of Aviz proclaimed himself defender of the kingdom, D. Leonor Telles was ready to combat at all hazards the man she mortally hated. For this object she combined with the King of Castille to enter into Portugal; and moreover, in order to take possession of a stronghold which might open a path to Lisbon to her son-in-law, she quitted Alemquer, leaving as Alcaide of the castle Vasco Peres de Camões, and Martim Gonçalves de Athayde to guard the town, and proceeded to Santarem, whose Alcaide was a relative of hers, Vasques de Azevedo. Santarem was one of the first places to raise the cry of revolt against D. Beatriz, but, subjugated by the numerous nobility who surrounded D. Leonor, received her enthusiastically, or at least with submission. And in effect the nobility, a great portion of which had banded with the Master of Aviz when the assassination of Count Andeiro was projected, were now almost unanimously grouped around D. Leonor. They saw that by casting down the favourite of the Queen, they did no more than open the way for the supreme power to the favourite of the people, in which there was even more danger. Hence, guided by a vague instinct of class interests, and jealousy at beholding a man ascending one by one the steps of the throne who hitherto was no more than a peer, the Portuguese aristocracy easily renounced the national autonomy and took the part of the foreigner, in view that it was only by this means that they could satisfy their mean ambitions and odiums.

The Count of Barcellos, brother of the Queen, who had so greatly assisted the Master of Aviz, now placed himself beneath the shadow of the banner which he judged fortune would favour. He was the Alcaide of the Castle of Lisbon, and the Queen's colours were hoisted above its tower, and in the midst of the popular rejoicings the Master of Aviz could not but view with some perturbation the foreboding aspect of the Castle as it rose up before him dark and threatening. D. Leonor sent Alfonso Eanes to reinforce

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the garrison of the Castle, with all the partisans of the Count he could find. But these were already on the side of the Master, and Alfonso Eanes was forced to retire almost alone to the citadel. The Master of Aviz judged that, notwithstanding the difficulties which existed, he must take the Castle by sheer force. A rumour was then set afloat—by whom it is unknown—that the Master was in danger, and cries were raised everywhere, "Treachery! the Master's life is in danger!" The populace rushed to his residence, and found him safe and sound, but they were apprised that Alfonso Eanes had entered the Castle, followed by some twelve knights. This news certainly was not calculated to pacify the people. The Master took advantage of the popular excitement to attack the Castle by employing an engine of war called *gata*, and scaling the walls. The garrison was apprised beforehand that it was intended to place the women and children in this engine, and therefore the garrison would have to destroy their own families. This threat terrified the garrison, and an interview between Nuno Alvares and the Governor of the Castle decided them upon surrendering. In order to save military honour, they capitulated, however, under condition of delivering up the Castle should they not be relieved within forty hours. A messenger was sent by the Alcaide to the Queen with this news, and meanwhile the people of Lisbon prepared for the defence on the hypothesis that the aid besought would be sent. The message was received by the Count João Alfonso, and transmitted to the Queen, who replied that she had not any troops ready to send, as the term was too short to organise an expedition, and that whichever took the city would likewise take the Castle.

The news of the surrender of the Castle of Lisbon spread throughout the provinces, and produced a favourable impression on the people. The people of Beja, acquiring fresh vigour with the news received from Lisbon, proposed to take the Castle by setting fire to the doors. Moreover, learning that the Admiral Lançarote was inciting the people to acclaim the King of Castille, they fell upon him, and took him prisoner with his own men, pillaging all they possessed, and sent the plunder to the Master. Lançarote, who had escaped the fury of D. Pedro I., was now in the power of the people, who barbarously assassinated him.

The war between the nobility and the people was openly declared, and abuse was added to blows, the nobles calling the mob *the people of the Messias of Lisbon*, the ironical designation by which they

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scorned the redemption of Portuguese nationality projected by the Master of Aviz, while the people in their turn called the nobles *schismatical traitors,* in reference to the nobles having acknowledged, as partisans of Castille, the Pontificate of Avignon.

The whole of Alemtejo was up in arms. The Castle of Portalegre, despite that it was defended by the Prior of the Hospitallers, D. Pedro Alvaros, brother of Nuno, was taken in a few hours. Estremoz, excited by the example of the neighbouring towns, rose up with irresistible fury, and the Alcaide was compelled to capitulate, delivering up the Castle to an ensign appointed by the people—Martim Peres. In Evora the excitement was even greater, and the ferocity employed unexampled. As the Alcaide, Alvaro Mendes d'Oliveira, offered resistance, the people captured all the women and children belonging to the defenders of the Castle, and threatened to burn them alive, should the Castle not be delivered up. The Alcaide surrendered, but the populace thirsted for blood, and, seeing their fury frustrated by the capitulation, dispersed about the town, robbing and slaying all before them. A report was circulated that the Abbess of the Monastery of Saint Benedict was against the Master of Aviz, and that she had uttered some disparaging words against the citizens who were committing atrocities under the sacred banner of the nation. The mob would not stay to verify the truth, but rushed to the convent, insulted the lady, barbarously murdered her, and dragged her body, torn and bleeding, along the streets. It was the scenes of the 2nd of September, 1792, of the prisons of Paris, which were enacted in Evora four hundred years in anticipation.

In the north the Master was acclaimed with similar enthusiasm, which gave rise to many excesses. In Oporto the lower classes wished to compel Alvaro da Viega to carry the standard of the city through the streets, and proclaim the Master of Aviz, but as he refused to do so, they put him to death. The new defender of the kingdom, on receiving this news, was both joyed and saddened—joyed that the acclamation should be so unanimous, and saddened that the atrocities committed in the first impulse were opening an abyss between him and the upper classes, and were driving into the arms of the King of Castille nobles who might be disposed, perchance, to acknowledge his authority.

As an able statesman, the Master of Aviz perceived that it could not be solely with this undisciplined, inexperienced, yet heroic populace that he should be able to resist the army of the King of Castille, and

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therefore he strove to strengthen himself by entering into some alliance. The nation which was most favourable to form an alliance with was England, because she continued her strife with France; and as Castille maintained its alliance with France, it was natural that the English King, Richard II., should be willing to favour any power which could effect a useful diversion in the Peninsula.

Hence, in furtherance of his plan, D. João sent ambassadors to England, in the persons of Lourenço Annes Fogaça and the Master of the Order of Santiago, D. Fernando Alfonso de Albuquerque. Their mission was to beseech Richard II. to allow English volunteers to enlist in the service of Portugal, promising in return to be ever grateful for their service, and to assist the Duke of Lancaster in his pretensions to the Crown of Castille. The envoys were very well received, and returned with a favourable reply from Richard II., and they not only brought a few volunteers — few because the war still continued with France—but they actually effected a loan with some merchants of London, which certainly was a notable proof of confidence, in view of the critical circumstances in which the Master of Aviz was placed.

This part of the mission most pleased the Defender, because one of the greatest difficulties he had to contend against was the want of means. The treasury was exhausted; the taxes were difficult to collect in a kingdom that was divided and devastated by civil wars and foreign invasions.

But so widespread was the popularity of the government of the Master that he obtained voluntary gifts spontaneously offered by the church of Portugal, besides offers from merchants and even from the Jews, who were not in the habit of being generous, and was, moreover, able to carry out, without the least manifestation of discontent from the people, one of the measures most objected to by the populace—the alteration of the coinage.

The burghers of Lisbon presented him with a sum of £100,000; the Jews, besides their gifts, lent him seventy marks of silver, and many private individuals contributed with great goodwill to the loan asked by the Defender. The clergy likewise contributed to the endowment of the city by giving the sacred vessels not actually required for divine service. The Cathedral of Lisbon alone contributed eighty-seven marks of silver.

But as all the above was still insufficient, he had, as we said above,

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recourse to the alteration in the coinage. The gold and silver coins were reduced gradually; yet all these measures, although most odious, were nevertheless so well received, that there were people who even carried around their necks as a talisman the first reduced reis which the Defender had ordered to be coined. Another measure, disastrous under the economic and fiscal point of view, was the permission granted to the possessors of bar gold and silver to coin them without paying the smallest tax. Many by this means became wealthy, one of these being João das Regras, and it is true to say that even in those moments when generous feelings were most ardent, selfishness nevertheless prevailed—that vile metal which forms the alloy that binds together the pure gold of patriotism and abnegation.

The kingdom continued to declare in favour of the Master, and the towns and cities offered their allegiance and homage. D. João endeavoured to win especially to his side the lands and places adjoining the capital, in order to keep Lisbon vigilantly guarded. He went in person to Almada to receive the homage and allegiance of the citizens, who received him joyfully. Later on, as Alemquer continued to raise the standard of the Queen, D. João proceeded against this town, which in those days was well fortified, and laid siege to it. The town resisted: Vasco Peres de Camões, the Alcaide, continued unrelenting in the fortress.

It is needful now to turn to Castille and see what was taking place. D. John I., husband of D. Beatriz, did not inherit the skilful policy of his father, and all his acts since the death of D. Ferdinand manifest to us that he was not the man to conquer a kingdom by the loftiness of his genius and by wise condescensions, as his father D. Henry had twice effected. Nevertheless his affairs were excellently laid out: the treaty imprudently signed by D. Ferdinand delivered Portugal peacefully into his hands, were he patient enough to await the birth of a son to D. Beatriz, who would certainly be unanimously acclaimed King of Portugal; but, should this not take place, he could meantime allow the years to run on, winning the affection of the Portuguese by scrupulously respecting their liberties. In truth, the odium existing between Portugal and Castille was very great, but in the century which was about to dawn the growing tendency for the formation of great powers would necessarily conquer those former rivalries, and the scheme of the union of Spain might probably triumph over the instinctive repugnances of the people.

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But his impatience was his ruin. Through an act of inexcusable despotism he arrested his natural brother, Count D. Alfonso de Gijon, his sister-in-law D. Isabel, illegitimate daughter of D. Ferdinand, and the Infante D. John, son of Iñez de Castro. These arrests announced intentions which were unfavourable to the independence of Portugal, and as a consequence alarmed the nation. He then celebrated in Toledo with great pomp the exequies of D. Ferdinand and afterwards proclaimed his wife Queen of Portugal, and assumed the title of King of Castille, Leon, and Portugal, &c. The first example of resistance was afforded by a Portuguese nobleman who accompanied D. Beatriz, by name Vasco Martins de Mello. He was appointed chief ensign, and bidden to traverse the streets of Toledo with the royal flag unfurled, whereupon the arms of Portugal were added to those of Castille. Vasco, however, coldly declined to carry out the orders and appointment assigned to him. D. John was wrathful at this, and delivered the banner to a Castillian, who unfurled it, crying, "*Vive the King D. John of Castille and Portugal!*" But fate had decreed the repetition of the scene of Santarem. The flagstaff broke down with the wind, and had to be carried trailing low. The Portuguese who were in Toledo were indignant at beholding the addition of the Castillian arms to those of Portugal. Vainly did D. John order that both scutcheons be joined together. Discontent was becoming general.

At this juncture the King of Castille assembled a council, and announced his intention of entering into Portugal. According to the accounts of Pero Lopes Ayala, First Chancellor of Castille, who was a witness to the facts in his *Cronicas del Rey D. Joan el primero* (1383), many of his counsellors, and in particular Pero Fernandes de Velasco, Lord of Briviesca, who held the office of Lord Chamberlain, were of opinion to respect the treaties; while others, to flatter the King, or fascinated by the dazzling prospective of the immediate reunion of both crowns, counselled him to carry forward his intentions, and enter into Portugal before the Portuguese should have time to prepare any resistance. It was this advice that the King followed as being more in harmony with his secret intentions. He was confirmed in this scheme by the servilism of the Bishop of Guarda, Alfonso Correia, who promised to deliver up this city wherein he was supreme master. This same bishop who lost everything later on when the Master of Aviz triumphed, and whom in compensation D. John I. of Castille nominated Bishop of Segovia, received orders to prepare all things for the promised

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surrender, the King of Castille apprising him that he would quickly follow with his army.

But Portugal was wrestling against an indescribable confusion. The Queen, irritated by this severance of treaties, prepared to resist, and the people and nobles around her were ready to second her. The assassination of Count Andeiro, the election of the Master of Aviz, as defender of the kingdom, completely altered the aspect of events. D. Leonor Telles, in the letters addressed to the councils when she retired from Lisbon to Alemquer, bitterly complained of the Master of Aviz and the affronts received from him, but declared at the same time that she would counsel her son-in-law to abstain from entering into Portugal. Four factions were at the time ravaging our hapless country—one actuated by instinctive patriotism, which impelled it to penetrate the abyss of all these intrigues definitely separated from the Queen, and grouped itself around the Master of Aviz. The populace constituted the principal power of this party; the greater portion of the nobility, jealous of the Master of Aviz, but still preserving in their inmost soul a vestige of that vivid sentiment of nationality which rendered their ancestors so strong in their wrestling with Leon, manifested a disposition to defend the pretensions of D. Leonor Telles, and likewise repel the invasion of foreigners. Others more demonstrative, followed the example of the Bishop of Guarda; others, again, watched, protected and enclosed from the heights of their strong castles, and, sword in hand, awaited the political horizon to be cleared of the clouds which obscured it, to decide which political party to follow.

At length the Queen, when passing from Alemquer to Santarem, flung off the mask, and wrote to her son-in-law, bidding him enter into Portugal and come to her aid to protect and avenge her. That letter reached him when he was already on this side of the frontier. Nevertheless, affairs were not in such an easy state as the King expected, because, notwithstanding the orders of the Queen, the nobility hesitated. Moreover, D. João did nothing to win their sympathies: unbending and ungenerous, he knew not how to conquer hearts by words, ambitions by promises, or covetousness by gifts. He certainly met with little resistance, but found no adhesion. The Bishop of Guarda opened the gates of the city to him, but the Alcaide, Alvaro Gil, preserved the doors of the Castle closed, with vigilant sentinels and archers at their posts. Neither promises, threats, nor reasonings moved him to

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deliver up the stronghold, yet he was not on the side of the Master of Aviz. Vasco Martims de Mello, who had refused in Toledo to accept the post of first ensign, accompanied the King of Castille, but was the first to reprove harshly the proceeding of his brother, who offered allegiance and homage to the foreign monarch in the Castles of Celorico and Linhares; the Alcaide of Trancoso and Lamego, Gonçalo Vasques Coutinho, abstained from taking any measures, and closed the doors of their Castles, while the relatives of the Queen acted in the same manner, D. Gonçalo, the brother to D. Leonor, not allowing the King of Castille to enter into the city of Coimbra. In Thomar, the Master of the Order of Christ, Lopo de Sousa, son of the hapless D. Maria Telles, absented himself from the town in order not to be placed in a false position, and in his absence the doors were closed upon the King D. John; and even in the suburbs skirmishes took place between the Portuguese and Castillians, which cost the lives of more than 500 men.

D. John, silently devouring his wrath, continued his journey to Santarem, pondering how to make D. Leonor pay dearly for the affronts he had received. When close to Santarem a great number of Portuguese fidalgos came out to receive him with every demonstration of respect.

The immediate influence of D. Leonor was beginning to be felt. The widow of D. Ferdinand came to meet her son-in-law with affectionate greetings. Hence the feeling of the Portuguese nobility was such that, had D. Leonor become reconciled to the Master of Aviz, the kingdom could have been saved, and at the same time she would have secured the regency for herself. But the desire of revenge dimmed her intelligence, otherwise so bright and penetrative, and she actually supposed that the King of Castille would undertake to avenge her injuries and return placidly to his own kingdom, leaving her in possession of the royal power! It was a line of thought perfectly inexcusable in a woman who on other occasions had manifested herself such a profound politician, but her whole dreams were now those of revenge. It was principally against Lisbon, whose inhabitants had so often affronted her, that she directed all her vials of bitter wrath.

So greatly did this thought take possession of her spirit that she was going to sell, in exchange for a promise of vengeance, not only Portuguese autonomy, but likewise the power which she had so greatly coveted, and which she had purchased at the price of so many crimes! She willed to break in twain the selfsame sword which was ready to

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defend her, in order to deliver herself up powerlessly into the hands of the King of Castille, who would punish her for her imprudence, and moreover scorn her for her folly.

We had left the Master of Aviz besieging Alemquer. Scarcely had he received news of the approach of the King of Castille than he raised the siege and returned to Lisbon. The ever-dauntless Nuno Alvares desired that war should be at once declared to the invader before returning to the capital, but the Master of Aviz convinced him that he had insufficient forces to oppose the enemy on the battlefield. This prudence on the part of the Captain, possessing true military instincts, was not due to any hesitation in following a plan which he had laid out. He at once prepared to offer a powerful resistance and at any cost. The war of independence was declared.

Meanwhile D. Leonor Telles was taking upon herself, through her insatiable thirst for revenge, to level for her son-in-law the first difficulties he should have to fight against, and was falling foolishly into the snare laid by the King of Castille.

An interview took place between D. Leonor Telles and her son-in-law, in which the latter, by employing an affectionate violence, induced her to withdraw from the influence of her counsellors, and actually persuaded her that, in order to carry out her revenge, it was necessary the power should not be divided, that in the kingdom there should be only one to command, and that ruler must be himself, since it was needful to combat.

Incredible as it may seem, D. Leonor actually abdicated in the most formal manner, a renouncement made in presence of the public notary, thus placing the regency in the hands of the King of Castille, and, moreover, bidding all the nobles to obey him! Vainly did her partisans, and those most deeply attached to her cause, represent to her that this was a violation of the treaties, a violation of the respect due to the last wishes of D. Ferdinand, and that, moreover, as the regency had been authorised by the Cortes, it was only by the consent of the Cortes likewise that it could be transferred to another individual. D. Leonor Telles replied that since the King and his wife were the legitimate sovereigns of the kingdom, it was of small moment whether they obeyed them sooner or later.

D. John of Castille at once began to exercise all the acts of a sovereign: he ordered money to be coined, he demanded from the First Chancellor of the Queen D. Leonor, by name Lourenço Fogaça,

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the royal seals, in order to engrave upon them the arms of Castille entwined with those of Portugal, promising that these seals would be returned, as he desired they should be kept in his custody. But Lourenço Fogaça did not expect the seals to be returned, therefore he, with his secretary, Gonçalo Peres, went over at once to the party of the Master of Aviz, who sent him as ambassador to England. Some others followed his example, and some even refused their pay, not wishing to serve the King of Castille; but the greater part of the nobility separated from the Master of Aviz by the principle of popular election, which then formed the bases of their power.

Hence, notwithstanding that the King of Castille had not the tact to win the sympathies of his new subjects, going to the extreme of appointing Castillian noblemen to the most important posts. And despite the covert captivity into which he had placed D. Leonor as soon as he had induced her to abdicate, a great number of the nobility of the kingdom came forward to offer their homage, because the imprudent act of the Queen left them no option; and, unless they wished to plunge the kingdom into a profound anarchy, unfavourable to their own interests, it was necessary that they should choose one of the two only powers legally constituted in Portugal, either the King of Castille or the Master of Aviz. They elected to side for the former.

Some of the highest noblemen grouped themselves around the husband of D. Beatriz and formed his Court. Although the people were almost unanimously on the side of the Master, nevertheless they could not effect a complete triumph over the adverse nobility in every place, as they had done in Lisbon, Oporto, Evora, and other parts. In Braga, for instance, a nobleman called Lopo Gomes de Lira, brother to the Alcaide of the Castle, succeeded in effecting the entry into the city of the Archbishop of Santiago, accompanied by Castillian troops, against the will of the Mayor and Council and people, and compelled Braga to acknowledge D. John and D. Beatriz as their legitimate masters. This occurred also in other places. The unexpected cession made by D. Leonor Telles of the regency to her son-in-law gave him a great moral force that increased by the presence of his army, which was daily being reinforced. The people became intimidated, and the nobility gathering courage, half the kingdom yielded to pressure and acknowledged the foreign government. The principal places which

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hoisted the banners of united Castille and Portugal were as follows: In Estremadura, Santarem, Torres Novas, Ourem, Montemor-o-Velho, Leiria, Castello da Feira, Penella, Obidos, Torres Vedras, Alemquer, and Cintra; in the provinces of Entre Douro and Minho, Lanhoso, Braga, Guimarães, Melgaço, Valença, Ponte de Lima, Villanova da Cerveira, Caminha, Vianna, Castello de Neiva. In Alemtejo, Arronches, Alegrete, Castello de Vide, Crato, Ameira, Montforte, Campo Maior, Olivença, Villa Viçosa, Portel, Moura, and Mertola; in Traz-os-Montes, Bragança, Vinhaes, Chaves, Montforte de Rio Livre, Montalegre, Mongadouro, Mirandella, Alfandega, Lamas d'Orelhão, Villa Real de Panoyas. In Beira, Castel Rodrigo, Almeida, Sabugal, Monsanto, Linhares, Celorico, Penamacôr, Guarda, and Covilhã. A large portion of the Algarve also obeyed the King of Castille.

The position, therefore, was becoming somewhat critical for the Master of Aviz, and it needed all the skill and energy he possessed in order not to succumb in the strife. The kingdom also required to summon together all its forces, so as not to become crushed in this enormous division. The burning faggot of civil war was diffusing over the kingdom its sinister gleams. The Alcaides, who sided for Castille, were entering with drawn swords into the lands which held the national independence as their motto and device; these, on their side, attempted reprisals, while odiums divided families, and brothers rose up against one another.

A city, however, continued undecided as to which party to take: this was Coimbra, wherein dwelt the Count Gonçalo, brother to the Queen, and her uncle, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos. At the request of the King of Castille, D. Leonor desired them to acknowledge the authority of D. John and D. Beatriz, but ere the reply arrived events occurred in Santarem which completely altered the state of affairs.

When the Master of Aviz saw D. John advancing towards Santarem with his army, which was daily becoming reinforced either by contingents from Castille or by the lances of the Portuguese nobles, he foresaw that he would very shortly have to defend Lisbon against the enemy. Nuno Alvares was desirous to proceed to Santarem and commence the war, because the Castillians were practising unheard-of atrocities, and many of the inhabitants had sent letters to the Master beseeching him to come and deliver them, promising in return to assist him in his war. The Master refused to quit Lisbon, as he

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suspected that these letters might be a stratagem on the part of the Castillians to enveigle him into a snare. Moreover, the forces at command might prove sufficient with the aid of the citizens of Lisbon to defend the capital, but would certainly be insufficient to meet on the open field a numerous and well-disciplined army, besides the danger of risking the destinies of the country to the fate of a doubtful issue. Hence he resolved to await within the walls of the good city of Lisbon the assaults of the Castillian King, and provision the capital in the event of a blockade.

Meanwhile the news of the atrocities committed by the Castillians in Santarem served to strengthen the Master in his projects of provisioning the capital, because the inhabitants of the suburbs of Lisbon were flocking into the city, bringing all they possessed and loaded with provisions. For days nought else was seen but peasants bending down beneath the weight of the goods they brought, accompanied by their women and children. All things presaged war, and the inhabitants of Lisbon, who had suffered so bitterly, must now have felt terror at the future before them; but terror soon passed away, and they drew thoughts of encouragement, since they beheld themselves more strongly surrounded by the new rampart, with its turreted forts, and the presence among them of their beloved, heroic, and clever chieftain. Fate had driven into the Tagus some merchant ships loaded with fish from Gallicia, either from stress of weather or believing that doubtless the Castillian fleet had already arrived and were in possession. These ships were easily taken by the Master, and offered a great quantity of provisions; but still he was solicitous to gather every possible resource to save the city from the horrors of famine, and sent Nuno Alvares to the suburbs of Cintra to bring to Lisbon all the provisions he could obtain.

Cintra, as we know, was on the side of the Castillians; nevertheless, not a single soldier of the garrison sallied out to disturb the raid of Nuno Alvares, who returned to Lisbon safely, and successfully discharged the mission entrusted to him, to the satisfaction of the Master.

Meanwhile the Castillians opened the campaign, and, approaching Lisbon, pitched their camp in Lumiar. The Master of Santiago, Pedro Fernandes Velasco, and Pedro Sarmiento, of Gallicia, commanded the expedition of exploration—armies which destroyed and robbed the suburbs of Lisbon. Some forces, commanded by João Fernandes Moreira, departed from the city to oppose them, but the Castillians

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vanquished these, and the Master, with Nuno Alvares, quickly rushed out, with some three hundred lances, to take advantage of the routing to attack the Castillians, but the latter, on beholding the reinforcement led by the Master, turned back and placed themselves in security.

The Master felt that he ought not to allow a simple vanguard to approach and assail the suburbs of the capital, and, despite the illwill of D. Alvaro Peres de Castro and others, he resolved upon seeking out the Castillians in their camp. He secretly quitted the city, and carried out the expedition so adroitly that the Castillians, surprised by the sudden assault, had only time to fly, leaving the food they were preparing on the fire. The Portuguese did not stand upon any ceremony, and notwithstanding that they were not invited, they ate up the enemy's dinner, which no doubt they found doubly palatable.

Meanwhile discord reigned in the camp of Agramante. It was impossible that any good understanding should exist for any length of time between D. Leonor and her son-in-law, for never had more opposite dispositions come together. D. Leonor was talkative, amiable, and somewhat volatile. D. John was cold, severe, silent, and had commenced to set the Court an example of that Castillian etiquette which was destined to become, later on, so celebrated and rigorous. D. John especially respected decorum; D. Leonor was playful and smiling in her intercourse with the fidalgos, and, according to the opinion of the King of Castille, was unbecoming in a widow, and from thence arose an instinctive antipathy which followed the first expressions of regard; besides which, the thirst for vengeance which filled D. Leonor became cooled down, and after her paroxysms of wrath supervened the pangs of remorse. The clouds which resentment had gathered over her spirit became dispelled, and she then saw the error she had committed, and the munificent gift she had given her son-in-law she would wish to recall; but as this was now impossible, she desired at least that D. John should manifest an extreme gratitude. But this she did not obtain. She was courteously treated, certainly, but she did not enjoy in the Court that predominance which she judged to be her right, and in truth it might well be said she was but a prisoner, because the Castillians who surrounded her, under the pretext of offering her homage, resembled rather the manners of guards with their captives than subjects towards their mistress.

A small occurrence, however, produced a ferment. In Castille the appointment of Chief Rabbi of the Jews of the kingdom was vacant,

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and a Hebrew deputation waited upon the King in Santarem to acquaint him of this vacancy and be allowed to have one elected by his mother. D. Leonor greatly patronised D. Judas, as he had been treasurer to her husband, and therefore besought the post for him. D. John coldly refused her petition in order to give the appointment to one David Negro, who had insinuated himself in the good graces of D. Beatriz. This refusal, which she took as an insult, exasperated to the highest degree D. Leonor. "What!" she exclaimed in an excited tone of voice to the Portuguese nobles who surrounded her, "am I giving him a kingdom, and he refuses an insignificant favour, the first that I have asked! See what we may expect from this ungrateful man. I tell you truly, it were better if you served the Master of Aviz, and this is what I advise you to do."

It is a positive fact that many nobles followed her advice, and went on to Lisbon. But D. Leonor did not stop here. From the moment that her adventuresome spirit yielded to any impulse, produced by passion, or reason, or caprice, she heeded no obstacles, but followed her course with the greatest impetuosity. In her absorbing activity she allowed herself no time to mature a plan, but at once set the whole machinery at work, intrigues, machinations, prevarications, to obtain her end. Decided upon making war to the King of Castille as ardently as she had previously befriended him, she at once wrote to the Alcaides of her party, informing them that they were not to consider legal the cession she had made of the supreme power, because it had been made under a moral pressure, which was now becoming daily a material imprisonment. She addressed her brother, D. Gonçalo, in Coimbra, to bid him not heed a letter which he had received, but to defend and guard the city against the King of Castille, even should she, his sister, again write to him to ask the surrender, because he might be quite certain that any words which she might employ to this effect, and contrary to the designs which she now communicated to him, would be extorted from her by violence.

Meanwhile the reply crossed the first letter, and in this letter D. Gonçalo stated that it was his intention to deliver up the city to the King of Castille, but that the people were all inclined to the contrary, therefore should D. John appear with his army to impose silence on the malcontents, he could easily take the city, but not otherwise. The King, well satisfied with this reply, marched with his army in the direction of the Mondego.

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The army ranged themselves around Coimbra, and although the King did not pass beyond the bridge, there was no show of hostility between the Portuguese and Castillians. Negotiations were commenced, and the King of Castille, through the mediation of the Count of Mallorca and other nobles who frequented Coimbra, promised great honours and favours to D. Gonçalo and D. Mendes de Vasconcellos should they deliver up the stronghold. Contrary to the expectations of the King, they persevered in their refusal, urging that whereas the cession of the power made by D. Leonor was illegal, because it was effected without the consent or the accord of the Cortes of the kingdom, they could not acknowledge the authority of the King of Castille. The latter impatient, although unwilling to break off the negotiations, could not desist from manifesting his discontent; but his army, which up to that time had maintained discipline, now became unruly, and engaged in some skirmishes with the citizens, yet with no definite results.

Meanwhile the Queen D. Leonor Telles was not idle. She employed all the means which feminine arts could devise to revenge herself on the man who had thus repaid her services. She induced one of her maids of honour to further her views. This lady was D. Beatriz de Castro, daughter of the Count de Arroyolos, and singularly beautiful. A cousin of the King of Castille, the son of D. Frederick, Master of the Order of Santiago, who was killed by D. Pedro the Cruel, fell in love with her. This lover was called D. Alfonso Henriques, and his brother was the Count of Trastamara. By orders of the Queen, D. Beatriz de Castro was induced to make use of her influence to gain her ends. She pleaded to her lover that it was a sad spectacle to behold her Queen, whom she so dearly loved, and to whom so much was due, thus disregarded by the King of Castille and treated as a captive, and she added that her love could only be bestowed upon the man who would deliver her Queen from that false position. She besought him to influence his brother in order that D. Leonor should regain her former power and honours, and that the best way to effect this would be for her to retire into the city, where she would have the protection of the Count de Nieva. D. Leonor Telles, speaking to her son-in-law, affirmed that she did not despair of convincing her brother to surrender if she could speak to him. D. John of Castille, although he distrusted D. Leonor, consented, nevertheless, to allow her to confer with the Count de Nieva, taking, however, certain precautions.

The intention of D. Leonor Telles with respect to this interview with her brother was, says Pinheiro Chagas, "not to communicate to

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him the secret of the conspiracy, but solely to assure herself of his co-operation and aid in any event which should arise." The result of this conference was all that could be desired by D. Leonor Telles; the Count D. Gonçalo persevering to manifest open hostility to the King of Castille, whom the Count ironically invited to dinner, *even should he have to be accompanied by a hundred lances.*

Being now confident of the assistance of her brother, D. Leonor Telles bade D. Pedro de Trastamara confer with the Count de Nieva upon the best means to adopt to carry out the plan she secretly nourished of escaping to the heart of the city; and in furtherance of this plan, instructed D. Pedro to follow her, alleging as his reason for departure, the fact of the preference shown by D. John I. of Castille to other nobles. But D. Pedro, however, concealed from Count de Gonçalo the second part of the plan agreed upon, which was that, as soon as they were once within the walls of Coimbra, D. Leonor Telles would marry the Count de Trastamara, who should put to death the King of Castille, and then proceed to acclaim themselves King and Queen of Portugal.

The plan of action was finally arranged between the Count de Trastamara and the Count de Nieva. They secured the intervention of a Franciscan friar, who would cause the bells to be rung within the city walls, and at that signal Count de Nieva would sally out and the Count de Trastamara simulate that he was coming forth with his forces and D. Leonor to encounter him, then the Count de Nieva would pretend to pursue them until he apparently drove them within the walls, and when once D. Leonor Telles should be safely within, close the gates.

This Franciscan friar, however, was very friendly with David Negro and his family, and fearing lest his life should be imperilled, secretly informed him of the plot. The Jew interrogated the friar, desiring further particulars, but this information the friar could not give him. But what he had heard was sufficient, and David Negro at once proceeded to acquaint the King of Castille of all he knew. The King was greatly astonished, especially at the news that D. Pedro was mixed up in the conspiracy, and at once hastened to inform the Queen of this strange revelation, but the Queen was not so surprised as he himself had been, and only replied, "I may tell you that I always suspected that man on account of the great affection he ever manifested to my mother and she for him, although I did not venture to say anything

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about it to your majesty." From this is seen that D. Beatriz, with the shrewd intuitive instincts of a woman, knew her mother better than D. John I.

Urgent steps were necessary to take to defeat the conspiracy, and the King of Castille summoned the Count of Mayorga to him, and it was arranged between them that the Count should watch with his people, and that as soon as Count D. Pedro ventured out with his forces, they should raise the cry of "*Treachery! towards D. Pedro!*" and then the conspirators be apprehended, or slain should they resist. Orders were given to redouble the guard upon D. Leonor Telles. It was the turn of D. Pedro to enter the palace on guard that night, but as he would be delayed, the Count de Mayorga promised to send 500 lances of his own. One of the *escudeiros* of the Count de Trastamara who was in the conspiracy, on seeing all these unusual preparations, hastened to apprise the Count that the secret had been divulged. D. Pedro was greatly alarmed, and he, his brothers, some of the conspirators, and their families endeavoured to fly. The fugitives crossed the bridge, and the Count in a few hurried words apprised Count de Nieva of all that had passed. D. Gonçalo advised them to fly to the suburbs, and D. Pedro with his people proceeded to Santarem.

Meantime the King of Castille awaited, fully armed in his chamber, the signal agreed upon. But as it seemed to him that it was delayed, he sent for D. Pedro, and was apprised that he had fled. He then became aware that his own secret had been discovered. Full of wrath, and knowing that he had fled to the suburbs, the King sent one thousand lances in pursuit. The Count D. Pedro, informed of the orders given in his respect, fled towards Oporto, where he recounted what was done in order that refuge should be granted him. At first, the people of Oporto suspected that all this might be only a stratagem of the Castillians, and their first impulse was to put him to death. But on second thoughts they judged it would be better to watch him, and inform the Master of Aviz of all that passed.

That same night D. John of Castille ordered D. Judas the Jew to be apprehended, being a favourite of D. Leonor Telles, and also her maid of honour, D. Maria Peres. Weary did that night appear to the King, who longed to sift the truth. As soon as it was morning he summoned to his presence the Jew and the maid of honour. There were also present, besides the King, the Queen D. Beatriz, the

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Infante of Navarre, the informer David Negro, and a notary, who was to take the depositions.

As soon as the culprits were brought in, the King ordered them to be stripped and placed under torture. D. Judas hastened to say that in his case it would not be needed, as he was ready to reveal everything, and he at once disclosed the whole plot. The maid of honour made a similar declaration, all of which the notary took down. The King then demanded whether they would ratify all they had said in the presence of D. Leonor Telles. They replied in the affirmative. Then D. Leonor was desired to come in, attended by the knight who was guarding her.

Although D. Leonor came in custody and knew full well what was passing, she nevertheless appeared insensible to the imminence of danger. She was calm and self-possessed. When her eyes fell on the informing Jew, she scornfully and disdainfully said, "You here, D. David? And do you wish to see me?" Then D. John of Castille replied to her questions, "It is more in reason that he should be here, to whom I owe my life, than those who plot my death." He then bade the scrivener read the auto. When D. Leonor had heard the depositions of D. Judas, she exclaimed, "Thou dog of a traitor, dost thou say this of me?" "Yes," replied D. Judas. "I say this is true, and actually took place." Then D. Leonor replied, "You lie like a dog of a traitor, and if this did take place, it was you who counselled me."

D. Leonor had descended from her high pedestal of haughty majesty upon which she had placed herself at first, and lowered herself so far as to use in her wrath the lowest language. The character of D. Leonor was always marked by these contrarities.

D. Beatriz behaved throughout with a noble dignity. She interrupted the altercation between her mother and D. Judas, and turning to her, she said, "Oh, mother, my lady! within a year you would wish to see me a widow, orphaned and forsaken!" It were impossible to be more eloquent, nor more dignified in a few words. Her accusation has the gentle tone of reproof; in her queenly words is felt the feelings of a daughter.

At this juncture D. John of Castille interfered, saying, "I wish to hear no more. I will not put you to death, through the love I bear your daughter, although you would well deserve such a fate, nor is it becoming that you should be any longer in my society, or I in yours, but I will send you to a convent of Castille, where royal widows and

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daughters of kings have dwelt, and I shall order every provision to be made for your welfare."

D. Leonor Telles replied in a tone of haughty disdain, "This you might do with a sister, if you had one whom you wished to make a nun of but not to me, nor will I go. In truth, this is a fit reward that you offer me! I yielded up my position as regent of this kingdom, and gave you a large portion of Portugal, yet now, at the word of a dog of a Jew, who through fear would deny that there was a God, you accuse me of being false, because you do not wish to give me what you promised, and pledged to do after receiving Holy Communion in Santarem."

Ever skilful, even when she beheld her crime discovered and her treachery unmasked, D. Leonor, instead of defending herself, boldly assumed the defensive, and from being the accused became the accuser, making imputations which were certainly true. The King of Castille, perceiving that in this duel of words he would be the loser preferred being silent, and ordered that a council be convened to decide upon what should be done to the widow of D. Ferdinand. The opinions of the council were divided, but at length it was decided to follow out the first idea. The King of Castille ordered Diogo Lopes de Estunhiga to accompany D. Leonor to Castille. Desisting from taking Coimbra, in view of the resistance of the people, D. John retired to Santarem, and from this latter place D. Leonor Telles, before departing, wrote to Martim Annes de Barbuda and to Gonçalo Eannes, of the Castello de Vide, to come and rescue her on the road. This last venture was unsuccessful, owingto these letters reaching their destination after she had already crossed the frontier.

It is not possible for the historian to penetrate into the abyss of this vast and unscrupulous spirit, to learn what remorse agitated her, what recollections assailed her when the heavy doors of the convent were closed, excluding her from the world she had once ruled. We can, however, imagine that during the silence of her sleepless nights many sanguinary spectres must have risen around her; and when the long shadows of evening fell on the lands of Tordesillas, on beholding herself thus forsaken by all the courtiers of her fortunes, forgotten by her daughter, despised as a useless instrument, she who had formerly scorned Providence must have seen the sinister reflections of the awful words, "*Justice of God*," written in letters of fire upon the walls of her cell.

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In the beautiful romance, "Arrhas por foro de Hespanha," Alexandre Herculano says: "The marriage of D. Leonor Telles, and the consequences which resulted from it, formed the first act of the terrible drama in the *Illiada scelerum* of her political life. It was this first act which enabled us to sketch the scene of this historic romance. The whole of the drama under this artistic form would form a terrible record. From this event, until she was dragged in irons to Castille by the hands of the very ones whom she had summoned to desolate her own country, this Portuguese Lucretia Borgia becomes in our history a species of diabolic phantom, which appears wherever there is a deed of treachery, of blood, or of atrocity. Perchance, later on, some man of genius may work out this which we in part have attempted. Then will Portugal possess a romance to equal 'Ivanhoe' or 'Notre Dame.'"*

It was thus that the curtain descended upon the great drama which she was called upon to act in the political scene of Portugal.

But D. John of Castille did not stay to philosophise respecting the feelings of his mother-in-law and the contrasts of fate when once he was rid of her. He turned to torture the maid of honour, Maria Peres, in order that she should reveal the place where D. Leonor Telles had concealed her treasures. The sight of the rack horrified her, and she at once declared that the jewels were kept in the house of a citizen of Santarem. Satisfied that these jewels were perfectly out of place for her use in a convent, D. John of Castille kept them for himself

Now that D. Leonor was withdrawn from the political scene, D. John I. endeavoured to place *hors de combat* his more powerful adversary, the Master of Aviz. By apprehending D. Leonor Telles, he had certainly taken the best means to secure his own safety in the camp, without fear of internal treachery; but at the same time he alienated from him many fidalgos and lands which had been faithful to D. Leonor, and who had obeyed her when she bade them acknowledge the authority of D. John, but who now felt that they were dispensed from following that command on beholding the manner the King of Castille had treated the Queen.

Hence Alemquer, which was one of the lands appertaining to the appanage of D. Leonor and which had firmly resisted the Master when he besieged it, sent messengers as soon as the arrest of the Queen

* "Panorama," vol. vi., p. 56.

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became known, to inform him that if he agreed to restore the land to D. Leonor so as to continue forming part of her appanage when it would be free of the Castillians, the inhabitants were ready to acknowledge his authority. The Master replied assuring them of his constant respect for the Queen, and that he was ready to restore the whole appanage to D. Leonor as soon as she should be in a position to receive it, under the condition that she should not enter into any treaty with the foreigner. Alemquer therefore acknowledged the Master, for a short time, it is true; and the King of Castille, when moving towards the siege of Lisbon, received homage from the Alcaide Vasco Peres de Camões.

All the efforts of D. John of Castille were now especially directed against the Master of Aviz. He decided upon proceeding towards the south, and the march of his army was marked by every species of devastation. In Arruda a great number of the inhabitants had taken refuge in a cave at the approach of the invaders, and the Castillians, finding out the place of concealment, enkindled a huge fire at the entrance and suffocated all the people. In the King's chamber two men fully armed were discovered concealed under the bed, and as their intention was evident they were put to death without mercy.

Whether the audacity of these men revealed the temper of the people, or the advice of his council induced him to desist, we know not, but it is certain that D. John abandoned the scheme of taking Lisbon by sheer force until he should have gathered together before the city all his means of action. He therefore resolved upon waiting for his fleet to arrive on the Tagus in order to complete the blockade, and while the fleet did not appear he remained quietly encamped on the outskirts of the city. Meanwhile he instructed his Admiral, Fernan Sanches de Tovar, to the effect that as soon as he should lead the Spanish fleet into the port of Lisbon, to depart for Castille and place himself at the head of all the forces he could collect together. Then joining theCount of Niebla, D. Alfonso Peres de Guzman, and the Master of Alcantara, to enter the Alemtejo, and in combination with the troops of the Prior of the Portuguese Hospitallers and other fidalgos who had sided for Castille, to proceed to destroy or take all strongholds and places of the Alemtejo which acknowledged the Master of Aviz as their lord and master, and afterwards join the royal army opposite Lisbon in order to strengthen the siege.

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He likewise wrote to Castille asking for direct reinforcements, and commanding the Marquis of Villena, the Archbishop of Toledo, and Pero Gonzales de Mendoza to bring him at least a thousand lances. The whole power of Castille was being brought out in order to crush that small handful of intrepid men which were gathered around the Master of Aviz.

Whilst all this huge mass of forces were preparing to gather around Lisbon, the Master of Aviz was compelled, instead of concentrating his army, to deprive the defence of the capital of a portion of his forces, and of a chief who was in himself equal to a hundred lances. The cities of Alemtejo, which had expelled the Alcaides, attacked the castles, and sided for the Master of Aviz, had sent to Lisbon their adhesion to the new government, and information of the preparations which were being made in Castille to reduce them to obedience, and the approaching arrival of the Master of Alcantara and of the Admiral Fernan Sanches. These cities of the Alemtejo did not demand any other aid from the Master but officers to command the people, who were resolved upon combating the foreigner, but who needed some one to lead them. The King chose Nuno Alvares Pereira, and proposed him to the council. João das Regras opposed this election. For some time past there had existed a latent animosity between the two favourites of the Defender, a feeling which subsisted during the whole reign of D. John I. The characters of the two friends of the Master were almost irreconcilable: one was all ardour, the other all coldness; one was daring, the other prudent; one gentle, subtle, and self-willed, the other loyal and firm; one preferring to brandish the sword, the other wielding the pen as a weapon, at times far more terrible. One absorbed in the perusal of books and in studying the glossaries of Bartholo, the other never at home, but breathing the atmosphere of the battlefield, and poring over the exciting romances of chivalry wherein he found his favourite models; in a word, one a diplomatist, the other a knight; one a man of deep thought, the other a man of action.

João das Regras therefore made war against his colleague, Nuno Alvares, and strove to prove to the Master that for the important post of Frontier Governor of Alemtejo it was needful to have not so much a brave warrior, as he acknowledged Nuno Alvares to be, but a more experienced general, adding that in the Castillian army his brothers had enlisted, and fate was conducting him to the Alemtejo, where he would

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be placed in a difficult position, although he did not imply that this circumstance might induce the youthful soldier to betray his duty and trust. But these objections were of no avail. The Master of Aviz, who generally yielded to the enlightened advice of his councillor, when, however, Nuno Alvares was concerned, towards whom he bore a sincere love, all his words fell unheeded. This circumstance was always a thorn in the heart of the shrewd student of the University of Bologna, and was felt throughout his life. Hence Nuno Alvares was appointed Governor of Alemtejo. Let us now follow him to his campaign, wherein he is to win immortal glory.

The Master of Aviz was unable to withdraw a large portion of his army from the defence of Lisbon, but in consideration of the importance of the operation Nuno had to carry out, he allowed him forty knights and *escudeiros*, who had taken his part, among them, those of Alemtejo, who had fled from the Castillian invasion. These *fidalgos*, with their respective men, did not number above two hundred lances. In order to supply the deficiency, he gave Nuno Alvares full powers as his representative, and all necessary authorisation to punish or reward, as he should deem useful or necessary to the national cause, meanwhile ordered that all his partisans of the threatened province obey him as though he himself were at their head. The Master went so far in his esteem as to accompany Nuno to Almada, where he bade him an affectionate farewell, feeling a heaviness of heart at parting from this loyal, brave youth, who so spontaneously had embraced his cause, and who was so well able to defend it.

Nuno Alvares proceeded towards Setubal. His small force marched beneath the flag which he himself had devised in accordance with the religious ideas of the epoch—white ground quartered by a red cross; in the first quarter was the crucified Christ, with the Virgin Mary and the evangelist Saint John at the foot of the cross. On the second quarter, the Virgin and Child; and in the others were Santiago, the Apostle of Spain, armed as a warrior in accordance with the military character attributed to him by the Spaniards; and Saint George, the cultus of this latter having been introduced into Portugal by the English. Thus protected by the flag which was a species of *Flos Sanctorum* waving in the air, Nuno Alvares, as we said, marched to Setubal, but in that place the images of these saints did not produce the same effect as the trumpets of the Israelites did in Jericho, for the town closed its gates upon them, and it is not proved that a single stone fell upon them from

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the walls. Nuno Alvares withdrew most wrathful, vowing to make Setubal pay dearly for its daring resistance, and encamped in the suburbs, where, pondering on the responsibility of his commission, he judged it would be more prudent to prove the courage of his army.

Alleging that the Castillians might come along the shores of the Tagus during the night and surprise them, he ordered sentinels to be posted along the shore to the distance of a league close to the Castle of Palmella, at the same time secretly instructed Lourenço Fernandes of Beja to raise an alarm at dead of night that the Castillians were approaching. This was carried out. Lourenço Fernandes summoned Nuno Alvares, who gave the signal of alarm and called all the men together, not a single man failing to respond to the call. Quickly arming themselves, they formed together in order of battle, and led by Nuno Alvares, proceeded to the spot indicated by Fernandes. The attitude of the men was excellent, and Nuno was satisfied that he could count on his soldiers. It is needless to add that the Castillians did not put in an appearance, and that Lourenço Fernandes made some excuse that he had been misled by some fires.

After exhorting his men, he proceeded to Montemor-o-Novo, and from thence on to Evora. The youthful Nuno Alvares commenced to scour the Alemtejo, threatening the towns that had remained neutral in the contention, or which had proclaimed themselves for D. Beatriz, taking others, and inciting all to rise up against the Castillians. In Evora he decided to establish his seat of war or centre of operations, and from thence sent emissaries and issued proclamations calling upon all to come and combat for the nation.

The newly appointed Master of the Order of Alcantara, Diogo Gomes or Martins Barroso, who had remained in Badajoz to govern and watch the frontier, now judged necessary to arrest immediately the raids of Nuno, and joining himself to the Count of Niebla, the Admiral Tovar, and other Knights of Andalusia, entered into Portuguese territory with a body numbering a thousand horsemen and some foot-soldiers. It was this that occasioned the first formal encounter of war, which the Portuguese styled *batalha de Atoleiros*.

When Nuno Alvares Pereira was informed of the entry of the Castillians, and that they were marching to the town of Fronteira, he resolved to come out to encounter them from Evora with the men he had at command, consisting of 300 or 400 horse and 1,000 infantry, archers, and others, notwithstanding the superiority of the enemy's ranks

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in number and quality, for in the Castillian forces there were many Castillian and some Portuguese nobles, such as his own brother, Pedro Alvares. His companions in arms opposed this resolve as being a foolhardy undertaking, but he succeeded in taking them a distance of four leagues, and encamped in a place called *Atoleiros*, a short distance from Fronteira. The Castillians came in this direction, but were rather staggered at the proximity of the enemy, and sent forward a parliamentary to advise them to surrender, but being scornfully dismissed, prepared to punish them.

Nuno Alvares ranged his soldiers before him, and bidding the horsemen to dismount, unfurled the banner, and kneeling down before the effigies of Our Lady and Saint George, as was the custom of those times, prayed silently for a few moments, then rising up, drew the visor over his face, and grasping his lance, energetically exhorted his men to await the attack. The Castillians approached, and likewise dismounted, to combat on foot, but on perceiving that the Portuguese were on foot, judged it would be advantageous to make use of their cavalry, and leaped on their steeds, in full confidence of breaking down the enemy's ranks at the first encounter. Then they rushed on, to the war-cry of "*Castille and Saint James!*" their adversaries responding with the cry of "*Portugal and Saint George!*" and presenting their lances, immovably resisted the charge, many horses falling either dead or wounded from lance thrusts and darts. This so disconcerted and disturbed the Castillians that many leaped from their horses, which caused such confusion and disorder among the ranks that they were fain to retreat, leaving the slain on the field.

Nuno Alvares, who saw that the Castillians were disheartened, attacked them with a sudden, vigorous impulse ere they had time to recover; and although some attempted to resist, nevertheless disorder prevailed, a panic ensued, and they fled, some to the Crato, or towards Montforte and other towns who were for Castille, leaving dead on the battle-field the Master of Alcantara, the *Claveiro** of the same Order, the *Adelantado* of Andalusia, and some Portuguese knights who espoused the cause of D. Beatriz; the loss being insignificant in the conquerors, who still pursued the fugitives for more than a league.

Nuno Alvares at once presented himself in Montforte, which he

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* *Claveiro.* In the Order of Christ in Portugal, he who held the keys of the convent when the knights of that Order lived together.

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was unable to take on account of deficiency of means of attack, and from thence moved on to Arronches, Alegrete, and other places, which surrendered to him; but he was obliged to interrupt his operations, as he received orders to proceed to Coimbra and Oporto in order to reinforce the ships which were being prepared to relieve Lisbon.

The Portuguese fleet being now completely furnished, weighed anchor on the 14th of May, under the command of Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa, and moved to Oporto, to receive reinforcements of men and provisions, and return together with the galleys ready in the Douro. This was effected without meeting any difficulties, as the Castillian fleet had not yet arrived.

The squadron of Castille was sighted on the 28th of May, and the King moved his camp upon the city, vainly sending a parliamentary to treat of surrender before he should strengthen the siege. A sharp skirmish or attempt at attack followed, in which the stronghold was assailed by the door of Saint Catherine, and there was the risk of its being forced, the Master of Aviz combating in person; but at length the Castillians were repulsed, leaving the Alcaide of the Donceles dead on the field. All things were favourable to the cause of the Master, and he only awaited the return of the Portuguese fleet to the Tagus, reinforced with the galleys of Oporto. The people of Oporto endeavoured to equip them, but an unexpected difficulty arose up. The Archbishop of Santiago, D. Garcia Manrique, had entered into the province of Entre Douro and Minho with a host, composed of Portuguese and Castillians, who prevented them from collecting provisions by severing all communication with the suburbs. Moreover, Fernando Alfonso de Samora was also harassing the people of Oporto, although they soon rid themselves of the latter. The Count of Trastamara advised them to repulse vigorously the Castillians, and we know that Samora was captured. This enemy being vanquished, it remained to dispose of the Archbishop. The inhabitants of Oporto, by joining the sailors and crews of the galleys of Lisbon, formed an army of five thousand men and marched against the warrior prelate of Santiago, who, after some skirmishes in the suburbs, retired. The galleys then swept along the coasts of Galicia, effecting reprisals, and returned to Oporto, from whence they departed to Lisbon with the expected reinforcement.

D. Nuno Alvares Pereira had been summoned to Lisbon by the Master because his presence in Alemtejo was no longer needed. It was, in truth, in Lisbon where really the war was localised. D. Nuno, who

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longed to be wherever there was danger, at once departed with his hosts to Oporto, but when he arrived the fleet had already weighed anchor, on account, it appears, of the unworthy sentiments of Ruy Pereira, who, through jealousy, would not bring in his company Nuno Alvares, lest he should dim his glory.

Annoyed at this, Nuno Alvares retreated, and in Coimbra very nearly fell into a snare laid by the Countess of Ceia, who wished to revenge herself for the devastations effected by Nuno in Cintra, of which the Count was Alcaide; but, happily, Nuno was informed in time. The forces of Nuno were entirely deficient of means, and he was forced in Coimbra not only to sell all valuables, but appeal to the generosity of the citizens. The Alcaide of the castle, Gonçalo Mendes de Vasconcellos, on beholding the state of the soldiers, was forced to exclaim, "I am truly astonished that such men should defend this kingdom against the King of Castille, who is so powerful a lord, unless indeed God Himself leads them as their Captain."

Unable to enter Lisbon excepting by sea, Nuno Alvares decided to return to his post in the district of Entre-Tejo-e-Guadiana. Being in Constança, he was apprised that bands of Castillians infested the roads, pillaging all they could find, and on a certain day, when a band came from Santarem, he laid in wait and fell upon them, routed them, and took all their goods—gold, silver, and other pillage. Being thus better furnished, thanks to this providential encounter, he raised the camp, and, crossing the Tagus, proceeded to Evora.

Meanwhile the Portuguese squadron, quitting Oporto, was entering the bar of Lisbon.

D. John I. of Castille was a prey to deepest anxiety. He feared lest, in virtue of the diplomatic negotiations started by the Master of Aviz with England, some powerful aid might come from that nation. But he was somewhat reassured on knowing that England was compelled to suspend the preparations of this auxiliary division in order to attend to Scotland, which had renewed war with France. The King of Castille also judged that the fleet expected from Oporto would be a more important one, and he was troubled at the thought that Nuno Alvares Pereira should come with it, bringing valuable reinforcements from the Alemtejo.

On Sunday, 17th July, 1385, D. John I. of Castille received intelligence that the Portuguese squadron was in view of Cascaes. Two Castillian galleys were sent out to observe the Portuguese fleet, and on

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the following morning all the other ships weighed anchor, and ranged themselves in battle array close to the right shore of the Tagus, opposite Rastello, their prows towards Almada, in such a way as to attack the flank of the enemy's squadron. During the night, the Portuguese sent João Ramalho, a merchant of Oporto, to the Master to apprise him that the fleet would enter on the following day. The whole of that night fearful anxiety reigned in the Portuguese camp, because it was felt that the loss of the Portuguese squadron would be equivalent to the loss of the cause of the Master of Aviz. Vows were made, and religious processions took place.

At nine in the morning of the 19th, the Portuguese squadron, composed of seventeen ships and seventeen galleys, entered the bar. The captain of the fleet was Ruy Pereira, the admiral Count D. Gonçalo, brother to D. Leonor Telles. The burghers of Oporto had reminded the Master that it would be convenient to invite the Count de Nieva D. Gonçalo, the Alcaide of Coimbra, to take the supreme command of the fleet, because by his adhesion to the cause would be secured the possession of Coimbra, and the Portuguese would be freed from the anxiety of having so important a stronghold as Coimbra undecided as to what side to espouse. The Master concurred in the proposal, and at once sent an envoy to the Count D. Gonçalo to offer the command. He consented on condition that he should receive in return the lands which had constituted the appanage of his sister, D. Leonor. In truth, ambition was the reigning passion of that family. But these lands had been already promised to Nuno Alvares Pereira. What was to be done?

Nuno Alvares, who was still in the Alemtejo, on learning what passed, at once wrote to the Master desiring him to freely yield up the lands, because it was a pleasure to him to contribute towards acquiring one more partisan, and who, moreover, was considered an important one. This explains the reason why we find the Count D. Gonçalo leading the Portuguese squadron.

Let us now watch the entry within the bar of Lisbon.

The first leading ship, called *Milheira*, was furnished with sixty men and soldiers and forty archers, commanded by Ruy Pereira. This was followed by four ships, and behind these came seventeen galleys, the remaining twelve bringing up the rear. The wind was favourable as they entered the bar, and the Castillians allowed the ships of Ruy Pereira and the galleys to pass, then the Castillians closed upon

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them, quickly cutting off the entry of the others behind. The galleys would have been lost but for the heroic resolution of Ruy Pereira. But the first ships were already on the side of Almada. The whole population of Lisbon had gathered on the walls, watching anxiously, and following every movement, and when this manœuvre of the Castillian fleet took place there was a moment of terror. The Portuguese squadron was about to be crushed by the Castillians. Every craft available was quickly prepared, and the Master of Aviz himself hastened to enter, with four hundred men, one of the Genoese ships which had been previously captured, and afford some relief to our fleet, but the winds, which blew contrary, and the confusion which reigned compelled him to retreat. But Ruy Pereira was there to save skilfully the Portuguese squadron. Seeing the manœuvre of the Castillian, he suddenly turned the leading ship, the four others followed with a similar movement, and with terrible daring ran against the forty Castillian ships and fiercely attacked them. The squadron of Castille, compelled to respond to the attack, was unable to prevent the passage of the Portuguese galleys, and the twelve ships which had remained behind now came to assist Ruy Pereira in the combat.

This feat cost Ruy Pereira his life, and his ship, with two others, was captured, but the Portuguese fleet had entered in. The besieged were wild with joy and excitement within the walls of Lisbon. On the termination of the battle, the Portuguese squadron proceeded to place itself under shelter of the city walls along the beach from the Tercenas to the Porta do Mar. There it remained during the rest of the siege, paralysed in its efforts, because, besides losing three ships, the Castillian squadron became reinforced by an addition of twenty-one ships and four galleys, which, with the three captured from the Portuguese, numbered sixty-four ships and seventeen galleys. Yet despite the immense superiority of fifty ships, they were unable to take the Portuguese ships, as they were protected by the fortifications of the city.

But the blockade was as strong as ever, and there were no hopes of raising it. Meanwhile the King of Castille resolved upon taking possession of Almada, and, reinforcing his troops there, strengthen the siege; but he obtained no results, all efforts were unavailing, either by sheer force or intimidation, and at length he resolved upon starving them out. It was then that the inhabitants of Almada afforded the kingdom an immortal example of heroism. It was not long before

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within the beleaguered city all the horrors of hunger and thirst began to be felt.

The Master of Aviz, unable to obtain any news from the other side of the Tagus, owing to communications being intercepted by the Castillian squadron, was a prey to the greatest anxiety. He only knew that Almada would not surrender, and could only imagine the sufferings of the defenders, and lament his powerlessness to afford relief. At length a native of Almada, who had come in the squadron from Oporto, offered to swim across the Tagus, and learn what passed. He departed at night, communicated with the inhabitants of the town, and returned before the morning. The Master of Aviz, on hearing the deplorable accounts brought, besought the man to return to Almada three days later, and advise the people to surrender, as he was unable to succour them, and as they had heroically endured as far as they could do so, it was not in human endurance to do more, hence he advised them to surrender. This was done, but only after lengthened negotiations, because the King of Castille appeared determined upon putting them to the sword, but at length he was persuaded to grant them life and safety, yielding to the entreaties of D. Beatriz.

This heroic defence of the Almadenses filled the kingdom with enthusiasm, the heart of the Master with gratitude, and the enemy with astonishment.

D. John I. of Castille began to perceive what the Lord of Briviesca had constantly urged, that a nation capable of so many sacrifices and so much self-denial practised to sustain the national cause was not to be conquered. If it had taken six weeks to reduce a town such as Almada, where want of water had tried them from the first days of the siege, and the little they could get was stagnant, and to obtain even that little they had to purchase it at the price of blood, since it was only by fighting with the Castillians that they could obtain it, how would he be able to take Lisbon, where he had already spent two months and a half with no greater result than the taking of three ships, moreover he knew the garrison of the besieged stronghold had been reinforced and victualled by the ships which had escaped? These thoughts rose up to trouble the King of Castille, and to humble his pride; but the indignation of thus seeing himself humbled by an enemy he despised, and the mortification of having raised a powerful army and obtained no result, induced him to persevere. He resolved to resort to other means.

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He had obtained nothing by force or skill, perchance he might obtain something by employing treachery.

But it seemed that an invisible shield was held by Providence over the head of the Master of Aviz, against which all darts, whether poisoned or not, of the enemy fell harmless, or were broken in twain.

As we said, the Count D. Alvaro de Castro, although he had espoused the cause of the Master, never manifested himself very attached. He died during the siege, and left a son guarding one of the quadrangles of the walls, which the Master had confided to him, and also inherited the feelings of disaffection which he had manifested towards the Defender.

It was not difficult for the emissaries of the King of Castille to enter into communications with this individual, who was called D. Pedro D. Castro, and what is more strange, with João Lourenço da Cunha, the first husband of D. Leonor Telles, who, on passing to the side of D. Beatriz, was placing himself in an embarrassing position; but ambition explains many otherwise inexplicable affairs.

It is a certain fact that the time and signal to be given were already assigned for the men-at-arms of D. Pedro de Castro to deliver up to the Castillians the quadrangle they guarded, when a serious illness attacked João da Cunha, which was at once pronounced fatal. On seeing himself on the verge of the grave, João Lourenço experienced deep feelings of remorse, and confided to his confessor that he had entered into a conspiracy against the Master of Aviz. The confessor refused to give him absolution, excepting on condition of his revealing the whole plot to the Master himself. He acceded to the conditions and made known the plot. D. Pedro de Castro and his accomplices were apprehended, and the quadrangle, which extended from San André to the door of Saint Augustine, was occupied by other troops, who received orders to make the signal agreed upon.

When the Castillians approached confidently the walls, they were received, to their dismay, with a discharge of arrows, missiles, stones, and projectiles, which completely threw them into a state of disorder.

The people, excited by the news of this treachery, desired to put an end to the traitors, and it became necessary for the Master to interfere.

On seeing that this means had failed him, the King of Castille desired to attempt anew the fate of arms, and resolved upon taking the Portuguese galleys which were moored to the shore. For this

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end he ordered the squadron to endeavour to capture them, as they were undefended or only sparely equipped, meanwhile that the Count de Mayorga should on land effect an assault in order to divert the attention of the defenders. The project failed, thanks to the intrepidity of the Master and of many of his fidalgos, among them being distinguished João Rodrigues de Sa', later on known as *Sa' of the galleys*, who performed prodigious feats of valour, repelling alone with an *escudeiro* the Castillians from one of the galleys which the latter had already caught, receiving in this affray fifteen wounds. The Master also afforded to all an example of bravery and even of temerity. He was under the water for some time, owing to his horse being killed under him by the Castillians, and thrown down, but saved himself, thanks to his presence of mind.

Fernão Lopes gives us a most picturesque narrative of this encounter, one of those so characteristic of his chronicles: "At this time the battle became more vexed, and emulation arose as to who would show greater bravery, while the braying of trumpets, ringing of bells, and shouts of '*Portugal and Saint George!*' to which others responded, *Castille and Saint James!*' all mingled together to make a fearful uproar; the Master meanwhile issuing commands, but which the uproar prevented from being heard or obeyed, and he really seemed to be issuing orders to the winds."

On that occasion the Castillians were unable to capture any of the Portuguese ships, and, moreover, lost one of their own. This battle was fought on the 17th of August, and many other skirmishes and sorties took place, with varied result, which it is unnecessary to mention, but from all these no decisive action resulted. Nevertheless, both sides were wishful that this state of things should end—the besieged because the provisions were getting scarce, the besiegers by reason that pestilence was already working fearful inroads in the camp. The epidemic at length assumed such proportions, attacking both fidalgos and soldiers, that the King of Castille decided to enter into negotiations with the Master. The latter was also desirous to come to terms, and thus peace was almost arranged, when a clause which the King insisted upon prevented the conclusion of the treaty. As a fact, the King yielded up to the Master the regency of the kingdom, and the Master of Aviz acknowledged the royal claims of D. Beatriz, and pledged himself to deliver up the government of the kingdom to the firstborn which she should have by the King of Castille, as soon as he attained his majority; but

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the King desired a Castillian nobleman to join the Master, and the Master alleged in opposition that the Portuguese would never consent to being governed by a foreigner. As neither contracting parties would yield, the negotiations fell to the ground, these negotiations being carried on by Pedro Fernandes de Velasco. A second attempt at an understanding, directed by the Prior of Crato, D. Pedro Alvares, likewise fell through. The latter, who boasted before the King of Castille that he would bring the Master to an accord, because he had been formerly a great friend of his, resolved, in revenge, to overcome him through his brother, Nuno Alvares. He wrote to the latter in Alemtejo, to the effect that the Master was negotiating with the King of Castille, and that in these negotiations not a word was said respecting the frontier governor of the Guadiana, a circumstance which greatly incensed him, as a brother and as a man, that the Master should forget the many services he had rendered him. But Nuno Alvares saw through the scheme, and replied at once "that if the Master entered into any compacts with the King, he knew full well it would always be those which were honourable and to the good of the whole nation."

Hence treacheries, intrigues, and combats all fell harmlessly on the impenetrable coats of mail of these men of iron temperament, on these heroes of Plutarch, these models of valour and of loyalty.

Seeing that he could obtain no result by negotiation, the Master summoned a council to resolve upon the best way of combating the King of Castille, because, should the siege be protracted a longer time, it would be impossible that Lisbon could support all the horrors of famine which were already beginning to be felt. After some discussion it was decided that the Master should instruct Nuno Alvares to attack the camp, meanwhile that those within the city walls sallied out, and by thus assailing the Castillian army simultaneously on both sides, compel them to raise the siege. The youthful commander was ready to obey those orders, but found his own men so remiss and opposed to carrying out so foolhardy an enterprise, that he was fain to apprise the Master of their reluctance, and the plan was given up.

On Saturday, 27th August, the Castillians resolved upon effecting a more formal attack than any previous ones, by land and by sea. The Count of Mayorga, at the head of a picked body of knights and archers, attacked the Portuguese at the gate, called of Santa Catharina. The defence of the Portuguese was energetic and obstinate. The Master of

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Aviz fought with them, and, after a sanguinary combat, the assailants retired. Both armies experienced great losses.

The enemy became disheartened, not only at witnessing the heroic defence of the Portuguese, but on account of the number of deaths which daily took place in the camp. In July the fever broke out among the Castillians, and quickly assumed a pernicious character until it culminated in a horrible epidemic. The soldiers and the peasants were the first to fall victims, but soon after it attacked the higher classes, and, among others, D. Pedro Fernandes de Velasco, who died from it.

An eclipse of the sun, which took place on 19th August, instilled a great superstitious fear into the Castillians, which was increased by the fact that the Portuguese were exempt from the terrible epidemic. They judged that this was a punishment from God. The number of victims was over two hundred daily, and among them the Master of Santiago, D. Pedro Fernandes Cabeza de Vaca; Ruy Gonsalves Mexia, who substituted him; Admiral Tovar; the two Marshals, Pedro Sarmento and Alvares de Toledo; the Chief Commander of Castella, D. Pedro de Sandoval; and D. Pedro Nunes de Lara, Count of Mayorga, whose death was profoundly felt. According to Ayala, 2,000 Castillians perished, while Froissart increases the number to 20,000.

The King, although in weak health, had not yet been attacked; nevertheless, he removed with the Queen and the Court to Almada, and was resolved upon continuing the siege, in spite of the counsels of his courtiers, especially of the Infante D. Carlos de Navarre, who bade him not tempt God. However, the Queen D. Beatriz sickened of the disease, and then D. John of Castille decided to raise the siege. In September the King and Queen crossed the Tagus. The Queen was conducted in a litter, as she was very ill; and when they reached Torres Vedras she was almost inanimate, the disease became aggravated, and the King now fell ill of the same epidemic. They hastened to quit Torres Vedras and proceed to Santarem.

In Lisbon the joy of the Portuguese on witnessing the retreat of the Castillians was very great. D. Nuno Alvares, in spite of the presence of the Castillian fleet on the Tagus, crossed the river and came to congratulate the Master of Aviz. A procession, headed by the Bishop of Lisbon, D. João Escudeiro, was formed, to receive him; a religious festival was held, Friar Rodrigo of Cintra preaching

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an eloquent sermon, and on all sides there were demonstrations of popular joy.

"Such was the siege of Lisbon," writes Sr. Sandoval, "that commenced by an imperfect blockade in the month of February, which did not assume any serious character until the end of May, and lasted barely four months—that is to say, from 6th May until 3rd September, when the siege was raised."

In Torres Vedras D. John of Castille summoned a council. The French captains were of opinion that the war should be continued, and the Castillians that it should be ended. We know for certain that the King left Torres Vedras to proceed to Santarem, where he remained until the end of September, in order to afford some rest to his army. His intention, when departing from Santarem, was to continue the war under more favourable conditions when the winter should be over—an intention he carried out. Leaving the Castle of Santarem fully garrisoned, as well as all others which were of the Castillian party, he went to Torres Novas, which surrendered to him.

Towards the middle of October the army continued its march. The vanguard was preceded by a long line of mules, laden with the coffins of the Castillian fidalgos that had perished in Portugal, these coffins being each escorted by the pages and shield-bearers of their respective masters. On the rear guard followed the King and the Court, accompanied by a strong escort. In their march to the frontier no one came forth to oppose the Castillian army. On reaching the frontier, the King granted leave of absence temporarily to the army, which dispersed to their respective provinces; the King and Queen then departed on a pilgrimage of thanksgiving for the preservation of their lives, to the renowned sanctuary of Guadaloupe. The Court continued to reside in that city until the month of January, 1385, when it was removed to Seville.

After the first burst of joy, the Master of Aviz set about taking possession of the places and castles which had remained faithful to Castille. The Master fell upon Cintra, but owing to a great storm, was compelled to retreat. He then went to Almada, which the King of Castille had left undefended, although carrying as hostages some children of the place. Notwithstanding risking the lives of their children, the Almadenses at once opened the gates to the Master, and repulsed the Castillians of the fleet who had come to victual on the shores of the Tagus before departing.

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As the Cortes were to meet in Coimbra, the Master of Aviz took that direction, hoping to conquer on his way some of the towns and castles. Alemquer, which had formerly offered itself to the Master, now bravely opposed him, and was defended by the Alcaide Vasco Peres de Camões. But in the end he had to capitulate, saving nevertheless the rights of D. Leonor Telles.

From Alemquer the Master proceeded to Torres Vedras, where he met with a vigorous resistance. During the siege of this place the Castillians retained as prisoners the new Prior of Crato, Alvaro Gonçalves Camello, and the son of D. Maria Telles, D. Lopo de Sousa, Master of the Order of Christ.

After raising the siege of Torres Vedras, D. John proceeded to Coimbra, where, as we said, the Cortes were to be held, under the pretext that it was needful to take some definite measures to raise the country from its depressed state. But the people were well aware that the principal motive for the convocation of the Cortes was the official recognition of the rights of the Master to the throne of Portugal. Hence, if the voice of the people enthusiastically approved this question as soon as presented, there were sufficient reasons for mistrusting the intentions of the nobility.

When the Cortes were opened in Coimbra, the Chancellor, João das Regras, was the first to speak, because it was to him that the difficult task of placing *hors de combat* the other candidates to the throne of Portugal, to the advantage of the Master of Aviz, had been secretly entrusted. The first point he touched upon was the candidature of D. Beatriz. This he combated by saying that the Queen of Castille was an illegitimate daughter of D. Leonor Telles, because she was born during the lifetime of João Lourenço da Cunha; that, moreover, D. Ferdinand and Leonor Telles were related by a degree of consanguinity which did not admit dispensation by reason that D. Ferdinand, as well as João da Cunha, were great-grandsons of D. Alfonso III.; and lastly, that there was no certainty that D. Beatriz was the daughter of the King D. Ferdinand.

Furthermore, in order to deliver the spirit of the fidalgos, who were bound by oath to the cause of D. Beatriz, from any scruple on that score, he reminded them of the violation of the treaties on the part of the King of Castille, and that this sovereign was outside the pale of the Church, having acknowledged the Pope of Avignon, whereas the government of the Master had recognised the Holy Father Urban as

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the true Pope. His audience allowed themselves to be carried away by the burning words of the gifted Chancellor, and applause greeted him on all sides of the house, more particularly when he appealed to their feelings of patriotism, which should induce all good Portuguese to oppose the candidature of D. Beatriz. Effecting a triumph in the first difficulty, he proceeded to speak of the two sons of Iñez de Castro.

This attack was a far more difficult one, not only because the legitimate party was very numerous, as because the Master of Aviz himself had acknowledged the right of the Infante D. João, the eldest son of Iñez de Castro. But João das Regras, with that skilfulness which characterised him, endeavoured to attack the question by the root, and at once placed in doubt the legitimacy of the marriage of D. Pedro with D. Iñez de Castro. He drew attention to the contrarities of character which were untenable in a resolute temper as that of D. Pedro and his alleged fear of declaring during the lifetime of his father that D. Iñez was his legitimate wife, observing that it was absolutely incredible that all the persons who were said to have assisted at the marriage should have forgotten or lost the date, month, and year when it took place, with a sole exception of Stephen Lobato, whose declaration ought to have revived the memory of the others who were present, and he was surprised that D. Pedro should have only made such a declaration four years after the death of his father.

"And for what reason was this done?" argued João das Regras. "Because neither during the lifetime of his father nor up to that time had he ever been able to obtain a dispensation from the Pope for the legitimation of his children; then he made this publication, as you have seen, to show that they were legitimate, come what might." João das Regras had skilfully prepared his discourse, and as he proceeded from point to point with telling effect, he rejoiced to see that his arguments were working the desired result.

Moreover, he drew attention to the fact that even should D. Pedro be actually married to D. Iñez, the marriage would be an illegitimate one by reason that D. Pedro was nearly related to the father of D. Iñez de Castro, and also because D. Iñez was sponsor to the Infante de Luiz, son of D. Pedro and D. Constança, which alone would constitute a grave impediment. Hence D. Beatriz of Castille and the sons of D. Iñez de Castro were *hors de combat*, who, besides the illegitimacy of their origin, had been unfaithful to their country to favour Castille.

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Therefore, it only remained to them to elect the Master of Aviz, who was not only of royal blood, but had defended heroically the country under most difficult circumstances.

Nevertheless the victory achieved by João das Regras was not yet a decisive one, because the assembly was divided into two factions—one which favoured the cause of the Infante D. João, and was led by Martim Vasques da Cunha; the other, which advocated the cause of the Master, whose exponent was João das Regras and the *leader*, Nuno Alvares Pereira.

A resolution had not yet been taken, and the future appeared vague and threatening, which induced Nuno Alvares to disencumber himself violently of Martim Vasques. But João das Regras continued calm, whilst Nuno Alvares was all impatience. It was because João das Regras had yet in reserve a terrible blow which he would level at the last with triumphant success. And in effect, at a new session of the Cortes, João das Regras set in action his whole reserve artillery, and prepared to read some documents which *he would rather hush up.*

The first document which was read was a letter from the King D. Alfonso to the Archbishop of Braga, beseeching his interference in order that the Pope should deny to his son, D. Pedro, who *was intoxicated with love*, the dispensation he would solicit for his marriage with D. Iñez de Castro.

João das Regras then proceeded to read a letter of D. Pedro to the Pope, in which he declared having married D. Iñez de Castro despite the parentage existing between them, and begged of him to confirm the marriage in such a manner *that the boys should be legitimate.*

After stating to the assembly the great efforts which were employed by the ambassadors of D. Pedro to the Holy See to obtain the papal confirmation, João das Regras opened a third roll of parchment, which he commenced to read. It was the Pope's reply to the solicitations of D. Pedro. This document, as well as the above quoted, are found stamped in the chronicles of Fernam Lopes. But in order not to tediously lengthen this narrative, we shall limit ourselves simply to state that Pope Innocent VI. categorically refused to legitimise the marriage and the offsprings.

In view of these proofs, which carried with them a great value especially if we bear in mind the epoch and the times, the group which defended the legitimacy of the eldest son of Iñez de Castro threw

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aside their scruples, and made common cause with the defenders of the candidature of the Master of Aviz.

Then the prelates, the fidalgos, and the representatives of the Councils proceeded to offer to the Master the crown of Portugal. It might be well supposed that he would receive the crown joyfully without endeavouring to further strengthen his ground. But the Master of Aviz knew likewise how to prepare effects, and he alleged that *there were also embarrassments in the defects of his own birth, as in the profession he had made in the Order of Aviz,* principally that it would be inconvenient that, being king, he should be conquered by Castille, a fact which would neither be humiliating to him nor to the kingdom so long as he was no more than a simple knight. Lastly, that they could always reckon upon his goodwill and assistance whenever the defence of the country was concerned.

To this speech the prelates, fidalgos, and representatives of Councils replied by urging him to accept the crown, because otherwise Portugal would run the great risk of falling into the hands of the enemies, *principally schismatics and enemies to the Holy Church.*

The Master of Aviz, who could not be accused of ambition, because he had offered difficulties to the acceptance of the crown, at length yielded to the general wish, and at once prepared for the solemn act of acclamation, appointing Nuno Alvares Pereira to direct all the preparations for the event.

In effect, the Master of Aviz was acclaimed King of Portugal on 6th April, 1385, being twenty-seven years of age.

At length the work commenced by the people became crowned by the clergy and the nobility. A king at last ascended the throne of Portugal chosen by the popular will, and whose candidature had triumphed, thanks to their persevering efforts. Most certainly three elements had contributed to the success of the undertaking—the firm will of the people, the brave sword of Nuno Alvares Pereira, and the experienced skill of the Doctor of Laws, João das Regras.

The Master of Aviz, the bastard son of D. Pedro I. and of D. Thereza Lourenço, ascended the throne of D. Alfonso Henry, under the title of D. John I.

END OF FIFTH BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SIXTH.

1385—1433.

First acts of D. João I.—Exigencies of the Cortes—Battle of Trancoso—Events which took place before the decisive battle of Aljubarrota—The strength of both armies—Seat of war—Movements of the Castillians and the Portuguese—The battle—Victory of the Portuguese—Losses and spoils of the enemy—Remuneration for services—Valverde—Influences of this battle—The King in Tras-os-Montes—The pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster are renewed—His arrival in Portugal—Marriage of D. João I.—He is attacked by a grave illness—Internal and external administration—Negotiations for peace—The family of D. João I.—Spirit of chivalry in his sons—An expedition to Ceuta is first projected—The King maintains reserve on this subject—Illness and death of the Queen—Expedition to Ceuta—Last years of the reign and death of D. João I.

The first act of D. João I. on his elevation to the throne of Portugal was to recompense those whose signal services had contributed to his elevation, and to appoint the officers of his Court and household. Among those to whom he entrusted the most confidential charges were Nuno Alvares Pereira, Alvaro Pereira, Gil Vasques da Cunha, Affonso Furtado, Lourenço Annes Fogaça, and others, reserving to himself the office of Master of Aviz.

When the grave question of the election of the King had been resolved by the Cortes of Coimbra, the Parliament turned to arrange the affairs of State. The city of Lisbon claiming that to her was due the greater consideration, owing to her heroic defence of the cause of the Master of Aviz, besought the new King to admit, as a permanent right, the election of a citizen of Lisbon to the council; that the seat of the government be established in Lisbon, and that he should entrust the custody of the royal seal to a native of this city.

The representatives of the other councils desired the King not to admit in his Councils of State any persons who should have defended the cause of D. Leonor Telles; that the sovereign should not decide

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upon peace or war without a previous convocation of the Cortes; nor that any person be compelled to marry against his will, as had taken place during the former reign.

These exigencies demanded by the Cortes were only natural after having conferred the royal power on the Master of Aviz. This was its recompense, so to say, in view that the principal personages of the party of the Master had been already remunerated. Moreover, the people had always tended to growing elated at their own triumphs, exaggerating their power. This is truly the danger of democracy. It is this tendency which explains how in our days the French and Spanish Republics become transformed into hideous sinks of communism. It needs a great prudence and tact to appreciate duly these exigencies in those who have to resolve them. It is true to say, however, that in all the demands placed before D. João I. in the Cortes of Coimbra, there is a manifest fund of justice, of morality and reason. The King could not possibly refuse them, because they were in their nature reasonable; and, moreover, he could not disperse the popular element, which would become again necessary when continuing the campaign against Castille.

And in effect the King of Castille, who had withdrawn to Seville, had not abandoned his projects of war, and intended to take his revenge for the unsuccessfulness of his first campaign. New ships had been equipped and furnished in all the ports, in order to proceed to blockade Lisbon; two Castillian galleys had already entered the Tagus, and intercepted as far as they could the entry of provisions into the city. The new King of Portugal was likewise actively preparing, and his agents were anxiously working to obtain resources and means, people and alliances. The Cortes of Coimbra, although perchance somewhat exacting as regards their rights and privileges, were open-handed in assisting the Master to maintain the cause of independence.

Meanwhile, Lourenço Annes Fogaça, the ambassador in England, was entering into an alliance with Richard II., and prepared and outfitted archers and English soldiers, who departed for Portugal in three ships, one of which ported in Setubal and the others to Lisbon. These two latter ones encountered the Castillian galleys, which tried to capture them, but they defended themselves so bravely that, taking advantage of a favourable wind, they anchored opposite the city, to the great joy of the inhabitants, who had prayerfully watched the unequal combat, and to the wrath of the Castillians, who thus saw escaping from their hands the prey they judged so easy to win.

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Other English ships proceeded to Oporto. D. João I. sent his Constable, Nuno Alvares Pereira, to Oporto, in order to organise a squadron which should be ready for any eventuality. But the burghers of Oporto made known to him the impoverished state they were in, and therefore he proceeded to the north, under pretext of making a pilgrimage to Santiago of Gallicia. Senhor Ximenez de Sandoval implies that this pilgrimage was only a pretext, but the Portuguese chronicles assure us that it was the principal object of the expedition of D. Nuno. These religious acts were certainly in the spirit of the times, and often did the pilgrims in those epochs proceed on their way to the sanctuaries battling, as took place on this occasion, because Nuno Alvares, as he proceeded towards the Alto Minho, captured on his way Nieva, Vianna, Monção, Caminha, and Villa Nova da Cerveira. Whether owing to the swollen state of the river Minho, or to the fact that the Constable had no other end in view but the taking of the places of the Alto Minho, Nuno Alvares stayed in a *very good village*, says Fernam Lopes, close to the river.

Meanwhile D. João I., in order probably to reanimate the spirits of the people of Oporto, who had shown themselves so faithful to his cause, departed from Coimbra to Oporto, where he had never been, and where he was received with great joy and many festivities, which his chronicler minutely describes. This portion of the chronicle of Fernam Lopes, although it may not possess a great importance in the history of the reign of D. João I., yet it is very interesting in an ethological point of view, because it affords us an insight into the manner in which the Portuguese people received their King in the Middle Ages. In passing, we shall only say that some of these festivities consisted of women singing along the streets songs in allusion to the event, in throwing balls up in the air, in feats of jumping and other acrobatic acts, and in ladies from the windows casting on the King, as he passed, flowers, millet, wheat, and other emblematic offerings.

We shall take the opportunity here of giving, in a few hasty sketches, the description of the city of Oporto as it was in that epoch. We will give this outline in the deep and correct lineaments which only the pen of Alexandre Herculano could afford us.

"Towards the end of the fourteenth century Oporto was far from the position which awaited her. The leaven of its future grandeur was latent in the character of its sons, in its situation, and in the political and industrial changes which, later on, took place in Portugal. Although

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noble, and remembered as the origin of the name of this Portuguese lineage, her destinies were humble in comparison to those of theocratic Braga, of chivalrous Coimbra, of courtly Santarem, with the Roman and monumental Evora, and to Lisbon, in its turbulent, warlike, and mercantile spirit. He who beheld Oporto crowned with her cathedral, semi-Arab, semi-Gothic, instead of the turreted Alcasar, with its plain belfries in place of its tower of homage, square and massive, so different from the belfries of other Christian towns, perchance because among us the Arab architects wished to leave the *almadenas* of their mosques stamped, as a sign of former bondage, on the face of the temple of the Nazarene. He who would view the episcopal *borough* clustered around the church, and defended rather by sacerdotal anathemas than by engines of war, would little think that from this submissive borough would rise up an emporium of commerce wherein for five centuries, more than in any other town of that class in the kingdom, called boroughs, possessed the consciousness of its strength and its rights, and would afford to the whole of Portugal examples of its steadfast love of independence and liberty.

"The populous and vast city of Oporto, which at the present day extends for more than a league from the Seminario to beyond the Miragaia, or rather up to Foz, on the right shore of the river, and extending widely inland, manifested even at the end of the fourteenth century the distinctive elements which composed it. On the east, the *borough of the Bishop*, built up along the brow of the Monte da Sé, ended in the market gardens which covered the whole valley, where at the present day stands the *praça de D. Pedro* and the streets called Das Flores and S. João, which separated it from the monasteries of S. Domingos and S. Francisco. On the west, the town of Miragaia, placed around the Hermitage of S. Pedro, overstepped the side of Olival, and met on the north the park of Cedofeita, and on the east with the town or episcopal borough. The Church, the Municipality, and the Monarchy all fought for ages within these limits their battles of predominance, until at length the Crown triumphed. Then did the line which divided the three populations disappear rapidly beneath the foundations of the temples and palaces. Oporto constituted itself an example of monarchical unity."

Having traced the Oporto of that epoch, let us state that in the ancient house of the *Almazen* (a building which for many years after served as the custom-house) our kings of the Middle Ages used to lodge

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when visiting Oporto. It was there in effect where D. João I. took up his residence, and it was in that house where he received D. Leonor d'Alvim, the wife of the Constable, whom he had never before seen.

From Oporto, D. João I. went secretly to Guimarães in combination with two knights of that place, in order to wrench it from the power of Castille and from the hands of the Alcaide Ayres Gomes da Silva. The Alcaide resisted and took refuge within the second circle of ramparts when the first had been invaded by the soldiers of D. João I. On both sides stood brave knights—among those of the King was the renowned Sa' of the Galleys, and among those of the Alcaide a Spaniard of consummate valour, called Alvaro Tordefumos; hence D. João I. had to send to Oporto for engines of war. But at length Ayres Gomes da Silva was forced to capitulate conditionally, should the King of Castille not send the aid besought within a stipulated term, when hostilities would recommence.

An emissary was sent to Cordova to deliver the message to the King of Castille. Meanwhile the Portuguese were impatient, and attacked the second line of walls, deriving some advantage. The reply of the King of Castille quickly arrived, to the effect that in so short a space of time it would be impossible to succour him; therefore the Alcaide was forced to deliver up the fortress. He did not long survive the defeat, being conducted out of the stronghold in the arms of his people, and died a few days after.

The taking of Guimarães excited the spirits of the people of Braga, who proclaimed D. João I., fought the garrison of the fortress, and besought the aid of their new king. The latter sent to them Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcellos, and bade the Constable proceed likewise to Braga. Nuno Alvares rejoiced at this new order, which afforded him a legitimate pretext for not concluding the pilgrimage, and at once proceeded to the archiepiscopal city and took the command of the people of Braga, and directing towards the fortress all the engines of war and siege, continued the attack for two nights and a day, until the fortress was obliged to surrender.

D. João I. proceeded to Ponte do Lima, whose castle resisted heroically, and it was only when the fortress was in flames and nearly burnt down that the Alcaide and his men surrendered. They were taken prisoners and sent to Oporto, from whence they proceeded to Coimbra, subjected to much ill-treatment at the hands of the people. The King and Constable after all these victories departed to Guimarães,

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where, after a few days' rest, they proceeded to the south of the kingdom to continue the preparations for war.

Meanwhile the King of Castille was also preparing to renew the strife. He besought France to aid him by sending auxiliary companies, and from Talavera issued orders to his kingdoms and seigniorities for each to send a certain number of soldiers. He then went to Seville, and ordered a squadron to be fitted to run close to Lisbon, in order to prevent any foreign aid coming in. However, D. John of Castille was obliged to interrupt his labours, owing to a grave illness which assailed him, and it was not until the month of April that he was able to go to Cordova to continue his task. He ordered the Archbishop of Toledo to gather together, on the frontier, forces and provisions, while he concentrated other forces in Badajoz, to where he proceeded, accompanied by the Masters of Alcantara and Calatrava. On reaching Badajoz, D. John of Castille endeavoured to besiege the stronghold of Elvas, which obstinately resisted the siege of the Castillians.

"As this siege was prolonged," says Senhor Sandoval, "which seemed to be the commencement of the invasion through the Alemtejo, the King received news of a great defeat experienced by his own forces, which had penetrated as an incursion from Ciudad Rodrigo. For this reason, or because it was no longer expedient to work on that side, he raised the camp and transferred it to Alcantara, in order to march later on upon Ciudad Rodrigo, leaving in Badajoz some corps charged with watching and protecting the frontier and show hostilities to the enemy's country."

The defeat referred to by Senhor Sandoval at this period is that of the battle of Trancoso, which was very similar to that experienced by the Castillians on the previous year in the action of the *Atoleiros*. D. João I. of Portugal was greatly pleased when he received the news of this victory, but his joy was soon dimmed by the news that the port of Lisbon had been blockaded by a Castillian armada. Hence D. João hastened to depart from Guimarães with his Constable, and during his journey to the south of the kingdom received in Coimbra a proposal of alliance from the King of Navarre. When he arrived to Penella, which was on the side of Castille, he found the national flag already hoisted in the castle, which had been taken by the people. In Torres Novas, which resisted, the Portuguese had a skirmish with the Castillians, and defeated them. In Santarem likewise took place some skirmishes, the

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Portuguese winning. D. João continued his march towards the south, sending the Constable to Alemtejo to recruit troops, and assigning Abrantes as the point of reunion.

Nuno Alvares departed to carry out his mission, reaching Evora, which he found somewhat disheartened, owing to the garrison troops, on essaying to take provisions to succour the garrison of Arronches, being beaten by the Castillians on the road. But the Constable endeavoured to reanimate the spirit of the inhabitants of Evora, and enlisted two thousand foot-soldiers and three hundred archers, and with this corps went to Abrantes to join the King, who awaited him there with a reinforcement from Lisbon, which included a hundred English.

As for the King of Castille, rendered desperate by the ill-success of the affair of Trancoso, he crossed the frontier and besieged Elvas, which was defended by the renowned Gil Fernandes. However, learning that the Castillian fleet, composed of 12 galleys and 46 ships, had arrived n the Tagus, he resolved upon widening the field of operations, and for this object ordered all the troops to be gathered together in Ciudad Rodrigo. Before quitting Elvas the King of Castille practised fearful atrocities, which historians censure in vehement, indignant terms. He ordered some Portuguese prisoners to be mutilated, which gave rise to a retaliation in a similar manner by Gil Fernandes.

While impatiently awaiting to gather together his army in Ciudad Rodrigo and before the arrival of the forces commanded by D. Carlos of Navarre, he summoned a council, wherein, as usual, opinions differed. Some were of opinion that the kingdom should be invaded with the whole force of the army, because by this conquest the war would certainly end. Others said that, taking into consideration the defeats of the previous year, the recent reverse of Trancoso, and the present state of health of the King, he ought not to enter personally into the war, and judged it more expedient to make divided warfare, some troops making active incursions to the north, centre, and south of Portugal, meanwhile that the squadron should attack and reduce Lisbon and all the sea coast.

D. John I. of Castille had quite decided to continue the war, and with this idea had quitted Portugal and raised the siege of Lisbon, and therefore he crossed the frontier on the 8th of July, and marched through Almeida, Pinhel, Trancoso, and Celorico, where he stopped to take the castle and garrison it, and where, probably under a fatal presentiment, on beholding himself assailed by frequent maladies,

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he made and signed on the 21st of July the celebrated will and testament, which was to occasion such serious difficulties after his death.

During this march the King of Castille continued to practise cruelties which really appear incompatible with his naturally quiet, gentle character and to the words he used when defending Portuguese loyalty in Seville. Probably this conduct was due to the aggravation of his maladies and to the vain wrestlings he had sustained. In Trancoso, as though to revenge himself for the defeat experienced by his troops, he ordered the Hermitage of S. Marcos, which overlooked the battle-field, to be razed to the ground.

On the 31st of July, D. John of Castille marched on to Coimbra, he himself being conducted on a litter, on account of his weak state of health. His army encamped on the left margin of the Mondego, and troops were sent to Montemôr-o-Velho, Soure, and Aveiro to get provisions. The gates of the city continued closed, but the King of Castille did not attempt to force them. He burnt down some parts of the suburbs, and collected all provisions he was able. The army moved on to Soure, where a Portuguese shieldbearer appeared with a message from D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, to the effect that the King of Portugal did not wish to do him any injury, that he did not desire to destroy his lands, and under certain conditions an understanding might be arranged, otherwise it would have to be decided by war. The King of Castille replied affirming his rights to the crown of Portugal, and that should the Master of Aviz and his party desire to acknowledge these rights, he not only would pardon them, but would divide among them the *lands* and *important offices*, but if, to the contrary, they would not acknowledge such rights, he would appeal to the fate of arms.

The King continued his march to Pombal, and on to Leiria, and further on in the plains leading to Aljubarrota the troops pitched their camp.

Meanwhile the King of Portugal was in Abrantes anxious about this invasion, and hesitating as to the manner of repelling it. He summoned a council to discuss the question. Opinions were divided: some were for avoiding the risk of a battle in view of the superiority of the Castillian forces, and the Portuguese to penetrate along Andalusia into the enemy's territory, by this means compelling the Castillians to retreat to their country. Others, with D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, declared that it was absurd to make war in the distance when the enemy was so close at hand, and that if they quitted Portuguese

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territory it was equal to abandoning it, and concurred in the loss of the capital. This opinion raised up a certain opposition which annoyed the Constable, who quitted the council and marched upon Thomar with all the troops he had enlisted in the Alemtejo, saying that he was ready to vanquish or to die. When this action of his, so reprehensible under the point of view of military discipline, became known in the council, it caused a profound sensation, and the King, although accustomed to the ways of the Constable, was likewise astonished at his audacity. But as in his own heart he was resolved upon doing the same as Nuno Alvares had done spontaneously, he declared in council that he approved of the proceeding of the Constable, and was ready to risk a battle, that this battle would be the judgment of God, as he would call upon Him to decide the contention, and therefore it mattered little what their numbers might be if victory was to be on their side. The King then sent for the Constable to return, in order to incorporate the troops into one army. The Constable replied that he would not return, and that if the King desired to proceed to battle he would await him in Thomar, but that otherwise he should go alone, and he would on no account take a single retrograde step under any pretext whatsoever. It was from Thomar that Nuno Alvares sent the message above mentioned to the King of Castille, and it was here where D. João of Portugal joined him. The Portuguese proceeded forward on to Ourem, and from thence to Porto de Moz, and then to Aljubarrota, where the battle was fought.

When the King of Castille sighted the Portuguese, he sent some parliamentaries, in the persons of Diogo Alvares, brother to the Constable, and Pedro Lopes de Ayala, the Castillian chronicler of these events. Notwithstanding that they eloquently endeavoured to convince the Portuguese that they would surely be routed, owing to the numerical superiority of the Castillian army, their words were contemned. Vainly did the gifted Chancellor attempt to demonstrate to Nuno Alvares the madness of the combat projected; vainly did the brother of the Constable invoke the recollections of their infancy: Nuno Alvares was inflexible. He admitted that the Castillian army was superior in numbers and discipline, but he was defending a good cause, and one he would fight for, although all should be vanquished or slain. Two knights of Gascony had accompanied the Castillian envoys, carried by curiosity to behold closely that man who was so much talked of, and whose fame had already reached far distant

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countries, and stood contemplating with respect the form of the youthful hero, so simple-minded in his loyalty, so dignified in his constancy. As we perceive, the King of Castille vacillated, despite his superiority, because his health was broken, and because his counsellors were divided in their votes; but at length war was declared.

It was the 13th August, 1385. When night approached, both armies retired to rest, to prepare for the fatigues of the forthcoming day. The dark shades of night calmly spread over the sleeping hosts, which were to be torn to pieces in a cruel fight, until the horizon on the east became purpled with the dawn, and in the clear summer sky rose radiant the sun, which was to illumine the most glorious battle-field in our annals of warfare.

But before we assist at this heroic combat, wherein was to be decided the destinies of the Portuguese nationality, it is well that, guided by Fernam Lopes, we should take a glance at both contending armies, and compare their disproportionate forces.

The Portuguese army consisted of barely 1,700 lances, 800 archers, and 4,000 foot-soldiers. Among the archers were 100 renowned English, similarly as in the opposing army there were a large number of French knights.

The Castillian army was far superior, numbering 6,000 lances, 2,000 horsemen, 8,000 archers, and 15,000 foot-soldiers. Their baggage trains were enormous, including 700 waggons, 8,000 heads of cattle, with a retinue of drovers, pages, and orderlies. It is true that the Portuguese had no few baggage waggons and men, as Schœffer informs us, but nevertheless the Castillian army carried some war engines hitherto unknown in Portugal, and which no doubt produced among the Portuguese some dismay, although these engines did not influence the battle, owing to the inexperience of those who managed them, and the rudeness of their imperfect construction. We refer to the sixteen mortars, or pieces of ordnance, which were brought with the army of the King of Castille, and were the first the Portuguese had seen used in battle. It was in this combat that, for the first time, was used this weapon which later on was to effect a complete revolution in military science, but the first appearance of which only produced dismay, and not the results which the most far-seeing spirits of those times could possibly have anticipated.

Such were the forces which were prepared for the combat that was

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to take place on the following day by the two Kings, and which were ranged as follows.

The King of Portugal, as usual, entrusted the vanguard of 600 lances to the command of his Constable. The right wing, commanded by Mem Rodrigues and Ruy Mendes de Vasconcellos, consisted of 200 lances, and the left wing, led by Antão Vasques, was composed principally of foreigners, and formed a corps of 200 men. The rearguard, or, as we should express it at the present day, the reserve corps, was commanded by the King in person, and consisted of 700 lances. Supporting the two wings and the rearguard stood the archers and foot-soldiers. Behind all these came the baggage service, defended by a number of soldiers and archers.

The Castillian vanguard numbered 1,600 lances, and included the nobility of Castille and that of Portugal which had taken the side of Castille. The two wings, each formed of 700 lances, were commanded respectively by the Master of Alcantara and the Master of Calatrava (D. Pedro Alvares Pereira, brother to Nuno Alvares). The rearguard, governed by the Marshal of Castille, was a compact body of 3,000 lances. Much confusion reigned in the Spanish army, owing to disorganisation among the ranks. The King of Castille was too ill to command the forming of the troops, and such was the confidence he had in the superiority of numbers that no one was appointed his substitute in command.

Aljubarrota was a small town to the south-east of Leiria, between Alcobaça and Porto de Moz. Built on an eminence, it gloried in having been in former times the site of the Roman city of Arruncia. But the greater glory which it was to acquire as the result of the battle fought on 14th August, 1385, completely eclipsed the recollections of ancient splendour.

The Portuguese and Castillian armies had each converged to this field of battle, the first marching from the east to the west, the second from the north to the south. Our small host came from Abrantes, passing by Thomar, Ourem, and Porto de Moz; the army of the King of Castille descended from Coimbra to Leiria. The King of Portugal ordered his army to face Leiria; but the Castillians defiled before them and took up their position in Aljubarrota. The battle-field was level and flat, and the King and the Constable at once comprehended the manœuvre of the Castillians, and endeavoured to place their troops facing Aljubarrota. At dawn of day the trumpets sounded in the

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Portuguese camp. Mass was celebrated, and many knights received the Holy Communion. Enthusiasm reigned supreme. A knight called Gonçalo Eanes of Castelvide swore he would give the first blow, while Vasco Martins de Mello went further, and declared he would either capture the King of Castille, or at least strike him. Rash promises indeed, but which showed that in the Portuguese ranks there existed the desperate heroism of men who knew they must either vanquish or die; not impelled by personal ambition, but by a patriotic feeling of defending their native land, their families, their nationality—in a word, avenge Portuguese honour. The Constable, simply armed, traversed the lines, giving his last orders, and exhorting the soldiers to do their duty. On all sides, wherever he passed, he was received with acclamations and shouts of joy which presaged victory.

Over the right wing, called the *lovers' wing*, waved the green flag, a symbol of their loving hopes. All these youthful knights, thinking on their lady loves, their God, and the fatherland symbolised by the King, prepared to practise deeds similar to those of Gonçalo and Vasco. A sympathetic and brave army, which was to worthily fulfil its promises, and in compensation to be laid on the fields of Aljubarrota, which their own bravery had so signally illustrated!

The scene presented by the left wing was diverse. With true British phlegm, the English archers examined their bows and arrows, and prepared themselves for the coming battle by substantial refreshments, and calmly awaited the signal for the combat. There was none of the southern petulance of patriotic enthusiasm, but there was the lofty tranquillity of veteran warriors, many of whom had fought under the orders of the Black Prince, and were accustomed to seeing their flag victorious.

On the rearguard, the King was armed simply, in order not to be singled out, and also traversed the lines of soldiers, speaking to them encouraging words. At his side rode his chief ensign carrying the royal standard, the Marshal of the host, and various foreign knights, among them John of Montferrat. Wherever he passed he was received enthusiastically. Breathing this fiery atmosphere of war, his hand on the hilt of the sword, which he managed as skilfully as the sceptre, the adventuresome Soldier of Aviz communicated to others confidence and daring. "I have assisted at seven pitched battles," said John of Montferrat, "but I never saw soldiers with a more cheerful aspect,

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with a more resolute mien, in spite of their immense disproportion of numbers. I prophesy, senhor, victory."

"I already reward you for your good augury," replied the King. These words produced a vivid effect on the army, and cheers filled the air, and the Archbishop of Braga, D. Lourenço, the knight-prelate, raising aloft a silver cup, encouraged and exhorted the soldiers to fight for love of their country against the invaders, for their faith against the heretics, for the King of the faithful people against the King of a traitorous nobility. All were now anxiously awaiting the signal of war, as they stood intrepidly facing the ranks of the enemy.

The aspect of the Castillian army was very different. There was certainly over-much confidence, but there was wanting the animation inspired by the presence of the sovereign, and the unity of command.

The King, weak and in ill-health, rode a mule, but not at the head of his troops, and the nobles and knights rushed about without giving proper orders. All they were thinking about was how to divide the spoils of the enemy, which they were confident of obtaining, like the hunters in the fable of Lafontaine, who sold the bear's skin before it was dead. The Castillian horsemen cavalcaded around the Portuguese baggage, watching the moment to fall upon it. But vigilance was kept up, and this served to render more firm the spirit of the Portuguese, because some few foot-soldiers losing courage attempted to fly, but fell in with the Castillian horsemen, who slew every one of the fugitives. This proved a providential punishment, since it withdrew from the Portuguese all hopes of saving themselves by flight; hence they averred that if they must die, it was better to die like men fighting face to face with the enemy.

It was past midday when the Castillian army commenced to move towards the Portuguese. The vanguard of the Portuguese army, at the command of Nuno Alvares Pereira, then moved forward also, and slowly marched to meet the enemy. The shots from the bombards* produced a certain shock and hesitation in the ranks of the Portuguese army, and the first projectile shot two *escudeiros* dead. Great agitation ensued, and the fortune of arms vacillated and seemed to be against the Portuguese; but suddenly a voice rose up crying, "This is a punishment of

* *Bombard.* A piece of short, thick ordnance with a large mouth, formerly used, some of them carrying a ball of three hundred pounds weight. It is also called *basilisk*, and by the Dutch *donderbuss*, *thunder gun*. But the thing and the name are no longer in use.

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Heaven: these two slew a priest in the church some days ago. God protects us because He delivers us from the wicked." This speech sufficed to restore calmness and enthusiasm.

The Castillian vanguard, ranged in a long line, and reinforced by the foot-soldiers and archers, advanced, threatening to engulph in its immense columns the narrow line of the Portuguese. But this approach was made with small order and union. On perceiving that the Portuguese army were about to combat on foot—a thing they did not expect—the Castillians began to shorten their lances, in order to use them with greater effect. This operation, joined to the deficiency of order and the ruggedness of the ground, which offered considerable obstacles to their march, began to diminish the front ranks. The flanks of the army doubled upon the rearguard, and the line prolonged itself to the reserve body and formed with it a deep column. In this way they lost hopes of involving the whole Portuguese army, but at the same time they had the certainty of breaking asunder with this immense human bulwark, formed of over 20,000 men, the slender line composed of 600 lances commanded by Nuno Alvares, and with small reinforcements to back them.

The first encounter was a terrible one. The Portuguese under Nuno Alvares fought like lions; the flower of the Castillian and Portuguese nobility, banded with the King of Castille, combated bravely. On one side resounded the war-cry of "*Saint George and Portugal!*" responded to on the other by "*Castille and Saint James!*" The Castillians fought in a blind fury, but imprudently. Judging that the shortened lances were now of little use, they flung them away and took up their war hatchets and rapiers. These lances cast to the ground considerably impeded their movements, nevertheless a body of 20,000 men must necessarily annihilate a host of 600 men ranged in two lines. Thus it happened: after a fierce struggle the Castillians broke through the enemy's line like an irresistible torrent. Without a moment's hesitation the two Portuguese wings converged into the centre, and the unerring aim of the English archers told on that confused mass; but though they fought enthusiastically, and even effected a deep breach in the Castillian column, nevertheless the battle seemed lost to the Portuguese, when above that seething, tumultuous uproar of weapons rose the commanding voice of their brave King, leading the rearguard, the flower of his army—the reserve corps of lances—and fell like a hurricane upon the enemy. The King performed prodigies of valour, as Froissart

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tells us. Each of the combatants fought desperately, and although the wings were sadly broken, yet they returned to the charge to shed the last drop of their generous blood, the English archers steadfastly shooting their arrows like rain into the enemy's column. The Castillian troops after the first victory hesitated and retreated. Its immense extension, which had shown such a formidable front, now became paralysed, and drew back towards the rearguard, which had remained at a great distance from the actual scene of battle, and where the small Portuguese army had concentrated all its efforts.

But, it may be asked, what were the 7,000 men which composed the two wings, and the 12,000 light infantry doing meanwhile? These had been left with no orders, their action impeded by the ruggedness of the ground and by the heaps of lances which lay on the field. Many of the nobles who led them had cast themselves singly where the fight was fiercest. The horsemen persisted in attacking the baggage waggons, and were repulsed by the archers who defended them. That immense body of troops were left without direction, and without a commander to utilise their bravery or their numbers.

Finding itself thus forsaken, the vanguard of the column retreated. To retreat was to lose the victory. That formidable body on retreating fell on each other, tottered, and came into collision with the rearguard and baggage, until all was confusion and disorder. The men became completely dispirited, and the first to give the example was the King of Castille, who, alighting from his mule and leaping on a horse, brought to him by his head chamberlain, Gonzalez de Mendoza, fled at full speed along the road to Santarem. The brave knight gazed on the fugitive King with ill-disguised contempt.

"In vain," says Schœffer, "did the King urge him not to return to the combat; in vain did the fugitives inform him that all was lost. 'I wish,' said Mendoza, 'to die fighting, in order that the women of Guadalajara may never accuse me of having led to death their husbands and sons, and I myself returned safe and sound.'" He sped to enter the thickest of the battle, where he gloriously perished.

The battle was virtually lost. When hesitation became manifest in the attacking column, then only did the Master of Alcantara think of attacking the Portuguese foot-soldiers on the rearguard. It prevented them from fleeing, if such had been their wish, and the Constable, released by the King from the disaster which he had experienced, was able to run to aid the men and inspire firmness. Had this movement

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of the Master of Alcantara been effected earlier in the day, the fate of the battle would most probably have been otherwise decided.

Repulsed by the horsemen, the routing became complete. And in the same way as in the attack no order was kept, so also was it in their retreat; hence the two wings, which could most admirably have covered the retreat, fled as precipitately and broken up as the rest of the forces, and afforded the curious spectacle of beholding a numerous army pursued by a handful of men.

The battle was not altogether lost when the King of Castille fled at full speed down the road to Santarem. The flight was witnessed by Vasco Martins de Mello, and burning to fulfil the vow he had taken, ran at full gallop in pursuit, dashing fearlessly through the escort which accompanied the King. He was recognised a Portuguese by the cross of Saint George, and he was cut down and slain before he could fulfil his rash vow. Continuing his flight, the King reached Santarem at nightfall, and his escort cried out that the gates be opened to them, because the King of Castille was there. Those within the gates would not believe it until they recognised the voice of the monarch. Deeply astonished, they then opened the doors, and the King, with downcast head and despair visible in every feature of his countenance, entered into the Castle. Taking refuge in his apartments, he poured out his soul in cries and tears of rage and disappointment. This state of anguish and despair reached to such a height that those around him judged his conduct unbecoming in a king. They endeavoured to console him by reminding him that his father had suffered similar misfortunes, and even greater ones, and that he had never given way to despair. "My father," replied D. John, "was defeated by the Prince of Wales, the first captain of his time, a man so fortunate in warfare that he routed and took prisoner the King of France—was beaten by the English, who are the flower of the chivalry of Europe; but I suffer this shameful defeat at the hands of a Master of Aviz and of a handful of *Chamorros*."* And he continued his lamentations, and to strike his breast in anguish.

Judging that he was not secure in Santarem, on that same night he went on board a ship of the fleet, which lay on the Tagus, and from thence proceeded in a galley to Seville, which he entered by night,

* *Chamorros*—from the Spanish "bald"—a scornful name given to the Portuguese by the Castillians, on account of their custom of shaving their heads, or cutting the hair very close.

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because he did not wish to hear the cries of the hapless ones who had lost in Aljubarrota friends and relatives. But on the following day the lamentations which he so dreaded to hear resounded far and wide opposite the palace, and caused so painful an impression that he withdrew to Carmona. This sinister news flew throughout Castille, exciting on all sides grave astonishment, and reached Toledo, where dwelt the Queen D. Beatriz, who fell senseless to the ground on hearing it. She had bidden her ladies to pray day and night that the Castillians might gain the victory, when the news arrived, and all was tumult. The impression on the people was terrible. Furious at the affront and loss endured, and carried away by blind hatred for all that was Portuguese, they went so far as to desire to kill the Queen and all of her country who surrounded her—a design they would most assuredly have carried into execution had not the Archbishop of Toledo attained to calm them by gentle words. This surprise and pain were certainly justifiable, because independently of the sad moral effect which it produced, the battle of Aljubarrota was equivalent to a formidable disaster, since the flower of the nobility had fallen fighting valiantly. Of the Portuguese who had followed the standard of Castille few survived, because they fought always where the greatest danger existed, and also by reason that their own indignant countrymen would not nurse them when wounded. A brother of Nuno Alvares was taken prisoner and conducted to the King of Portugal, who entrusted him to the care of a fidalgo called Egas Coelho; but his protection was of no avail, and he was barbarously murdered.

Tired out after the combat, D. João of Portugal threw himself on a stone bench to rest. Antão Vasques de Almada then approached and covered his feet with the royal standard of Castille. The King smiled at this act, and he could scarcely credit that the Portuguese had won such a formidable battle. The King rose up, and taking a Castillian prisoner with him, proceeded to visit the camp, and learn the names of those who had been slain. It was indeed a terrible harvest which the Portuguese scythe had mown. On the battle-field lay dead D. Pedro, son of the Marquis de Villena; D. Tello, cousin to the King; D. Ferdinand, son of Count D. Sancho; the Prior of the Castillian Hospitallers, Count de Villalpando; Chief Admiral of Castille, Juan Fernandes de Tovar; the Mayordomo, Pero Gonzalez de Mendoza; the *Adelantado* and the Marshal of Castille; João Ramires de Arellano, Diogo Gomes Sarmiento, João Duque, and many others! Of the Portuguese

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who had fought beneath the standard of Castille, the Count de Mayorca, D. João Alfonso Tello, brother to the Queen D. Leonor; the Master of Calatrava, D. Pedro Vasques de Azevedo; Alvaro Gonçalves de Azevedo, his son, and many other distinguished nobles lay dead, and among the distinguished prisoners taken were D. Pedro de Castro, son of the Count de Arrayolos, and Vasco Peres de Camões, Alcaide of Alemquer, and the Castillian Pero Lopes de Ayala, the eloquent chronicler whom we have so often occasion to refer to.* On the Portuguese side, the fidalgos most distinguished who perished were Vasco Martins de Mello and the afore-mentioned brave Gascon knight John of Montferrat.

The total number of the slain is unknown, but it must have been enormous, judging from the consternation which this defeat caused in Castille, and to the fact that 2,500 knights lay dead on the battle-field, and the number of common soldiers much greater; moreover, as they fled in disorder in all directions, they were assaulted by the peasantry, who took revenge for their cruelties by slaying all they could. The tradition of the baker's wife of Aljubarrota, who, although not quoted by Fernam Lopes, is considered probable, is well known. Senhor Herculano has collected in a curious article all that is known concerning this woman, who, with an oven peel, slew seven soldiers. This tradition, whether true or fabulous, nevertheless has an historic value, since it is

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* Pero Lopes de Ayala was born in 1332, and at the early age of 18 entered into public affairs. He followed the party of D. Henry de Trastamara, who appointed him his chief ensign. He assisted at the battle of Najera, where he was taken prisoner by the English, and spent in London his captivity. On returning to his native land he was made Chancellor, a post he held likewise in the service of D. John I. He fell into the hands of the Portuguese at the battle of Aljubarrota, but it appears that his captivity this time was not so prolonged or so cruel as his former one in London. He was ransomed at the enormous price of 30,000 doubles. On his return to Castille he resumed for some years his office of Chancellor, which extended to the reign of Henry III. He died in Calahorra in 1407 at the age of seventy-five. He was a distinguished poet and chronicler. He is the author of the Chronicles of D. Pedro I. of Castille, and of D. Henry III. up to the sixth year of his reign. He translated Titus Livius, Saint Gregory, and Boccio into Castillian He wrote several works, among them a didactic poem on the duties of kings and nobles, entitled *Rimado de Palacio*. He is a rival to the Portuguese chronicler, Fernam Lopes, whom he preceded chronologically, but is inferior in picturesqueness and poetry, though superior in skilfulness of appreciation. Concerning this writer, the reader may consult for further information Ticknor's "History of Spanish Literature," first period, from its origin to Charles V., translation of Magnaba (Paris, 1864), cap. v., page 97, and cap. ix., page 167.

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a symbol, an expression vivid and general at that epoch, of the feeling of the Portuguese against foreign dominion, and the hatred and indomitable spirit of all classes to make war to whoever assumed to subject them. The force of this sentiment, which was deeply rooted in the Portuguese mind, owing, besides other circumstances, to the character of our primitive institutions, affords us the clue why, during the space of some centuries, this small territory, divided from the great Castillian monarchy, was able to resist that colossal power until its national spirit becoming corrupted by the greed of wealth, and by the vices of the reign of D. João III., when our brave kingdom of Portugal succumbed at the feet of her formidable rival, where, for the space of sixty years, she bore affronts and oppressions ere she rose again to her feet. Hence, if the story of the baker's wife of Aljubarrota is but a *myth*, a popular invention of the fifteenth century, we do not despise it, because a people which invests a woman with sufficient odium against foreign oppressors to slay seven enemies, symbolises its feeling in this respect, and its maintenance of national independence.

We shall not be the ones to cast into the world of phantoms the image of the famous Brites d'Almeida, the baker wife of Aljubarrota. We will leave to our readers to judge the reality or fiction of her existence, and we shall only add the historical notes which at various times have been made in this respect.

According to the testimony of Fr. Manuel dos Santos, the chief chronicler, Fr. Francisco Brandão in 1642 had a summary drawn up in the town of Aljubarrota of all testimonies concerning this fact, and in which the oldest inhabitants of that town declared on oath all that had been preserved in its integrity of the tradition of that event, the peel actually being preserved in the palace of the Council, which was of iron, with a modern handle of wood. In this summary it is said that Brites d'Almeida was surnamed the *Pisqueira*, and had her bakery in the high street of the town, close to the stores of the Friars of Alcobaça. This is the oldest written record remaining to us of the celebrated bakery of Aljubarrota. Furthermore, José Soares da Silva, in his third volume of "Memorias de D. João I." (chap. i., p. 260), tells us that it is certain this tradition was a true one, and in 1732 declared the spot where this shovel had been preserved, and held in such faith that it was always carried in the procession made on the 14th August. When this kingdom passed over into the dominion of Castille, the inhabitants of the town, fearing lest Philip II. might wish

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to eradicate this remembrance by destroying the shovel, one of the principal residents, called Manuel Pereira de Moura, concealed it in a wall of the actual palace or chamber of the Council, from whence it was taken out with great rejoicings on the occasion of the acclamation of the invincible monarch, D. John IV.

After remaining three days in the battle-field after the Constable had gone on a pilgrimage to Santa Maria d'Ourem, the King of Portugal raised the camp and proceeded towards Alcobaça. The fetid exhalations of the dead left unburied (because the barbarous usage of those days did not permit that enemies be buried) had commenced to taint the atmosphere, but the laws of warfare in the Middle Ages did not allow a general to proclaim himself a conqueror until after passing three nights on the battle-field. The army also proceeded to Alcobaça, and the Portuguese nobles, who had purchased that splendid victory at the price of their lives, were buried in the church. The officers and men were loaded with spoils, of which neither the King nor his Constable had retained any portion, with the exception of a relic of the Holy Cross, and a huge cauldron, which was given to the Convent of Alcobaça for the use of the Cistercian monks. This cauldron was the same which the courtiers of Philip II. advised him to melt down into a bell or a piece of artillery, in order to extinguish the remembrance of that shameful defeat of the Castillians. The reply of the monarch was characteristic, "If this cauldron speaks with such loud tones, how much louder would it sound were it transformed into a cannon or into a bell?"

When the news of the victory reached Lisbon, the rejoicings were very great. The Camara had promised that should the contention be decided in favour of the Portuguese, to promulgate and severely insist on the execution of a statute by which all witchcraft and immoralities which outraged good and moral customs should be put a stop to. In effect this promise was fulfilled, and the statute by which the Camara manifested its gratitude to God Who had given them the victory of Aljubarrota, is a most curious document, which we shall have occasion to speak of when treating on the popular superstitions of the Portuguese during the Middle Ages.

The joy of the inhabitants of Lisbon was further increased when the King D. João I. sent to the city the flags captured from the enemy: this he did not only because Lisbon was the capital of the kingdom, but because, in the strife for national independence, it was this city

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which had shown greater traits of heroism and constancy. The whole population came forth barefooted in procession to receive them, bearing the image of Saint George, whom they proclaimed as the winner of the victory. A splendid sermon was delivered by Fr. Pedro de S. Francisco, who took for his text, *A Domino factum est istud, et est mirabile in oculis nostris*, and the city pledged to have three processions during the week to commemorate this signal victory—one to the Convent of the Trinity, another to the Church of Graça, and the third to the Church of Saint Francis—those following the procession to go barefooted. Besides these three processions, two others were established annually, one on the day of Saint Vincent, the patron of the city, and the other on the Feast of Saint George, as a mark of gratitude to that saint, whose invocation had instilled strength into the Portuguese on that memorable day.

While the whole of Portugal rejoiced, Castille moaned and grieved under the losses sustained, since all wept for the loss of relation or friend, for the nobility which had been decimated, the honour of its arms dimmed, and its own kingdom in danger, because the King of Portugal was about to change the war of defence into a war of invasion. The Duke of Lancaster, animated by the successes of his allies, was again projecting to renew his former pretensions to the throne of Castille, and the Castillian pride, humbled to the ground by that defeat, was unable for many centuries to heal its wounds.

Prescott, the American historian, when narrating the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella, found in the contemporary writers of those two Catholic monarchs vestiges of the profound impression which the defeat of Aljubarrota had caused on the spirit of generations. The anniversary of the Battle of Aljubarrota ever remained a day of mourning for Castille, similarly as that of the Guadalete in respect to Arab Spain, of Salado for the Granadinos and Africans, of Fontenoy for England, that of Waterloo for France, and that of Alcacer Kibir for the Portuguese. The sorrowful resentment which this victory left on the spirit of our neighbours was not extinguished even by the sixty years of oppression which ages after they inflicted on the descendants of their heroic conquerors.

"The Battle of Aljubarrota," says Schœffer, "was the most memorable action which took place in the Peninsula between Christian armies. The incomparable superiority of the forces of the conquered side, the youthfulness of both victorious chiefs, in opposition to the many signal

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warriors and experienced soldiers of former campaigns, the short time which sufficed to decide the action (half an hour), the greatness of the disputed prize (no less than that of two kingdoms and the independence of Portugal), all these circumstances secure for the Battle of Aljubarrota the interest of posterity."

In truth, this battle was a veritable phenomenon, on account of the unusual circumstances attached to it. To what must we ascribe the unexpected result? To many things which together made the balance fall on the side of the Portuguese. In the first place, the Portuguese defended their country and fought for their national independence, and we all know how greatly this thought strengthens the arm, fires the heart, and exalts the courage of the combatants. Secondly—and this is the principal motive—in the Portuguese army, although small in numbers, there was unity of action. All those men who were grouped together to conquer or to die had but one only motive power which they obeyed, which guided them to battle, which would give them strength even against a defeat. In the Castillian army, on the contrary, there were diverse opinions, different odiums and rivalries. The Portuguese and Castillians disputed among themselves as to which should prove braver knights, and in their anxiety to demonstrate their prowess, instead of directing the movements of the different corps into which the army was divided, they all rushed to the vanguard in order to combat with daring, rash, and fruitless valour. There was wanting not only a special command, but a general one. There was no chief commander, there was no plan of action. Each fought as they listed, and, as a consequence, without union or harmony.

On the other side, what firmness of command and union and calmness of movement in the small Portuguese army! Their vanguard is broken into, yet the Portuguese are not dismayed. The two wings converge to the centre with all the regularity of manœuvre of a modern regiment; the rearguard at the voice of the King marches in good order upon the attacking column; the broken vanguard is reinforced quickly, and returns to the charge; and in a few minutes the whole force of the Portuguese army becomes concentrated upon one only point, and that point a decisive one.

The battle of Aljubarrota, therefore, is not only glorious for the Portuguese soldiers, whose valour shone with immortal brilliancy, but also for the chiefs, to whose skill was principally due its victory. In the Middle Ages, the epoch of brute force, in which brute force usually

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decided the issue of combats, the battle of Aljubarrota rises up in greatness equal to the battle of Poitiers, the battle of Najera, and others commanded by the Black Prince, and presaged an epoch wherein intelligence and science, rather than strength, would decide the fate of battles. Tactics, precision of movements, began to be unfolded and acknowledged as capable of vanquishing numerous battalions, and war of democracy often manifests its incontrovertible superiority. In Aljubarrota, as in Atoleiros and in Trancoso, the firm, compact masses of the infantry triumphantly resists the charge of the enemy.

Portugal has in truth descended low in the scale of nations; she has been the object of the derision of Europe, her decadence has been miserable and degrading, nevertheless we glory in being Portuguese when, turning over our old chronicles, we find rising resplendent, and as glorious as the names which Rome or France boasted, that name which of itself is worthy of a poem—Aljubarrota!

In all things D. John I. of Castille had given proofs of the want of spirit which characterised him, and which rendered him a man unfitted to conquer a crown. Deficient of military skill to avoid a defeat, with little personal bravery to render that defeat less shameful, without perseverance and honour to remedy its disastrous consequences, we behold him, ere the battle was altogether lost, flying from the camp seeking refuge in the town of Santarem. Then giving vent to complaints and imprecations, and finally hastily departs by sea to Seville without heeding that he was forsaking his nobles, his army dispersed and in disorder, his fleet in a state of consternation, issuing no order or delegating another to take his place and the command, or even leaving them a plan to follow, or a point of reunion for his fugitive troops, and without even attempting to enter into some convention with the conqueror which should enable him to save the remnants of the army, since he no longer wished to try anew the fate of arms.

This complete neglect on the part of the King of Castille is indeed a subject of astonishment. The Castillian officers of Santarem who thus saw him hastily leaving all things to their fate, asked one another what was to be done. The army meanwhile spread themselves on all sides without order or direction, many soldiers falling victims to odium and vengeance. The only corps which retained some sort of order was that under the command of the Master of Alcantara, composed of the horsemen who had obstinately attacked the baggage waggons of the

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enemy, and had been less broken up. To this corps many fugitive soldiers joined themselves, in order to proceed with greater safety beneath its flag. On reaching Santarem the Master of Alcantara learnt that the King had departed for Castille, and without a moment of delay he crossed the Tagus, and proceeded towards the frontier. In Santarem there were many Castillians fugitives from the battle-field, as well as those composing the former garrison, but these had no commander, and their last hope of resistance was extinguished when the Master of Alcantara departed. In this town there were three prisoners of war belonging to the party of the Master of Aviz, distinguished Portuguese noblemen, who had fallen into the hands of the Castillians during the siege of Torres-Vedras. These were the Master of the Order of Christ, Lopo Dias de Sousa; the Prior of the Hospitallers, Alvaro Gonçalves Camello, and Rodrigo Alvares Pereira, brother of the Constable. Their anxiety may well be imagined when they learnt that the Castillians had been routed. Trembling between joy at the victory of the Portuguese and anguish at the dread lest the King of Castille should take his revenge by slaying them, or by dragging them away with him, they spent hours of deep anguish. But on learning of the departure of the Master of Alcantara, and that the town had been forsaken, although full of a confused medley of disorganised soldiers, they rushed to the gates, and the people in great crowds quickly joined them, and commenced to raise cries of "*Long live D. João I. of Portugal! Death to the schismatic Castillians!*" The latter did not stay to ascertain the cause of these cries, but judging that it was already the vanguard of the conquering army, fled precipitately, some taking refuge within the churches.

It was not long before their misgivings were realised. D. João I. of Portugal and his Constable appeared at the gates of Santarem, and were received enthusiastically. The King here gave proof of that lofty generosity which rendered him one of the most noteworthy figures of Europe during the Middle Ages. On knowing of the precarious situation of the Castillians who had taken refuge in the churches, and, besieged by the people, were without food, he ordered the doors to be opened and they allowed to depart freely and return to their land.

In Santarem, D. João I. desired to recompense the services of his intrepid Constable in a manner which might satisfy the most unbounded ambition, yet would never reach to his estimation of the value of the services so faithfully rendered. He offered Nuno Alvares Pereira the

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County of Ourem, which João Fernandes Andeiro had held, with all the rest of the appanage which this favourite possessed.

Nuno Alvares Pereira accepted the favour, but on one condition—he exacted from his companion-at-arms that he should not create another Count during his lifetime. This pride, which in our day we should think inordinate, nevertheless is in harmony with his haughty, high-minded spirit, who easily yielded up wealth and estates, as he did to the Count D. Gonçalo, when the service of his master demanded it, but who desired to preserve in the Book of Nobility a separate place for himself, in the same way as his valiant, spotless sword had carved a place in a higher book of nobility which posterity assigns to him and which history records.

The recompense was enormous, not only in the sense of honour conferred, but in a pecuniary one; nevertheless, no one judged it too great a reward for his great services. The rents accruing to Nuno Alvares Pereira from the foregoing donations rose to 16,000 doubles annually. Besides the County of Ourem, with all annexed to it, D. João I. gave to his Constable the towns of Borba, Villa-Viçosa, Estremoz, Evora-Monte, Portel, Montemor-o-Novo, Almada, and Sacavem, with their royal farms; the royal dues of the Jews of Lisbon, Porto de Moz, Rabaçal, Alvaiazere, Bouças, and the lands of Pena de Basto and Barroso, and the rents and dues of the King in Silves and Loulé in the Algarve.

He was soon to prove that no reward, however great, could equal his merit. He had gathered laurels in the battle of Aljubarrota, and he was going to reap fresh wreaths in the very heart of Castille. The Constable possessed an unquiet spirit, thirsting for glory, and never allowed himself to be enervated by triumph. Scarcely had he rested from the fatigues of Aljubarrota than he already endeavoured to effect an invasion into Castille. Proceeding on to the Alemtejo, of which he still continued to be frontier governor, Nuno Alvares organised an army of 1,000 lances, 2,000 foot-soldiers, and some archers, with which he entered the frontier of Badajoz, fully determined upon giving a severe lesson to some Castillian nobles who boasted of their bravery and regretted not being at the battle of Aljubarrota to have performed wonders.

On entering the Castillian territory Nuno Alvares took Villa-Garcia, which he found undefended, and from thence proceeded towards the village of Valverde. The Castillians, who awaited reinforcements

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marched upon Valverde, and D. Nuno encamped about a league and a half's distance from the river Guadiana, the Castillians intending to prevent his crossing the river. The reinforcements of the Castillians were principally undisciplined yeomen, and the army numbered in all some 20,000 men. A portion of the Castillians crossed the river, and placed themselves on the opposite shore; the rest remained where they were. It appears the plan of the enemy was that when the Constable should cross the Guadiana, to place him between two fires. But the great military skill of Nuno Alvares soon perceived this manœuvre, and unhesitatingly arranged his plan of action. With his small army formed into a square, the baggage in the centre, he impetuously crossed the forces of the enemy, which attempted to oppose him. They allowed him to pass after a brief combat, because such was their plan, and also because these municipal troops, composed principally of labouring men, attacked unwillingly this terrible man, this new Cid, who was called Nuno Alvares. On reaching the river shore, the Constable left the rearguard to defend the baggage and contend with the enemy, and with the vanguard crossed over. In vain did the Castillians on the opposite shore, to the number of 10,000, endeavour to oppose their landing, which, although it cost many lives, was nevertheless effected. Then placing the vanguard in position, defending the shore against the crowd of Castillians, he once again crossed the river, and passed over the baggage, then returned seeking the rearguard, which the Castillians in vain endeavoured to crush by shooting arrows and flinging stones into them, for in a short time the Portuguese army arrived to the opposite shore.

The fighting became more desperate, and the Castillians would not be repulsed easily, but at length being dislodged, they gathered together on a height close by, from whence the Constable routed them, and from a second and third attempt behind cliffs and hillocks. Numerous as the *grass of the field*, says Fernam Lopes, the Castillians threatened to smother the small host of the Portuguese amid their tumultuous, surging masses. Looking behind him, the new Count of Ourem perceived the rearguard in a position of great peril, and relieves it with the prestige of his presence and with the magic power of his voice; Nuno Alvares then returns to the vanguard, which was engaged in an unequal combat with the flower of the enemy's cavalry, and forces an advance, leaving the ground strewn with the dead and the wounded.

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The Portuguese, electrified by the example of their chief commander, wrestle like lions, and excited by the victory which everywhere accompanies their flag, they mock the enemy, and at once fling their darts into them with taunting epithets. Again does the rearguard find itself in danger, and again does the Constable run to succour it, and then a moment arrives when all hope seems lost; his superhuman efforts and those of his soldiers who follow him are unable to disperse the hordes of the enemy which surround them, or to demolish that living barrier which encircles them. Then does a scene take place which brings to mind the simple legends of the primitive ages of Christianity.

The Portuguese suddenly lose sight of their brave chief. In vain do they seek for him, he is nowhere to be seen, and fright and despair fill their hearts. At length some of the knights find him between two broken boulders, on his knees, praying with uplifted hands, silently and fervently, his page holding his brave war-steed a few paces from his kneeling master. The knights who were searching for him attempted to recall him, but with a wave of his hand he bids them wait until his prayer is ended. Then rising up, with radiant countenance he rushes to his men, and inspires hope in the vacillating ranks. "Forward!" he cries, "one against four!" Encouraged by this sublime cry of dauntless courage, the Portuguese break through all that opposes them; but far in the distance appears the standard of the Master of Santiago with the best Castillian warriors, which comes to crush in its formidable numbers the Portuguese column. The combat proves a fierce one, and the Master of Santiago falls down dead, and his army becomes dispersed. The Master of Alcantara, Martim Annes Barbuda, a Portuguese, attempts to return to the charge with the remainder of the corps, but the other officers disdain to join him; the "twenty-four" of Seville, followed by the contingents of Andalusia, become disbanded and destroy the labourers of La Mancha, the nobles retire precipitately, and the Portuguese remnants of the Lusitanian army at length sing, "Victory!"—a truly marvellous victory—and salute with vociferous ringing cheers their heroic chief, who on that day seemed to have multiplied his presence, who had performed prodigies of valour, who had appeared everywhere radiant, ever invincible, and to whose indomitable constancy was due the triumph obtained after that stupendous battle.

After this success, Nuno Alvares retired to Portugal, and the Castillians, who had been thus severely punished, likewise retired. It

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was an extraordinary event, because the smallest fraction of the Castillian army could well have absorbed the small phalanx of the Portuguese. It was, in truth, a battle of giants, which brought to mind the Homeric wars, wherein the invincible Achilles, with alone his divine sword, cuts down around his war chariot the Trojan phalanxes—those miraculous and legendary combats in which an invisible angel cast down to the earth whole battalions, like the fierce north wind lays to the ground the sheaves of wheat.

The victory, no doubt, was due to the prestige of the victory of Aljubarrota. Besides which, the quality of the Castillian troops was far inferior to those employed in Aljubarrota, since they principally consisted of the classes of labourers, who had been hurriedly summoned together to proceed to Valverde ; there was deficiency of discipline and command, and rivalries existed among the chief officers. Finally, the admirable order of the well-disciplined Portuguese army undoubtedly assured them the victory. Scarcely had the Castillians been defeated in Aljubarrota than a second blow was levelled at them in Valverde, which cost less blood, it is true, but which influenced, nevertheless, public opinion. In effect, in the Castillian chroniclers we find vestiges of the profound impression which this second disaster produced ; while, to the contrary, the exaltation of the Portuguese rises in proportion. What nation had ever won, under such critical circumstances, greater glory ? So small a power, so divided, yet in less than a year, independent of party victories, of the taking of castles, and heroic defence of strongholds, she wins * four pitched battles with an enormous disproportion of forces, against a warlike and powerful army ! In the records of our history shine forth, like stars in a glorious constellation, the names of Atoleiros, Trancoso, Aljubarrota, and Valverde.

These successive victories had inspired such confidence in the Portuguese, and so disheartened the Castillians, that there was no deed too great to be held possible of performance. From Lisbon came one, Antão Vasques, to war beneath the standard of the Constable. On arriving to Estremoz he found he had already departed, so he gathered together some 400 men - archers, foot - soldiers, and lances—and proceeded to enter into Castille. He took towns and castles, and placed others under siege, and apprised that, on his return journey to Portugal,

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* *Atoleiros*, won in April, 1384 ; *Trancoso*, in July, 1385 ; *Aljubarrota*, in August, 1385 ; and *Valverde*, in October, 1385

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the enemies intended to lay in wait for him behind a hillock to the number of 800, he calmly but resolutely marched on them, dislodged them, and gaining the height they had ascended, dispersed them, and slowly proceeded on his journey to Portugal, driving before him a considerable number of sheep, cattle, and pigs which he had captured. In this way did the soldiers of the heroic Master of Aviz act.

Meanwhile in Santarem D. João I. was on every side gathering the fruits of his victory at Aljubarrota. The strongholds which formerly he had in vain besieged, now surrendered ere he reached their ramparts. Their Alcaides either fled to Castille, or else joined his party, in the same way that D. Henrique Manuel, Count de Ceia, had done, who delivered up Cintra, and offered his homage as a vassal to the King of Portugal. Thus he was able to take possession of Torres-Vedras, Torres-Novas, Alemquer, Obidos, Monforte, Crato, Villa-Viçosa, Murão, and others.

Previous to proceeding to battle, the King, who was a religious man, made certain promises for God to assist him in his undertaking. The first vow he fulfilled after the battle was a pilgrimage to Santa Maria de Oliveira, in Guimarães. For this object he quitted Santarem, and proceeded to Oporto, and on the way took possession of Leiria, where he found many precious jewels of the Queen D. Leonor, and from Oporto went on to Guimarães to conclude his pilgrimage. His religious duties being thus complied with, he proceeded to fulfil his duties as a sovereign, and passed on to Tras-os-Montes, in order to submit some of the strongholds which sided with Castille, the principal one being Chaves, defended by Martim Gonçalves de Athayde.

It was on this occasion that he received from the Constable the official notification of the victory of Valverde, at the same time beseeching him to pardon him for having entered into Castille without previously asking his permission. These heroic acts of disobedience are of a nature that are rewarded instead of being punished, hence D. João I. replied by sending him, together with his pardon, a decree conferring on him the title of Count de Barcellos. Favours were accumulating over that glorious head, which was bent low by the weight of laurels.

D. João I. then marched against Chaves. On being required to surrender, the town replied by heaping on the walls bombs and engines of war, springing the bows of the archers in all the loopholes of the fortress, and erecting a frieze of lances on the parapets of the walls.

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The King then formally laid siege to it. As the town was supplied with water from the Tamega, which flowed a short distance from it, the King ordered a wooden erection, or fort, to be reared close to the river, and from whence they could shoot arrows on the defenders, and at the same time prevent them from coming for water. The horrors of thirst soon began to be felt in Chaves. The King, with a gallantry worthy of Henry IV. of France, used to send every day a pitcher of water to D. Mecia Coutinho, the wife of the Alcaide, for her especial use. At length, driven to the last extremity, they made a resolute effort, and in a successful sortie set fire to this wooden erection. The Tamega being now free, and no longer dreading the horrors of thirst, Chaves drew courage for a longer defence, and D. João I. was compelled to send for aid to Lisbon, and summon together the fidalgos of the neighbouring places.

He here received a piece of news which filled him with joy. An English knight bearing a letter from the Duke of Lancaster arrived, and in this letter informed the King of his speedy arrival to the Peninsula to maintain the rights of his wife to the crown of Castille, at the same time beseeching him to send him some transport ships.

D. João I. at once ordered six war-ships and twelve galleys to be fitted and sent out from Lisbon to England, the fleet being commanded by Alfonso Furtado. This occurred in 1386. How the times have changed! At that epoch it was the Portuguese who furnished the English with transport ships!

From Lisbon reinforcements were sent, and to these were added the Constable and his men from Alemtejo, and lastly the fidalgos from the neighbouring places. Being thus straitened on all sides, Martim Gonçalves de Athayde was forced to capitulate after a prolonged siege. This surrender was effected conditionally, and only after a term of forty days, should no aid arrive from the King of Castille, to whom messengers were despatched to apprise him of what passed.

The King of Castille was not in a state to afford aid; his defeats of Aljubarrota and Valverde had completely mowed down the army, while the Cortes of Valladolid, although well disposed to perform any sacrifice, were unable to overcome the reluctance manifested by the people against this disastrous warfare. The King depended greatly on the aids which were to come from France. The youthful King Charles VI., who became later on so celebrated for his terrible misfortunes, was on the throne of France, but being still very young,

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although declared of age, he left, in a great measure, the government of his kingdom to his uncles, the Dukes of Burgundy and Berry, and in the hands of the Duke of Bourbon. The moment chosen for assisting D. Juan of Castille was a propitious one. The French arms had triumphed over the Dutch, who had revolted against their lord, the Duke of Burgundy, Philip the Bold, and in the joy of their victory it was natural to suppose Charles VI. would be willing to aid a luckless ally, and in effect the reply was a favourable one. He promised to aid Castille with 100,000 gold francs and 1,000 lances, but unfortunately a selfish idea prevented the realisation of these generous plans. It became known in Paris that the Duke of Lancaster purposed to cross over to Spain, therefore it occurred to the Dukes that it would be wiser to attack England and deprive her of the best generals and of many brave soldiers than to succour Castille.

An expedition was in truth arranged, but with no result, yet it prevented the King of France from assisting his ally. It was only in 1387, as we shall see, that the French King sent the promised succour, which was commanded by the Duke of Bourbon and the Sieurs of Lignac and Passac. Hence the Castillian King was compelled to permit Martim de Athayde to surrender Chaves, which was accordingly done. The town of Chaves was then bestowed by the King of Portugal upon his favourite Constable. This soldier exercised an indisputable influence over the spirit of the King. His bravery, his military genius, the nobleness of his character, the austerity of life he practised—all things captivated the sympathies of the King of Portugal, who possessed these qualities in a high degree. Ever a strict disciplinarian, the Constable never permitted any woman to accompany his soldiers, a measure which drew illwill against him, but which he nevertheless strictly maintained. On departing, he begged him to order this measure to be a general one, as otherwise it would render his orders only illusory ones. The King at once condescended to do so, saying that to the Constable was due all the virtues practised in the army.

After taking Chaves, Bragança, fearing an equal fate, soon surrendered, and now that the greater number of the fortified places of Tras-os-Montes were under his flag, D. João I. intended to carry out in Castille the projected invasion, and pass on to Beira, whose frontier he planned to cross in order to enter into Castille. Before doing so, he reviewed his troops in Valença, and found they numbered 4,500 lances, or over 20,000 men, the greatest army which Portugal had ever raised.

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With such an army, and with commanders like the Constable, D. João considered it quite possible to wrench the hereditary crown from his hapless competitor.

Passing through Almeida, which still acknowledged the King of Castille, some skirmishes took place between the soldiers and the defenders of the fortress, which led to an attack, with successful results. It was arranged that the Portuguese army, divided into three corps, should meet together opposite Coria to assault the Castillian stronghold. But about this time there arose certain discords between the chiefs of our army, owing principally to the rivalry caused by the accumulation of honours heaped on the Constable by the King. Whether it was owing to the offence caused by these rivalries or to the fact that his opinion was contrary to the assault, but Nuno Alvares remained immovable with his troops at the moment that the Portuguese attacked the fortress.

This assault was an unsuccessful one, and the King manifested himself deeply disappointed and grieved at the conduct of the Constable. If, in truth, the reason of his disobedience was some feeling of resentment, he knew how to justify his fault with excellent reasons, declaring that to lay sieges without proper engines of war was to sacrifice uselessly the lives of the besiegers.

D. João I. resolved upon raising the siege, either because the representations of Nuno Alvares, who was a consummate military tactician, carried weight, or because provisions began to fail in the camp.

When the Portuguese squadron reached England, the Duke of Lancaster embarked with 2,000 lances, 3,000 archers, and a great number of foot-soldiers, according to the testimony of Fernam Lopes, although Ayala fixes the English forces in 1,500 lances and an equal number of archers.

On the 25th of July, 1386, the Portuguese squadron ported at Corunna, which surrendered to the Duke of Lancaster, owing to deficiency of resources of defence. It was at this Gallician port that the ambassadors of the King of Castille met the English Duke, confirmed the rights of their monarch to the throne of Castille, and proposed to the Duke the project of a marriage between his eldest daughter and D. Henry, the heir to the Castillian throne. The Duke of Lancaster refused this proposal, and proceeded towards Santiago, where he received the homage of the nobles, and having recognised

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Boniface IX. as the legitimate Pope, appointed a new Archbishop and Dean.

When D. João I. of Portugal knew of the approach of the Duke of Lancaster he at once departed to Oporto, where the Constable joined him, and prepared to receive his guest with the greatest possible solemnity.

On the 1st of November the King of Portugal and the English Duke met together in Ponte de Mouro, beneath the same royal camp tent which the King of Castille had lost in the battle of Aljubarrota. From this interview resulted a treaty of alliance, offensive and defensive, against any enemies to either contracting parties, and as a result of this treaty the obligation on the part of the King of Portugal to aid with troops, for the length of eight months, the pretensions of the Duke of Lancaster; and, moreover, it was combined that D. João should wed a daughter of the Duke, who would bring to the Crown of Portugal various places of Castille, should the Duke of Lancaster win.

Three months later, on 2nd February, 1387, the King of Portugal married in Oporto Phillipa, the second daughter of the Duke of Lancaster, in preference to Catherine, the eldest daughter, because he judged that by this means he would avoid future political complications. D. Phillipa was dowered with the highest qualities of mind, enhanced by a sound English education. Further on in our work we shall have occasion to speak of this princess, who seemed predestined to be the mother of a group of princes to whom history tributes profound admiration and respect. However, having recorded the marriage of the King, we shall proceed narrating the events which followed.

D. João I. could not easily organise, within the stipulated term, the contingent troops which he had to place at the service of the cause of the Duke of Lancaster, and it was only at the end of March that the Anglo-Lusitanian army entered in form into Gallicia, the Constable obstinately willing to march in the vanguard. During the absence of her husband, the Queen D. Phillipa, the bride of a month, was entrusted with the regency of the kingdom. The King of Castille endeavoured, under great difficulties, to garrison the strongholds likely to be assailed by the invaders. When the King of Portugal and the Duke of Lancaster reached to Benavente, they were unable to effect the capture of this fortress on account of the want of proper engines of war, therefore they were fain to content themselves by frequent sackings of the

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adjacent places, which occasioned conflicts with their own allies, due to old traditions, but which at times assumed grave proportions, as exemplified in the sacking of Valdevez.

The invading army then proceeded to lay siege to Villas-lobos. It was a dark, foggy day, and a portion of the men became separated from the rest of the forces, and were surrounded by the Castillians, who assailed them with showers of arrows and missiles. When this combat was at its height, a Portuguese knight set spurs to his horse, and hazarded at full speed to cross the Castillian battalions in order to seek aid from the Portuguese camp. Very quickly did he return with the Constable and the desired aid. The Castillians, who saw such heroic deeds performed, fled in dismay.

Villas-lobos was forced to surrender; but the King of Portugal found that this process of winning territory by taking town after town was a slow and fatiguing one, and he therefore appealed to the Duke to return to England for a larger army, or else enter into a compromise with the King of Castille. The Duke decided upon the latter course, which offered the advantage of marrying his daughter Catherine to the Castillian prince, D. Henry. The two allies returned to Portugal, and the three chiefs in command separated, the Constable to proceed to Alemtejo, D. João departed on a pilgrimage to Guimarães, and the Duke to Coimbra to visit his daughter the Regent. On the road, the Duke met the ambassadors sent by the King of Castille, who, at the time, had already received from France a contingent of 2,000 lances.

From this interview resulted the following agreements. The Duke of Lancaster to renounce his pretensions, under the condition that D. Catherine wedded D. Henry, the Duke to receive in compensation an indemnification for the expenses of the war, 600,000 gold francs, and an annual pension of 40,000 francs.

With the object of withdrawing the Duke of Lancaster from the immediate protection of the King of Portugal, a protection which was dreaded by the Castillians, the ambassadors invited him to proceed to Bayonne, which belonged to England, in order to be closer to the King of Castille. The Duke, satisfied by the aspect of affairs, was preparing to proceed to Bayonne, when his son-in-law, on returning from his pilgrimage to Guimarães, was taken dangerously ill on the journey to Coimbra to join D. Phillipa. This was in July, and it appears this illness was some malignant fever. Hence the King's progress was stopped, and he was taken to the

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Palace do Corval, where in all haste the Queen and her father, the Duke of Lancaster, were summoned. We can well imagine the description given by the chronicler, Fernam Lopes, of the anguish of D. Phillipa, and the state of anxiety into which the kingdom was thrown. Poor bride! she had almost from her marriage been separated from her husband, and now beholds him, when he is to join her, stricken down and in danger of his life; and the nation a prey to the deepest sorrow, since it feared to lose its independence, so dearly purchased, by the death of their newly elected King! Feeling that his life was in dire peril, D. João I. summoned his Constable, and made his will, and at the request of his father-in-law he pardoned D. Gonçalo and his accomplice, Ayres Gonçalves de Figueirado, their conspiracy of Torres-Vedras. But his last hour had not yet come, and the heroic Master of Aviz was still to engrave glorious pages in the history of Portugal. He grew better, and the royal family returned to Coimbra, where a Castillian attempted to assassinate the Duke of Lancaster. Probably this was done in obedience to superior orders, since, in a political point of view, the death of the Duke of Lancaster would be favourable to Castille, because by this means all pacts and difficulties would be at an end which had been induced by the low state of the forces of the country, due to the recent disastrous wars, and despite the aid sent by France, and the fear of the consequences of the protection afforded by the King of Portugal to the Duke. The would-be assassin was apprehended, and condemned to be burnt alive.

On D. João I. being restored to health, the Duke of Lancaster departed for Bayonne in the month of September, and embarked with his considerably reduced army in a Portuguese squadron which awaited him on the river Douro. Peace was concluded in Bayonne on the basis established in Trancoso, one of the conditions being the marriage of his daughter Catherine with the eldest son of the King of Castille. This marriage was realised soon after, the Duchess of Lancaster coming to Castille to visit her cousin the king. In order to pay to the Duke the 600,000 francs stated in the treaty, the King of Castille imposed a tax throughout the kingdom.

We have followed D. João I. in his battles and military business, let us now see him leading the affairs of public administration.

The new Portuguese monarch issued a decree regulating the distribution of the prizes taken by sea, in order that the royal treasury and those who captured the prizes should participate equally in just

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proportions; another decree to legalise the contracts entered into by the Portuguese Alcaides at the time when they took the side of Castille. "Many desired," says Senhor Pinheiro Chagas, "that such contracts should be invalidated because the nomination of notaries by an illegitimate sovereign was illegal. But D. João I., who was gifted with high good sense, perceived that sad consequences would result if this principle was applied, and therefore he ordered that all such contracts be held as binding." He also regulated the administration of his household in respect to the salaries received by the fidalgos in his service, ordering that only those who furnished a certain number of lances should receive pay; thus he corrected the abuse of salaries being assigned to children of the fidalgos from their birth.

He ordered that the Republic of Genoa be paid the expenses incurred in the fitting and furnishing of the ships employed during the siege of Lisbon. He then convened a Cortes in Braga. At these Cortes some of the recalcitrant fidalgos pledged their homage to him as their acknowledged king, among them his brother D. Diniz, who, however, was to remain only a short time in Portugal. Suspecting that D. Diniz was mixed in some conspiracy, D. João I. sent him to England on a diplomatic mission, and D. Diniz was already on the journey when he turned back and was captured at sea by Dutch fishermen, who demanded a large sum in ransom to his brother the king. This ransom money D. João I. refused to pay, founding his refusal on the fact of the Infante having disobeyed orders, and at length the Dutch set him free, and he retreated again to Castille.

The war continued but coldly and with little spirit on the part of the Castillians. Whilst the King was traversing the Minho, taking some places and strongholds which were still under the flag of Castille, the Constable departed to the Alemtejo, where he arrived in time to punish severely a party of enemies, principally French, who had attacked the towns on the frontiers, robbing and destroying them. These he caught unawares, and was able to win back all they had robbed from the Portuguese.

The King proceeded to besiege Melgaço, which bravely resisted a siege lasting fifty-three days, during which time D. João I. employed all the artifices known in those days, and he invited the Queen to come and witness the assault. At length, acceding to the petitions of some of the knights, he agreed to a capitulation. Although annoyed at the resistance offered, he had wished to continue the

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assault. The terms of capitulation were very severe, and the defenders of the stronghold had to quit it deprived of arms and simply attired in doublets and holding reeds in their hands, this being the greatest humiliation which a garrison could be subjected to in those times.

After the surrender of Melgaço, the King proceeded upon Monção, and from thence to Lisbon, where he left the Queen, and then departed to the Alemtejo in order to take Campo Maior which capitulated, and in September returned to Lisbon, where he summoned a Cortes in 1389, and at this session a suspension of hostilities was agreed upon with the King of Castille for the term of three months. At the expiration of the time the war broke out in the north, and D. João I. took the stronghold of Tuy in August.

The King of Castille, in view of this further disaster, and that fate refused to smile upon him, besought a longer amnesty. In effect negotiations were commenced through the Duke of Lancaster, and four kingdoms—Castille, Portugal, France, and England—signed a treaty of peace for three years. Nevertheless, the Castillian King, although force of circumstances had driven him to sign this treaty of peace with Charles VI. of France, Richard II. of England, and D. João I. of Portugal who all had sincere desires for peace, nourished the most vivid wish to continue the war with Portugal, as he could not brook the shameful defeats he had endured, and this desire of revenge culminated in a singular resolution, which was, however, repelled by all his counsellors. This was to abdicate the Crown of Castille in favour of his son D. Henrique, in order to present himself as a simple Pretender to dispute the Crown of Portugal and remove the odium which as King of Castille he had inspired the Portuguese. Finding that this idea was not entertained by the Cortes, he desisted from it and continued to gather together every means to renew the war. He met with many difficulties, as the Cortes were little disposed to make money sacrifices. In the midst of these cares death came unexpectedly to end his career. On the 9th of October, 1390, being in Alcala de Henares, the horse he was riding stumbled and threw him down, and he was killed. He was in the thirty-second year of his age and eleventh of his reign. He was succeeded by his young son D. Henry, who was proclaimed King, under a regency consisting of the Archbishop of Santiago, the Master of Calatrava, and Juan Hurto de Mendoza, the chief Mayordomo of the Royal house. This regency, far from following the projects of the deceased King, all of which were warlike,

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established a further amnesty of fifteen years under fresh conditions. These were not, however, faithfully observed by the Castillians, one of these conditions being, for example, the liberation of prisoners. The Portuguese fulfilled their part, and liberated the Castillians, but the latter retained the Portuguese ones, and even inflicted torments upon them. Another condition being that the injuries received be estimated on both sides, and properties be sold to pay the indemnification. This condition was not fulfilled by the Castillians. The King, D. João I., bore with this neglect for the space of three years and then commenced to threaten. From Castille envoys were sent to Portugal to protest against these threats, alleging that their sovereign was doing all in his power to fulfil the stipulated conditions. But, at length the debts which the King, Henry, had accumulated over his head had attained the formidable sum of 250,000 *dobras*, a sum which no longer could be compensated by movable property, and to defray which a city or town would be needed. Hence D. João I. decided upon giving a sharp lesson to the Castillians; and, at the commencement of 1395, resolved upon taking from the Castillians some fortified place in guaranty for the fulfilment of the condition and debt. The stronghold selected was Badajoz, and the scheme of capture was entrusted to the knight, Martim Alfonso de Mello.

Martim established secret negotiations with a Portuguese refugee in Badajoz, called Gonçalo Annes—banished there for some crime he had committed in Elvas—and who gladly entered into the project in the hope of obtaining the King's pardon.

After the gatekeeper of the city had been gained over by Gonçalo Annes, the governor suspecting some conspiracy, expelled the Portuguese agent, who protested against this act, but did not despair of ultimate success. He proceeded to Seville, where he maintained secret relations with Portugal, and after some months, under the plea of recovering a debt, he found his way to Badajoz, and, in confederation with the gatekeeper, opened the gates to the Portuguese on Ascension Day, 1396, who entered in and took the city. They met no resistance, because the Castillians were completely unprepared.

As soon as D. João I. found himself master of this frontier stronghold, he sent envoys to Henry III. to apprise him of the motive which had impelled him to act in this manner, but that he was ready to restore him the city as soon as he should pay what he owed. The King of Castille, however, replied haughtily that he was very surprised at thus

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breaking the truce of peace, and without further ceremony declared hostilities renewed. It is possible that he took advantage of this pretext to renew the pretensions of his father, and recommence the war, which, on this occasion, offered itself under more favourable auspices.

In effect, many of the principal nobles of the kingdom, such as Martim Vasques da Cunha, the hero of Trancoso, were envious of the Constable, and this ill-will reached to the point that they went over to the party of the King of Castille after ten years of faithful loyal services. Meanwhile dissensions arose between the King and the Constable, as we shall describe further on, which served to encourage those who had hitherto feared all things from the fraternal union of these models of chivalry.

Hence, Martim Vasques da Cunha and a few other disloyal spirits joined together, and, entering through Beira, set fire to Vizeu. D. João I. at once summoned his knights, but, contrary to their usual custom, he found them remiss to obey. The Constable, irritated, replied with his usual brusqueness, that there were other fidalgos in the kingdom, and that it was unnecessary to be ever calling them from all sides and at all times. D. João I. took umbrage at this reply, and sent a second message, to which the Constable replied still more roughly; but while he was thus speaking, his heart ever full of loyalty was quickly gathering together men to join the King, and when he least expected it, and was in Santarem nurturing bitter thoughts against his friend and comrade-at-arms, Nuno Alvares suddenly appeared at the head of 2,000 lances! They fell into each others' arms, and all was forgotten, except that strong love and friendship which had knit their souls together ever since their loyal maiden swords, brandished by almost childish hands, had first glistened in the fierce glare of the battle-field.

Both now desired to enter Castille and take revenge for the invasion of Martim Vasques, but they were apprised that another party of Castillians were scouring the Alemtejo. However, they did not reach in time to surprise them, but, being forewarned, the invaders fled, crossing the Guadiana, where many perished in the transit, owing to the swollen state of the river. The King then bade the Constable remain in Evora, and he himself departed to Coimbra.

Filled with fresh enthusiasm, Nuno Alvares effected a raid into Castille, reaching as far as Caceres, where, sword in hand, he entered, but no one offered to combat him, not even the Master of Santiago, although so singularly challenged.

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The King, gathering together an army of over 4,000 lances, resolved to invade Galicia. He suffered a terrible disaster on crossing the Minho by night, owing to the swollen currents overpowering the soldiers, who were swimming across, and many Portuguese fell victims to their own daring. Nevertheless, D. João I. advanced, and proceeded to Tuy, but being repulsed at the first attack, he laid siege to it. The besieged besought aid from Henry III., who conceived the project of attacking Portugal simultaneously by Alemtejo, Minho, Beira, and Lisbon, towards which he sent a Castillian squadron. He judged that by diverting the Portuguese army and dividing its strength, as it would be obliged to defend from different points, he would effect an easy victory, more particularly as the Infante D. Diniz, on his return from England, had promised to aid him by offering himself as a candidate for the crown of Portugal, in order to win the sympathies of the people.

In effect, D. Diniz did enter Portuguese territory through Beira, which he devastated, but his proclamations met with no response from the natives. Nuno Alvares hastened to seek him, but the Castillian fidalgos who accompanied D. Diniz were so terrified at the approach of the Constable that they advised him to withdraw.

The Castillian fleet was so fiercely assailed by the inhabitants of Lisbon that it was forced to alter its course.

Meanwhile, on the Minho, D. João I. was forcing Tuy to capitulate after a protracted siege—the besiegers despairing of being relieved; and the border armies of the Alemtejo, far from being intimidated by the threats of the Master of Santiago, were entering into Castille by the way of Serpa, robbing and levelling all before them. On returning to Portugal, they encountered a division of Castillian troops, who endeavoured to arrest their progress, but the Portuguese broke through and completely routed them. This was on the 1st January, 1399, and they triumphantly returned to their country.

In view of all these reverses, Henry III. of Castille was moved to send ambassadors to treat of proposals for peace. An armistice of nine months was entered into in order to discuss the question.

The Portuguese parliamentaries were the Constable, Nuno Alvares, Count of Barcellos, of Ourem, and Arrayolos—all these being his counties—the Bishop of Coimbra, and the doctors Ruy Lourenço and Alvaro Pires Escobar. The Castillian plenipotentiaries were Ruy de Avalos and the Master of Santiago, accompanied by some doctors, among the latter, Pero Sanches, a skilful sophist. The discussion

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continued the whole term of nine months, but no decision was arrived at, as neither contenders would yield. The Portuguese complained that the Castillians had not fulfilled the conditions of the truce for fifteen years, while the Castillians urged that the Portuguese had broken them. The Castillians demanded the restitution of Badajoz and Tuy, with a large indemnification. The Portuguese insisted upon the liberation of the prisoners—the cause of the late contention—with likewise a considerable indemnification; that the fortified places which the recreant nobles had surrendered to the King of Castille be delivered over to the King of Portugal, and these renegade nobles be expelled from the country where they had taken refuge. The Castillians wished the King of Portugal to pardon them, and even restore all their properties. The Portuguese were resolved upon restoring to the Castillians all they had taken from them, but on condition that the latter restored likewise all they had captured. Furthermore, the Castillians demanded that the Queen D. Beatriz should wed D. Alfonso, son of the King of Portugal, and that they be proclaimed sovereigns of the disputed kingdom; and that the Infante D. Diniz, in order to desist from further pretensions for royal power, should receive in Portuguese territory a duchy, with ample dominions; adding a further exaction, that the King of Portugal be bound to assist the King of Castille, in his war against the Moors, with 1,000 lances and ten galleys. All these conditions were impossible of being accepted. After gaining so many victories and laurels, the Portuguese could not bend to the humiliating conditions of such a treaty, as though they were the vanquished ones.

Hence the conferences were broken up, and war was renewed. D. João I. gathered together an army of four thousand lances, and, accompanied by the Constable, proceeded to besiege Alcantara. But the fortress was a strong one, and resisted. Some victorious skirmishes took place which saved the honour of arms, and D. João I. raised the siege.

But as this state of things could not continue, D. João I. sent ambassadors in the persons of the Archbishop of Lisbon, and João Vasques de Almada, and the doctor Martim d'Ocem to D. Henry III. to propose peace. The Castillians still wished to show a bold front, and demanded indemnification for renouncing the pretended rights to the Crown of Portugal, insisting on the condition that João I. should help him against the Moors. However, the Portu-

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guese ambassadors laid down categorically and firmly the only definite conditions under which Portugal would accept peace—viz., the restitution of Badajoz and Tuy in exchange for the Portuguese strongholds; the liberation of the Portuguese prisoners; the free pardon to the recreant Portuguese, with the restitution of their patrimonies; promises of aid to Castille against the Moors, but not as an absolute obligation.

The King of Castille, in view of the firm attitude of the Portuguese King, authorised the ambassadors to arrange a truce of ten years, and to combine that after the first six months peace be definitely signed.

But the first half-year passed away, and years passed on, yet the affair came to no decision. The King of Castille was unwilling to desist from his pretensions, and notwithstanding that his consort, the Queen Catherine of Lancaster, sister to D. Philippa, the Queen of Portugal, pleaded that some treaty be arranged, he always shirked it until death surprised him, while still in his youth, leaving as heir to the throne D. Juan II., a child of tender age, and its mother D. Catherine and uncle D. Ferdinand as regents. Civil discords in Castille prevented the Queen from at once arranging this affair, but at length, when she found herself disencumbered from some of these discords, she entered into negotiations for peace with the King of Portugal, and after four years of constant correspondence, unable to bend the iron will of her brother-in-law, or obtain more favourable terms than those stipulated in the truce, a treaty of peace was at length signed on 31st October, 1411, but with the clause that this treaty would be subject to the approbation of the King when he should attain his majority. It was only twenty years later, that is to say, in 1431, that D. Juan II. of Castille, after much delay, resolved upon ratifying a definite treaty, which was signed in Medina del Campo. The grand work of Portuguese independence had at length been completed—that arduous mission at whose head the popular will had placed the Master of Aviz. The Lion of Castille was thus forced to restrain itself within the topographical limits of its country for nearly a century and a half. Portugal had signed her letters of emancipation by prodigies of valour and perseverance.

The campaigns which afforded the brilliant results of Atoleiros and Trancoso, Aljubarrota and Valverde, are the most marvellous recorded in the military annals of the human race. A people which could thus secure its autonomy could no longer brook to see its name

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struck out from the list of independent nations. It was with a wise design that Providence influenced heroic spirits to wage war against all that conspired against its nationality. This design became manifested to the whole world when it beheld the Portuguese fleets undeterred by evil prognostics crossing unknown seas, and proceeding to plough with its brave ships and braver sailors a furrow which encircled the African continent, until at length, fearlessly and full of astonishment, they ported on the resplendent shores of Hindustan.

Hence, having thus by its own efforts supplanted the Castillian nation with all its power, and linked together by closest relations with England, the Portuguese kingdom took its place as one of the most respected and feared among the cultured nations of Europe, and inaugurated the grand period of her splendour and prosperity, to which, unhappily, succeeded a decadence deep and terrible.

The political significance of the marriage of D. João I. with a British princess has been traced in these pages. This was one more proof of the old alliance which united us to the English. It was, as it were, a confirmation and guarantee of the renewed treaties. But this alliance was far from being, as it became three centuries later, a humiliating protection in regard to Portugal. It was the alliance of two nations which respected one another—an alliance of reciprocal advantages; and perchance the balance was heavier on the side of the English, for at least on this occasion they had derived more advantages by our aid than we from them. We know that when the Duke of Lancaster withdrew from the Peninsula he was far better pleased to have left his daughter, D. Philippa, Queen of Portugal, than to leave his other daughter, D. Catherine, Queen of Castille. But, on the other hand, if D. João I had, in a political sense, made an advantageous marriage, he found in her likewise the elements of conjugal felicity. As we have seen, he gave a proof of his good sense in preferring Philippa to Catherine, as it would save the nation from new and unnecessary complications; hence D. João I. married Philippa of Lancaster in the city of Oporto on the 2nd of February, 1387. He was in his twenty-ninth year and Philippa in her twenty-eighth. Philippa was a most excellent lady, and dowered with all the domestic virtues which distinguish the English. She was an irreproachable wife, a tender mother, and a wise instructress. Historians are unanimous in extolling this princess, who knew so well how to join the dignity of the queen with the gentle graces of a wife and the grave qualities of a mother, and whose presence purified the

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Court degraded by D. Leonor Telles. She rendered her husband happy, her Court an example of every virtue, and gave to her adopted country a distinguished line of princes, who were an honour to their land, and formed on the steps of the throne a brilliant circle unmatched at any period of history or by any other country of the universe.

At this part of our history we shall briefly give a list of the sons and daughters of D. João I., as we shall have further on to speak individually of them in proportion as they figure in later events.

Following the chronological order of their birth, the children of the King of Portugal follow in this wise:—

D. Branca, born in Lisbon on July 13, 1388, and died at eight months of age.

D. Alfonso, born in Santarem on July 30, 1390, and died in infancy, but his exact age is unknown. He was buried in Braga.

D. Duarte, born in Vizeu on October 31, 1391, and succeeded his father on the throne.

D. Pedro, who was born in Vizeu on December 9, 1392. This Infante holds a notable place in the history of Portugal as well as in the legendary one. He is both the martyr of Alfarrobeira and the traveller of the *seven parts of the world*.

D. Henrique, born in Oporto on March 4, 1394. He was the promoter of the great maritime discoveries of Portugal.

D. Izabel, born February 21, 1397, and married D. Philip the Good, Duke of Burgundy. This princess filled an important position in European policy, as we shall see farther on in our history.

D. João, born in Santarem on January 13, 1400. He was Grand Master of the Order of Santiago, and succeeded to D. Nuno Alvares Pereira in the charge of Constable of the kingdom, and whose granddaughter he married.

D. Ferdinand, born in Santarem on September 29, 1402, whose life we shall speak of in its proper time, was the "Saintly Infante," or the "Constant Prince," the captive of Fez.

Previous to his marriage, when he was simply Master of Aviz, D. João I. had two illegitimate children by Inez Pires—D. Alfonso, who became Count de Barcellos and first Duke of Braganza,* and

* D. Alfonso was born in 1370, and in 1401 married D. Brites Pereira, daughter of the Constable, D. Nuno Alvares Pereira. On his marriage his father created him Count de Barcellos, and later on his nephew, Alfonso V., made him Duke of Bragança. In 1420 he married a second time with

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D. Beatriz, who married first the Count of Arundel, and secondly the Baron of Irchenfield.*

On casting a rapid glance over the Court of D. João I., we must in truth acknowledge that a noble perfume of chivalry overspreads it, and involves in an enchanting group all those individuals who have for ever ceased to exist.

Brought up in a truly chivalrous atmosphere, the sons of D. João I., especially the three eldest ones, D. Duarte, D. Pedro, and D. Henry, were burning with desires of being armed knights, but the concession of such an honour depended upon the proof of military prowess, and D. João I., with the object of affording his sons a chance of obtaining this honour, had ordered various brilliant tournaments to take place, at which the most renowned knights throughout the world were invited to join. In the ardour of their desires the Infantes frequently talked over its realisation with their brother, the Count of Barcellos, and at one of these conferences an experienced knight, called João Alfonso Alemquer, suggested to the princes that it would be far more honourable to win their golden spurs by proceeding to Ceuta, and fighting against the infidels, by which means they would serve God and their country. Enthusiastically they approved the idea, and at once hastened to their father to beseech his consent, which was readily given by D. João I., who seconded the thought. If, however, the fever of glory enkindled the desires of the Infantes in the sense of ennobling themselves by feats of arms, D. João I., nevertheless, would not allow of any precipitate action in his sons, and therefore prepared for war with prudent reserve, in order to avoid that the laurels won in Aljubarrota

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D. Constança de Noronha, daughter of Count de Gijon. He died in Chaves, December, 1461.

* D. Beatriz married, in 1405, Thomas Fitzalan Howard, Count of Arundel, second cousin to the Queen D. Philippa. The King D. João I. sent his daughter, accompanied by her brother, D. Alfonso, with a squadron to London, where splendid feasts were celebrated on the occasion of her marriage. The King of Portugal dowered his daughter and son-in-law in a sum of 12,500 marks English money. The marriage took place in Lambeth, near London, on November 26th, 1405, in presence of the King of England, Henry IV., the ceremony being performed by the Archbishop of Canterbury. This daughter of the Master of Aviz, who, it is said, was engaged to be married to Mem Rodrigues de Vasconcellos, he who in the battle of Aljubarrota commanded one of the wings, became a widow in 1415, and married a second time, in that same year, Gilbert Talbot, the Baron of Irchenfield, and was again left a widow in 1419. See "Queens of Portugal," by Francisco da Fonseca Benevides ; tom. I.

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should be flung at the feet of the Moors of Ceuta. Wishing to take the bearings of this Moorish city, and study its means of defence, he had recourse to a stratagem. On the pretext of asking the hand of the Queen in marriage for his son, the Infante D. Pedro, he sent to Sicily Alfonso Furtado de Mendoça and Alvaro Gonçalves Coelho, but the true motive for this mission was to enable these strategists to touch at Ceuta, and study the fortifications. This was effected by the Portuguese envoys, and they then proceeded on their voyage to Sicily, and, as may be supposed, their diplomatic mission proved unsuccessful. But this was of small moment, since what they desired to learn was the probability of victory crowning the projected expedition to Ceuta. Not only was the King consulted by these ambassadors and other military men on the subject, but all the people enthusiastically seconded the resolution of undertaking this expedition. Hence, following the general opinion, D. João I. prepared for the projected undertaking, an expedition which was at first disapproved by the Queen, who greatly opposed and disapproved the scheme of her husband, the King, taking any active part in it; but D. João I. overruled her objections, and she finally consented. Her adhesion in this affair was of great moment, because she exercised a wide influence over the spirit of the people.

D. João I. was unwilling to carry out this expedition unless with the favourable vote of the Constable, because he not only held his opinion in the highest esteem, but also knew very well that any project condemned by this great soldier would be likewise condemned by public opinion, if such a phrase could be applicable to the fifteenth century. However, he allowed three years to pass before he broached the subject to Nuno Alvares, fearing always lest the Castillians should attempt an invasion. At length, overruled by the pleadings of his sons, he summoned a Council in Torres Vedras, on learning that the project met with a favourable vote from the Constable.

At the Council, Nuno Alvares not only declared that he considered this expedition a just one, and thanked God that he had been allowed to see it realised, but actually besought permission from the King to take part in it. The Councillors, who were present, although their opinions were diverse, did not dare to offer any opposition; hence the project of the expedition was fully discussed and resolved upon.

It was, however, necessary to carry out this project under the strictest secrecy; hence D. João I. spread the report that he meditated taking revenge from the Dutch corsairs for their frequent assaults on

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our coasts, and consequent detriment to commerce. In order to invest the affair with some show of plausibility, he sent to Holland Fernão Fogaça, with the apparent official mission of exacting from the Countess of Holland reparation for the outrages practised by her subjects, but entrusted with the secret mission of taking her into his confidence, and ask aid for the King of Portugal, and by this means withdraw the attention of the Moors. The Countess of Holland willingly acceded to the petition, and admirably acted her part in the projected comedy. She officially received Fernão Fogaça most haughtily and firmly rejected the demands made through the Portuguese envoy, meanwhile she privately joined in ridiculing the fears of her subjects who judged that by so doing she rendered a war with Portugal imminent, a nation far more powerful than Holland at this epoch, and promised him to take measures for repressing the assaults of the corsairs—a promise which she religiously fulfilled.

Under cover of this plot the King openly began to make preparations. He engaged all the available ships he found in Gallicia, Biscay, England, and Germany. The news spread throughout Christendom that Portugal was preparing for some great expedition which was to be commanded by the Infantes D. Henrique and D. Pedro. The first was in effect raising new sailors throughout Alemtejo, Algarve, and Estremadura, and D. Henrique was, together with his brother, recruiting forces for transport in the northern provinces, assigning Oporto as the landing station for his enlisted soldiers, while D. Pedro ordered his seamen to meet in Lisbon. All this was done without stating the object for which so many preparations were being made. Many conjectures were raised, but it always ended in assigning Holland as the aim of this expedition.

Castille was rather in dread of these great preparations, as it was not believed that all these forces were being prepared to proceed against Holland, a third-rate power in those days which was only becoming renowned for the audacity of her corsairs, and, moreover, was torn asunder by civil war. They surmised some sudden rupture, and these suspicions increased when it became known that the Genoese merchants residing in Lisbon had written to their correspondents in Seville apprising them that the expedition appeared to be directed towards that city, and advising them to place their properties in safety.

A council was then summoned, and it was decided, after some deliberation, to send an embassy to Lisbon to sound the intentions of

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D. João I. and desire him to pledge anew peace. So promptly did the King accede to all that was demanded of him that all distrust immediately ceased. The King of Aragon then grew alarmed in his turn, as he had a competitor in the field in the person of the Count de Urgel, who might take advantage of the Portuguese alliance. Envoys were likewise sent from Aragon, whom D. João I. quieted in a similar manner. Then the Moorish King of Granada, knowing that D. João I. was not about to engage in war either against Castille or Aragon, began to entertain fears that these preparations were directed against himself. He certainly had graver reasons for thinking so, because as a Mussalman he was always the centre of hostilities more or less grave, from Christian princes, and, moreover, D. João I. had always declined entering into an alliance with him, even on occasions when he more greatly required aid. Hence envoys were sent from Granada to Lisbon, who alleged the good commercial relations existing between the two nations, but these only received evasive replies from the King and Queen and the Infantes. They returned full of distrust, and advised their King to fortify the coasts of his kingdom.

The King of Portugal fearing, however, lest these preparations of defence should be extended as far as Morocco, and in order to quiet the King of Granada, sent ambassadors to the Count of Holland on the pretext of sending him a declaration of war, but in truth they were charged with the mission of confiding to him the actual aim of the expedition.

Meanwhile preparations were actively proceeding. The Infante D. Henrique quitted Oporto with the fleet he had gathered together, composed of seven galleons, six galleys, twenty-six transport ships, and a great number of pinnaces, and proceeded to Lisbon to join the squadron organised by D. Pedro, composed of eight galleons which awaited him on the Tagus. Many nobles came with the Infante D. Henrique, among them being an old knight of ninety years, Ayres Gonçalves de Figueiredo, who no doubt had fought in the battle of Salado and desired to fight once more against the Moors. Many foreigners enlisted under the banner of D. João I., among them three French and a wealthy Englishman, who owned some ships and many archers; also a German duke and baron. The duke, however, left because D. João I. refused to tell him where the expedition was to proceed to, but the baron remained with some forty knights who accompanied him, and rendered signal services.

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A sad event, however, took place which suddenly interrupted all preparations. Pestilence, so common in the Middle Ages, broke out simultaneously in Lisbon and in Oporto. The King of Portugal and D. Philippa had withdrawn on that account to Sacavem, when a few cases which proved fatal in that village induced D. João to depart with the Queen to Odivellos, but the Queen was taken ill on the road. The disease quickly assumed a serious character, and D. Duarte at once summoned his brothers, D. Pedro, D. Henrique, and the Count of Barcellos, who were with the fleet on the Tagus, to hasten to the bedside of their mother.

On beholding her sons around her bed, the Queen desired that the richly-wrought swords destined for the Infantes should be brought to her; she delivered to each his sword with many good counsels and kindly exhortations; she bade them farewell, and calmly prepared for death, then joined her pleadings to those of her children, that the King should withdraw from her side, lest the epidemic should strike him down. D. João I. did not wish to leave her, but the counsels of those dear ones prevailed, and he crossed the Tagus, and took up his residence in Alhos Vedros.

On the thirteenth day of the fever a great storm arose, accompanied by much wind, and the Queen asked her sons from what quarter blew the wind which thus shook her chamber. They replied from the north. "It appears to me," replied the Queen, "that this is the most favourable wind for your expedition, which ought to start on the feast of St. James." There was but a week to that day, nevertheless the departure actually took place at that date. She addressed fervent prayers to the holy Mother of God, and her spirit appeared to become wrapped in an ecstasy. Then folding her hands on her breast, she calmly expired, surrounded by her sons whom she dearly loved, leaving her husband far from her, dejected and dispirited, and with no heart to continue the project he had so enthusiastically prepared. She died on 19th July, 1415. Her funeral took place on the following day in Odivellos, from whence her remains were translated to Batalha on 14th August, 1434.

The news of the death of Queen Philippa caused a profound sorrow throughout the kingdom. The people wept for the loss of a good Queen, the tender Englishwoman, the fond mother who had been such a noble example to the mothers and wives of Portugal. Two hours previous to her death, there was an eclipse of the sun, which the people

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in their loving grief ascribed to the sorrow of heaven for the death of that saintly lady. She was fifty-six years of age. She may properly be numbered among the noblest of her sex. Modest in her dress and manners, grave in her words, dignified and firm in her duties; large-hearted and beneficent, her favourite occupation was to settle questions, appease differences, and make peace among her vassals, even at the expense of her own resources. Most moderate in her wealth, she allowed herself only the indispensable needs of life, and strictly observed the fasts of the Church to the point of weakening her far from robust health. She dedicated many hours of the day to prayer and good works, and was so conversant with the practices of Divine service that it was said she could teach her own chaplains. She employed the rest of her time in needlework and in the education of her children. A model of modesty and domestic economy, she favoured the ladies who were gifted with these virtues, and admitted them to her circle. But what most the Queen had at heart was the instruction and education of her children, and she developed their good qualities to a degree unusual in the Christian Courts of the Peninsula; while this intellectual culture, joined to chaste manners, afforded the higher classes an admirable example which bore good fruit; and manners, deportment, and language became ennobled. The Court was in truth a school of pure manners, and of the noblest exercise of the spirit. Hence, breathing this atmosphere, and under the direction and teaching of so noble a mother, is it to be wondered at that her five sons grew up and became the ornament and pride for all ages and an example to every Court of a kingly family?

After the funeral of their mother, D. Philippa, the Infantes departed for Rastello, where a council was held to consider the question of the expedition. Some were of opinion to desist from the undertaking, but the Infantes were for carrying it out, and the latter proceeded to Alhos Vedros to confer with the King and obtain his decision. Notwithstanding the deep sorrow in which he was plunged, he roused himself up to the consciousness of his duties as a King and as a parent as soon as he heard the representations of his sons. He decided upon the departure of the expedition without delay, since it had appeared to be the Queen's desire. And, in effect, the last preparations were hastily concluded, and the fleet raised anchor on the 25th July, the very day mentioned by the Queen of the feast of the Apostle St. James.

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At nightfall of the 27th the fleet anchored in the Bay of Lagos, where the King charged Fr. João de Xira to publish in his sermon the true object of the expedition. Many even then believed the King was still deceiving them.

When the fleet repaired to the Straits of Gibraltar, stress of weather drove it into Faro, from whence it was unable to depart until the 7th August, when it proceeded to Algeziras and anchored there. The Moors, becoming suspicious, sent a deputation to D. João I. The fleet went on to Tarifa, where the Castillian Governor received them very cordially.

On the 12th August, the Moors of Ceuta sighted the Portuguese squadron entering before the city, and although this filled them with terror, as they then clearly perceived what the object of this expedition had been, yet they became somewhat reassured when they saw that the fleet was composed solely of galleys and pinnaces, owing to the war-ships having been driven by the winds into Malaga. Whilst Salat-ben-Salat, the Governor of the stronghold, and the Moors were taking every precaution for defending the city in the name of the Emir of Morocco and Fez, D. João I. was sending D. Henrique to meet the ships. Salat-ben-Salat had summoned the tribes of the desert, and these quickly responded to the call, but now that the Portuguese were retiring, he dismissed them. The reason for their departure was, in truth, because the officers had discovered that the anchorage was unsafe, hence the galleys were sent back to Algeziras, and the ships, driven by the currents, had been forced back to Malaga.

In view of all these contrary events that seemed to presage evil, the Portuguese began to feel discouraged, but the King, D. João I., with his daring, manly spirit, was able to encourage them and pacify the misgivings of his companions in arms, and on the 20th August the Portuguese squadron once more appeared before Ceuta. "As soon as the Moors of the city," writes Azurara, "perceived the fleet entering in, they filled all their windows with lanterns and lights, in order to deceive the Portuguese, and induce them to believe that the number of inhabitants was very great, and the city of wide extension. The shipping also decked out their lights. The spectacle was, indeed, a dazzling one, as in the silence of the night, broken only by the rolling of the waves, the African coasts became illuminated, and cast a lurid reflection on the waters, transforming Ceuta into a fantastic city of oriental imagery. To this demonstration the Portuguese

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fleet responded by a similar illumination." The Arab writer above quoted adds, "that in the same way as an expiring lamp throws out a more vivid flash when about to expire, so did Ceuta when about to succumb."

The following morning, all preparations being ready, the King D. João I. proceeded in a galliot to visit the various warships, and issue the last instructions before commencing the battle. He was enthusiastically received, and he instructed his officers that no one should precede the Infante D. Henrique at the landing. But as the Moors had left the city in numbers, and come down to the shore to repulse the Portuguese as they landed, some of the Christian knights, over-impatient of commencing the combat, stepped on shore a few moments before D. Henrique did so, although he took the actual lead in the first encounter.

The attitude of the Moors in coming down to the beach was a false one, and an act of the younger and less experienced warriors. But the real truth was that the example of Salat-ben-Salat had disheartened them, the panic being further increased when Ruy Gonçalves and Vasco Martins de Albergaria hurled down two Ethiopian athletes. The Portuguese and the Moors had some skirmishes with each other, and individual wrestlings took place, in which the Portuguese, on their side, manifested the strength of men accustomed to fight beneath the weight of heavy armoury—the Moors, the agility and nervous flexibility proverbial in the sons of the desert; but at length the contention became decided in favour of the Christians, when they succeeded in hurling down these two giants, who were the chieftains of the Moors. This event considerably weakened the defence of the Moors.

It appears that, in the confusion of the fight and the mingling and clashing of armoury, the knights, with their drawn helmets and vizors, were scarcely able to recognise one another, but it seemed to D. Henrique that he recognised in the thickest of the fray the form of his brother, the Infante D. Duarte. He was not mistaken. Unable to withhold his martial impatience, the heir to the throne had disobeyed the orders of his father, who had forbidden him to enter the lists, and had leaped into a shallop, accompanied by three or four fidalgos, and had mingled with the division of the Infante D. Henrique. The brothers met, and he was joyfully received by D. Henrique, with that sincere friendship and brotherly love which distinguished the sons of D. João. I. The

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Infante D. Duarte proceeded with his brother to the scene of battle, where victory seemed to favour the Portuguese.

Among the Moors there was a giant negro, strong and muscular, whom Azurara and Mattheu de Pisano describe as an Ethiopian. This man was naked and wielded a sling as his only weapon. This he managed with such dexterity and aim that the stones cast by him had all the force, says Azurara, of a missile shot from a bomb or a culverin. This man, who was evidently some negro from the coasts of Morocco—one of those which the navigators of D. Henrique found later on in the lands they explored—stands forward in this epic canto of the taking of Ceuta as the figure of "Argante," the fierce Circassian in Tasso's "Jerusalem Delivered," who, crossing furiously the Christian army, "slew or hurled down all he met." This negro produced a similar impression among the Christians until Vasco Martins de Albergaria fell, stunned by a stone hurled at him, but on recovering, he rose up full of vengeance and dashed in among the compact mass of the enemy and succeeded in spearing the African through the body. The death of this formidable warrior so disheartened the Moors that they fled towards the city.

The Infante D. Henrique, in obedience to the instructions of his father, wished to await the landing of the rest of the army and arrange the battle, but D. Duarte urged him to follow the Moors, because in the confusion of their flight they could by pursuing them effect an entrance into the city, or at least take possession of the door of Almina and hold it until the arrival of the army. The brothers, therefore, marched on, followed by their knights, and were able to gain the doors, the first to enter the city being Vasco—he who speared the giant negro.

At this juncture the brothers were joined by the Count of Barcellos with a force of 500 men, which was now being constantly increased by the troops that were arriving. By the advice of D. Duarte they gained a hill top, where they pitched their camp, and from thence they dispersed through the various streets, which the Moors defended with the strength of despair, because they defended their homes. Meanwhile, Vasco ran along the rampart wall within the city and gained another door, but not without much bloodshed. Nevertheless, his object was gained, and the door broken down, thus enabling the Christians to enter the city by the two opened doors.

The Portuguese separated into three divisions, one commanded by the Count of Barcellos, another by Martim Alfonso de Mello, and the

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third by the two Infantes. In order to combat more easily, D. Duarte removed his heavy armoury and only retained the cuirass, which enabled him to advance more quickly, while his brother followed at a slower pace, owing to the weight of his armoury. After a time D. Henry likewise disencumbered himself, but when he hastened to join his brother he could no longer find him. D. Duarte had taken possession of the most elevated point of the Moorish city, called Cesto, while D. Henrique, desirous of meeting his brother, sped along the principal street, driving the Moors before him.

The general landing of the troops had not yet been effected, because D. João I. had not completed the inspection of the fleet, and when he sent his son D. Pedro to apprise D. Duarte that they might now land, the reply he received was that he was already within the city. The King then gave the order for all to disembark, and the Portuguese army, divided into four corps, marched into the city. The first division was commanded by the Constable, the second by the Infante D. Pedro, the third by the Master of the Order of Christ, and the last, which belonged to D. Duarte, but who had anticipated them, now mustered around the banners of the heir to the throne.

The King of Portugal, who had on the previous evening received an injury when stepping from on board into the galley, sat down at the gate of the city awaiting the combat to become concentrated to attacking the castle.

The panic among the women as they fled with their little ones, and the hurry with which the inhabitants endeavoured to conceal their properties, inspirited the courage of the Moorish combatants, who made a supreme effort and drove many of the Portuguese before them.

D. Henrique would not sustain the passage of the first fugitives, so as not to compromise the fate of those which were to follow, who would be repulsed by the Moors; but when the latter approached he stepped forward to receive them, accompanied by a few followers. The Portuguese fugitives, ashamed of their fears and encouraged by the presence of the Infante, returned to the combat and, charging the enemy, repulsed them back. Meanwhile succour arrived for the Moors, and, becoming thus reinforced, advanced, but were again repulsed by the Portuguese.

On the Moors retreating, the Infante, followed only by a few of his men, pursued them, and a sharp fight ensued owing to the Moors endeavouring to carry away with them a Portuguese knight, called

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Fernam Chamorro, the possession of whom the Infante disputed. The Moors became weakened at last, but the Infante D. Henrique, with only five knights with him, became lost amid the windings of the city. He heroically defended himself and awaited help to arrive. The Portuguese had given him up for lost or slain when a Portuguese knight suddenly discovered him. The Infante desired to await in this perilous situation for aid to be sent to him; but, at the representations made to him in the name of his father the King, and of D. Duarte, here tired and joined his father the King in a mosque, where he embraced him and congratulated him on the prowess and brave acts performed that day.

At sunset the Portuguese perceived a flock of sparrows quietly perching on the towers of the castle and inferred that the Moors had abandoned the fortifications. They had intended attacking the castle on the following morning, but on perceiving this occurrence, the King sent João Vaz de Almada to reconnoitre and find out the true state of things. They found the door of the citadel closed, but on attempting to force an entrance, two men appeared on the top of the wall who addressed them in Spanish, and told Almada that they were alone, and would open the door, as Salat-ben-Salat and the garrison had fled. Then João Vaz de Almada hoisted the standard of Saint Vincent, the patron saint of Lisbon, from the highest tower of the citadel as the Portuguese entered to take possession.

The conquest had been effected with great slaughter to the Moors, but small losses to the conquerors.

On the following day the Moors once more attempted to appear before the fortress. D. Duarte with the Constable came out to repulse them, and as these combats were repeatedly attempted by the Moors, the King strictly forbade the heir to the Crown to take any part in them.

On the Sunday following the taking of Ceuta, the King with his sons proceeded to the principal mosque, which had been purified and consecrated for Christian worship, to hear mass, the two bells * from

* These bells had been brought some years previously, as we are told by Mr. Henry Major. The city of Lagos was attacked and sacked by the Moors, who carried away these bells, and endeavoured to conceal them; but the Portuguese discovered their hiding place and suspended them in the highest minaret of the mosque, thus once more calling Christians to the divine service after the Count Julian delivered Ceuta over to the Arabs, seven centuries earlier, during which the call of the Meuzzin had been heard summoning the Mussalmans to prayer.

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the highest turret pealing joyously. The service was celebrated with the greatest pomp and solemnity, the sermon being preached by Fr. João Xira. After mass D. João I. knighted his sons D. Duarte, D. Pedro, and D. Henrique, as they had fully merited and won their dignity. It was a touching ceremony, as within the newly-conquered fane, in that Moorish mosque transformed into a Christian temple, the aged hero, the representative of a generation which was nearly extinct, conferred the Order of Chivalry on those sons of his in whom he saw expanding under the fiery sun of the battle-field those brilliant promises which had rendered him the idol of the people, and would enable his offspring to win the admiration of posterity.

A sorrowful feeling, however, clouded that otherwise joyful occasion —it was the remembrance of D. Philippa; that tender spouse, that saintly mother who would have so rejoiced, had she lived to witness the triumph and glory won by her brave sons. But the pious belief which so eminently distinguished that epoch of lively faith cast a consoling veil over their regrets, and allowed them the sweet thought that the spirit of D. Philippa invisibly hovered in that purified nave, and would contemplate the august ceremony wherein her children, heroic neophytes, were being introduced into the sanctuary of chivalry by one of the noblest high priests of its religion of honour — the gallant D. João I. The end for which this expedition had been organised was gained, and the Lion of Africa was lowering its haughty head in presence of Portuguese power.

According to the usages of the time, as soon as the Infantes were knighted, they were empowered to confer the Order of Chivalry on the fidalgos who had assisted under their orders to so brilliantly win their golden spurs. Hence these Princes were able to knight in their turn some of the brave fidalgos of their suite. One of these knighted by D. Duarte being D. Pedro de Menezes, Count of Vianna, who was then appointed governor of Ceuta, and D. Ferdinand, Lord of Bragança, grandson of Iñez de Castro, who was knighted by D. Henrique.

As soon as this ceremony was concluded the King desired to return to Portugal, but before doing so informed his Council that he wished to maintain the dominion of Ceuta under the Portuguese flag, alleging that this stronghold would afford a great service to the country, as it offered a splendid military school for young warriors to gain experience and practise military prowess. Some of the Council combated

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the opinions of the King, advancing the difficulty which they would find in attempting to keep a stronghold so far distant from Portugal, as it was improbable that the Moors should quietly resign themselves to lose so easily this important city. But the King overruled all their objections, and nominated as its governor the youthful Count de Vianna, D. Pedro de Menezes, to whom he gave detailed instructions which manifest the experienced governing sense and military experience of the former Master of Aviz. These instructions are minutely referred to by Azurara in the especial chronicle which he wrote of the deeds of this knight. Hence Ceuta was definitely united to the Portuguese dominions. The conquest was an important one, because Ceuta, which now is only an insignificant Spanish penal settlement on the African coast with only a military population, was in those days one of the most important and best populated cities of Mauritania. It possessed mosques, splendid buildings, numerous institutions for instruction, and was surrounded, moreover, by fertile, well-cultivated fields and vineyards. The industry of Ceuta was well developed, and rich fabrics of silk, exquisite leather work, and manufactures of steel were produced. Its position rendered it an emporium of important commerce between the Mussalman East and the Christian West. Its prosperity, however, declined rapidly in the hands of the Portuguese, because there no longer existed any object for continuing this commercial importance, but at least the Portuguese and Spanish shipping were freed from the tax which they had to pay unless they wished to be ranked as enemies when passing across the Mediterranean, and the port was closed upon the Arab tribes of Barbary, through which they passed whenever they fled to succour the kingdom of Granada. For this reason Ceuta for a great length of time had been the terror of European Christianity. Hence the first military undertaking of Portugal against a foreign power was crowned with a glorious result. It was also the first maritime expedition, the first exploit of the Portuguese in an element in which they did not feel as yet very firm, because their fleet, unable to be directed, had been driven along the currents of the Strait. Ceuta became for the Portuguese the port of departure for the far-distant conquests on the African coasts, and the taking of this city, which filled with joy and admiration all the Christian states of the Mediterranean, was to generate vast projects, daring undertakings, and prodigious deeds, by opening a new field and affording a fresh reaction of activity to the Portuguese nation. From that moment the Portu-

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guese began to project maritime expeditions, and Ceuta became the first link of the lengthened chain with which the Portuguese navigators encircled the coast of Africa until they cast the last—a golden one—on the paradise of India. Hence a higher thought, a spirit of more elevated genius is manifested in the transformation of the Mahomedan mosque into a Christian temple after the conquest—in the blessing of that sword which the King D. João I. gave his son on knighting him, and Henry, the *illustrious*, wins and receives the dignity of knighthood within the noblest spot and in the actual portion of the world wherein was laid later on the foundation of his immortal fame.

After appointing the governor and garrison for this new Portuguese possession, D. João I. resolved upon returning to Portugal. On the 2nd September, 1415, the fleet weighed anchor and departed.

On reaching Tavira, the King summoned his sons, in order to reward them for the signal services they had rendered him in this campaign. To D. Duarte, as heir to the throne and kingdom, he could give nothing greater, or reward him in any material manner, but on the Infante D. Pedro he conferred the rank of Duke of Coimbra, and on the Infante D. Henry that of Duke of Vizeu, adding, moreover, that of Lord of Covilha, in recompense for his services in the equipment of the fleet. All others who had served were also rewarded by him, and dismissed at Tavira with many expressions of grateful acknowledgment. The foreign ships which had assisted were largely indemnified, and sailed back to their respective countries.

The King then proceeded on to Evora, where the Infantes D. João and D. Ferdinand, who had, owing their extreme youth, remained in Portugal, awaited the arrival of their father. Accompanied by the Master of Aviz, Fernão Rodrigues de Sequeira, who had remained at the head of the Government during the King's absence, and followed by all the inhabitants of the city, they proceeded to the palace, where the Infanta D. Isabel, surrounded by the noble ladies of her Court, awaited them. The procession wended its way amid hymns sung by a band of women and children. The happy return of the illustrious father of the people, who had crowned all his former victories by this conquest obtained over the infidels; the sight of his beloved sons, all full of strength and noble pride, and whose exploits in Ceuta seemed to justify the most brilliant hopes of a martial nation; the presence of the noble warriors, covered with glory, and receiving the welcome of their brothers, fathers, sisters, and wives, after an undertaking which at

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first had been enveloped in mystery, and which had been decided so quickly and carried through so brilliantly—all things produced varied emotions, and filled every eye with tears, and produced a sentiment—powerful, energetic, penetrative—which for a length of time animated the nation. The *Te Deum*, intoned by the Christian warriors in the grand mosque of Ceuta, was the hymn enthusiastically echoed throughout the reign of D. João I., and sung at the glorious decline of his agitated life, announcing to Portugal the epoch of its grandeur. When the King raised aloft the standard of Saint Vincent from the towers of the Castle of Ceuta, he opened wide to the Portuguese a vast future, and traced out to them elevated aspirations. From that point his inward perceptions penetrated far beyond the *Cape of Saint Vincent*. On the Promontory of Sagres (the Promontorium Sacrum of the ancient world) he placed the Infante D. Henrique, and pensively gazing on the surging waves, he descried, on the immensity of the ocean and far beyond, a new and splendid world.

We must add that the King, among those he rewarded for their services to him in assisting to conquer Ceuta, were the crews of twenty-seven English ships. These ships had been driven into Lisbon on their way to the Holy Land, and, at the request of the King of Portugal, had joined his fleet in the expedition to Ceuta.

During the eighteen years which elapsed from the taking of Ceuta to the death of the King, no important events took place.

The ill-health which visited D. João I. at times forced him to entrust the government of the kingdom to D. Duarte, who thus provisionally governed the country which he was to rule for so short a time as king.

Ceuta grew to be what the monarch had foreseen and desired—a school of war for the Portuguese fidalgos, who, under the command of its brave Governor, D. Pedro de Menezes, constantly repelled the attacks of the Moors, who were determined upon regaining their predilect city. The first serious attack took place in 1418, when they came, as our chroniclers tell us, to the number of 120,000 men and many galleys, to besiege the stronghold. The Moors were repulsed on the 11th August, leaving 3,000 dead on the battle-field. The second attempt was a more important one, because with the Barbary hordes came some well-disciplined troops of Granada to strengthen the siege, forcing D. Pedro de Menezes to ask succour from Portugal. D. João I. at once sent a squadron, commanded by the Infantes

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D. Henrique and D. João, the latter yearning to win his spurs on the African shores as his elder brothers had done. This was in 1419; but it was unnecessary for the two Infantes to enter into battle with the Moors, because D. Pedro de Menezes effected a powerful sortie, and the approach of the fleet sufficed to intimidate the Moors, and they departed.

But during these last eighteen years of the existence of D. João I. the scythe of death was cutting down with implacable perseverance the grand forms of the heroes of Aljubarrota and of Ceuta. At times we feel a deep regret that men whose deeds and lives have rendered them immortal in the pages of history, should not be likewise an exception to the fatal law of annihilation, and become immortal in the material sense.

Of the most noteworthy men of that glorious epoch the first to descend to the narrowness of the grave was the *great Doctor* of Laws, João das Regras, who died in 1404, and was buried in the convent of Bemfica, which had been founded by D. João at the request of the Chancellor of the Dominican Order—an Order to which he was greatly attached. During his latter days he was honoured by the King with many favours and rewards.

D. Nuno Alvares Pereira, the Constable and companion-at-arms of the Master of Aviz, D. João I., died on the 1st of November, 1431. After returning from the expedition to Ceuta the aged Constable, who, as we are aware, always had in an eminent degree deeply religious instincts, bade adieu to the world and retired to the convent of the Order of Mount Carmel, which he had founded in Lisbon. It was there he died after nine years of voluntary poverty and humility. One of his biographers tells us that he entered this convent at the beginning of August, 1422, and that, with the object of leading a more perfect life, he renounced all titles and appointments, and, moreover, divided all his properties, rents, and lands, reserving nothing for himself; and on the 15th of August, 1423, at the age of 63, he took the habit of a lay brother, changing his name to Nuno de Santa Maria, as he signed himself ever after, thus renouncing the name which his sword had rendered famous. We must here relate an anecdote which manifests his bravery and prowess. The Constable lived in the highest exercise of prayer and penance when the news came of the dangers which threatened Ceuta, and the King hastened to ask his advice upon the best way of succouring the stronghold and plan of defence. The

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Constable at once offered his services as a common soldier, saying that neither his age nor the religious profession he had made could cool the desire of fulfilling his duty in the ranks as regarded the good of the Church; he was ready to proceed with the rosary in one hand and in the other the sword—which he still kept for maintaining the honour of God—as he could choose no death more glorious or a more honoured sepulture than ending his life in defending the faith and the glory of the country. He persevered in the saintly exercise of penance and prayer for eight years, until his death in 1431, at the age of 71. The King D. João I. and his sons the Infantes, with all the nobility and clergy, assisted at his funeral obsequies, which were celebrated with the greatest pomp and magnificence. He was buried under the pavement of the church, where his remains lay for nearly one hundred years, until the Queen D. Juana of Castille, wife of Philip the Beautiful, and daughter of their Catholic Majesties Ferdinand and Isabella, a descendant of the Constable, ordered the body to be translated to a rich marble tomb. Over this tomb lay his effigy in the Carmelite habit of a lay brother, and represented him as an aged man, while at the head was another statue standing upright, which represented him as a young man clad in armour and ready for war. This tomb, however, was ruined in the great earthquake of 1755.

His remains were transferred to the spot where they are now, and the King D. Joseph sent a new lamp, which burns before the tomb. The three states of Portugal besought his beatification from Pope Urban VIII. in the Cortes of 1641, and the bishops of the kingdom sent a fresh appeal to Clement X. in the Cortes of 1674.

Popular opinion did not await his beatification, and pilgrimages, both devotional and patriotic, were started to his tomb, where songs were sung as well as hymns in praise of Nuno as a brave warrior and as a virtuous, holy monk. Among the legends of the people Nuno Alvares had at once found a place as the patron Saint of the Battles, the conqueror of the Castillians, so signally protected by the blessing of God. Ruy de Pina, in his "Chronicles of the King D. Duarte," tells us that his image, depicted on banners, was always carried by the army when proceeding to battle, as was done in the assault of Tangiers.

Nuno Alvares Pereira, true to his glorious instincts, ever marched in the vanguard to the battles, and now with equal destiny went forward to the tomb preceeding his aged, former companion-in-arms,

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and thus silently warned him that his hour likewise was at hand. But D. João I. had no fear of death. Many times had he fearlessly faced it on the battlefield, when he had greater reasons for being attached to life than at the present moment when he beheld his mission ended, and could now rest in the waning light of a glorious evening, after having illumined his country and the epoch for fifty years. D. João I. began to feel that his companions in glory, and his companion in love, his faithful consort, were beckoning him to the grave. Feeling unwell, D. João, urged by his sons, went to Alcochete in order to try a change of air. But as no improvement took place, he desired to return to Lisbon. This was in 1433. On the 14th of August —being the anniversary of the Battle of Aljubarrota—the King expired, hearing around him the wailings of his people mingled with the echoes of the guns which were booming in honour of the day. It was likewise his birthday, and he had attained his seventy-sixth year, and it was on this date also, when attaining his forty-eighth year, that he vanquished D. Juan of Castille, by which he secured the independence of the Portuguese kingdom and states, and, in memory of the event, he newly erected the monastery of Santa Maria de Victoria, commonly called Batalha. It was on the 14th of August also that, eighteen years previously, he quitted Lisbon to proceed to Africa, where he conquered from the enemies of the faith the then renowned city of Ceuta.

Thus on the 14th day of August, 1433, passed away from among the living, the great King, D. João I., and as the people loved to add—*of happy memory*.

If there was any one king whose death the people truly and sincerely wept over, it was most certainly that of D. João I. A king of the people's election, his subjects felt for him that especial sympathy and love which they ever manifest for one of their own choosing. Such was the ardent love which the French manifested for Napoleon, and that not even the many disasters, caused by his immeasurable ambition, was able altogether to extinguish. Moreover D. João possessed the qualities proper for winning popular affection. Brave, generous, affable, trusting, but austere, he offered the world an example of highest morality. A skilful diplomatist, he established, assisted by the Chancellor João das Regras, the influence of the monarchical principle, and he knew how to conciliate the *affection* of the nobility, which was cooling down, by his chivalrous instincts, by the esteem

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he felt for his brave fidalgos. The affection of the people he won by his constant solicitude for their interests, by respecting their liberties, by summoning the Cortes with unusual frequency. He consolidated the unity of the Portuguese monarchy, or rather he really founded it, because he uprooted from the ground the last shoots of the Portuguese semi-feudalism—because he abolished, as far as he could, the ecclesiastical and seignorial jurisdictions—because he formed in a body of ordinances the laws voted by various Cortes, widening and modifying them on the plan of the Roman code, which was coming again into vogue in Europe, and which Portugal admitted definitely at the time.

Around his death-bed were gathered four out of the five Infantes which constituted his family, the Infante D. Pedro being in Coimbra. His remains were bathed in the tears of those sons who idolised their father, and the Infante Duarte, meditative and philosophical—more fitted perchance for the obscure happiness of a secluded and studious existence than for the brilliant turmoil of the Court and throne—could not be consoled for the death of his father, not even with the joys of a satisfied ambition, because the crown for him possessed no fascinations.

D. João I. by his testament had willed that his body should be interred in the church of the convent of Batalha, but as this could not be done at once, his son D. Duarte resolved upon the sepulture taking place for the time being in the Archiepiscopal Church of Lisbon, in front of the altar of Saint Vincent, the patron saint of the deceased monarch. The funeral was conducted with the greatest pomp. The coffin was borne from the palace to the church by the Infantes and counts, while numberless torches were ranged throughout the road traversed by the *cortège*. The body was deposited in a mortuary chapel, and guarded by representatives of the councils, monks and priests, who relieved each other, while thirty masses were said every day for the repose of his soul. By these and other pious ceremonies did D. Duarte manifest the deep sorrow and love for his late father, and the profound respect and veneration for his memory.

END OF SIXTH BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

1433—1446.

REIGN OF D. DUARTE AND MINORITY OF D. ALFONSO. V.

From the cradle to the throne—Expedition to Tangiers—Captivity of D. Ferdinand—Death of D. Duarte—Acclamation of D. Alfonso V.—The Infante D. Pedro—Questions arise respecting the Regency of the kingdom—Exequies of D. Duarte—A marriage is projected for D. Alfonso V.—The Cortes of Torres-Novas—The plague—the Infante D. Ferdinand—Hostility of the Queen against D. Pedro—Strife for the Regency of the kingdom—Intrigues of the Queen—The Cortes of Lisbon—Embassage of the Infantes of Aragon—Voyages of the Infante D. Pedro—Flight of D. Leonor to Cintra, and from thence to Almeirim—Apparent reconciliation of the Queen and the Regent—Machinations of the Count D. Barcellos—Flight of D. Leonor to Crato—Preventive measures are taken by the Regent—Departure of the Queen for Castille—Reconciliation of the Count of Barcellos with the Infantes—Betrothal of the King to the daughter of the Regent—Attempted reconciliation between the Regent and the Queen—Castillian embassy to the Regent—The Cortes of Evora—Last days of D. Ferdinand during his captivity in Fez—Death of the Queen D. Leonor—The Cortes of Lisbon—Termination of the Regency of the Infante D. Pedro.

"D. João I. was great in himself," writes Ferdinand Denis in his *Portugal Pittoresque*, "but he was great likewise in the scions of his house." In truth, we are bound to say the French historian was right. In D. Duarte we have an eloquent king; in D. Pedro, the wise statesman and a man of vast erudition; in D. Henrique, the pioneer of the discoveries, the man of science superior to his age; while in D. Ferdinand we have the hero of resignation, the *Constant Prince*, the saintly Infante. All these surrounded the throne of D. João I., and shed over it an unexampled splendour.

D. Duarte, the heir to the throne, was the third child of D. João I., by his wife the Queen D. Philippa, his two first children, the Infanta D. Branca and the Infante D. Sancho, having died in their childhood.

born in Vizeu on the 30th October, 1391. This prince merited

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a place among Portuguese writers, and posterity surnamed him the *Eloquent*. But he was more than this—he was a sage of the first order, a notable philosopher for his epoch.

The son of D. João I., by cultivating letters during a semi-barbarous epoch, enhanced in an eminent degree the purple of the sovereign by the gifts of the author. The books he left us are a sufficient testimony of this—books which are in our day appreciated, not only as a treasury of science and eloquence for that age, but as mirrors of the virtues of a prince educated in an atmosphere of purity, and nobility of soul. When reading in the pages of the "Leal Conselheiro" how the crowned writer speaks of his august father and mother, and of his brothers, with a heartfelt affection which manifests to us that the noblest feelings of the spirit and heart shone in that grave, austere Court, we feel ourselves, as it were, transported to a world anterior to our sinful one, and we revel in the contemplation of that epoch —a unique epoch in the history of a people, wherein science, heroism, and virtue were joined in gentle bonds, and, like a fragrant wreath, exhaled a perfume over the country and age in which they flourished.

The Infante D. Duarte was learned, and the first of our Portuguese kings (as far as we can judge from the records which have reached our day) who had relatively a large library, leaving posterity a testimony of his erudition in his book entitled the "Leal Conselheiro," a work of moral philosophy, and highly valued for the beauty of style, loftiness of the principles inculcated, and deep knowledge it manifests, although, from a scientific point of view, it is far from satisfying modern requirements.

He received the name of Duarte in memory of his great grandfather, King Edward III. of England; he is variously called Duarte, Eduarte or Eduarde, and in the MS. of his own work, the "Leal Conselheiro," found in the Royal Library of Paris, it is signed "D. *Eduardus*," and generally in the documents of that period we find the signature thus, "D. *Eduarte*."

In the year 1428, when he had attained his thirty-seventh year, his father, D. João I., resolved to effect an alliance for his son with D. Leonor, daughter of D. Ferdinand I., and sister of D. Alfonso V. of Aragon. The marriage was effected by procuration in Valencia, the Procurator of D. João I. and of D. Duarte being the Archbishop of Lisbon, D. Pedro de Noronha. In a town of the kingdom of

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Aragon, Olhos Negros, the contract of marriage was signed by the Archbishop. After this, the Infanta D. Leonor quitted Valencia to proceed to Portugal, accompanied by two of her brothers, D. Juan and D. Enrique, and a numerous suite. In Valladolid great feasts, banquets, tournaments, and races took place to celebrate her passage through the city. The King of Castille made her handsome presents, and sent the Archbishop of Santiago, D. Lopo de Mendoza, the Bishop of Cuenca, D. Alvaro Osorio, and a large number of nobles and knights to accompany the Infanta to the Portuguese frontiers. On reaching the frontier of Portugal, some misunderstanding arose between the suite of the Archbishop of Santiago and that of the Archbishop of Lisbon, which culminated in a fight in which some were killed and others wounded. This incident, which appeared to presage sad consequences to the marriage, caused profound displeasure in Portugal, and on an inquiry being instituted to examine the affair, some of the culprits were severely punished, and the Archbishop of Lisbon reprimanded.

On entering into Portuguese ground, D. João I. desired to form a new marriage contract, which was done in Coimbra on 4th November, 1428. In virtue of this new contract, D. Leonor received from her husband, as a marriage portion, 30,000 gold florins of Aragon, pledging as security the town of Santarem, with all its revenues, and, moreover, receiving for household expenses half the rents enjoyed by the Queen D. Philippa, agreeing that, on ascending the throne, she should have the same as D. Philippa. The King of Aragon dowered his sister in 100,000 florins, payable in ten years, pledging as security the towns of Fraga, Debriga, and Lyria. The Queen D. Leonor of Aragon, mother of the bride, gave her a further dowry of 100,000 florins. D. João I. confirmed this treaty when residing in the town of Estremoz, on 2nd December.

On the morning subsequent to the death of D. João I. the Infante D. Duarte, after holding a council with his brothers, made his confession, and received holy communion. He then robed himself for the act of acclamation, and the chronicler, Ruy de Pina, tells us that his physician, Mestre Guedelha, approached D. Duarte, and besought him not to allow the acclamation to take place before mid-day, because the hour was an evil one, *and of sad constellation*, as the planets foreboded unhappy auguries. The Infante replied that although he respected the science of astrology, he reputed it inferior to the will of God, and he placed himself confidently in the hands of God. Mestre

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Guedelha insisted in his pleadings and auguries, but D. Duarte continued firm; then the astrologer commenced to declare that the King would reign but a few years, and these be full of troubles and fatigues.

For the act of acclamation the plaza of the Palace of Alcaçova, where D. Duarte resided, was prepared. The Prince came forth, accompanied by the Infantes, with the exception of D. Pedro, and the whole Court. After the preliminaries had been gone through, D. Duarte besought the Bishop of Evora, D. Alvaro d'Ebreu, after the reading of the act of acclamation, to burn in his presence some tow, as an *emblem that the glory and pomp of this world is short-lived, and passes away quickly*, to which the Bishop replied: "*Sire, it appears to me that the knowledge and remembrance your Majesty has of this fact suffices, without having recourse to any act.*"

The Count of Vianna now unfurled the royal flag, and three times in a loud voice repeated the usual formula. Then followed the kissing of hands. When this act was ended, the King retired into the Palace, and changed his regal robes for one of deep mourning.

The Infante D. Pedro was not present at this ceremony, as he was at Coimbra when apprised of the danger of his father. He departed at once, but on reaching Leiria he received the news of his death, and hè lingered a few days in Leiria, but on his arrival he at once proceeded to the Palace of Bellas, where his brother the King had gone to, and had a long interview with him. Both brothers then proceeded to join the Queen D. Leonor and her surviving children, D. Alfonso and D. Philippa.

Another ceremony took place in Cintra; the Infante D. Pedro pledged his homage to the King, and the Infante D. Alfonso was proclaimed legitimate heir and successor to D. Duarte by his uncles and all the persons at Court; he who was to become later on D. Alfonso V., surnamed the African, and the first heir to the throne that assumed, as was the custom in all the other kingdoms of Europe, the title of Prince, the elder sons of kings being until then designated, like their younger brothers, by the simple title of Infante.

After the ceremony D. Duarte's first care was to fulfil to the end his filial duties by carrying out the depositions stated in the testament of D. João I. and translating his remains to the convent of Batalha. This ceremony was conducted with the greatest solemnity, and a minute description is afforded us by Ruy de Pina in the first chapters

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of "Chronica de el rei D. Duarte." We shall give a summary of this description to enable our readers to understand the pomp and solemnity of royal funerals in the fifteenth century.

D. Duarte convoked a meeting for the 25th of October, 1433, in Lisbon, of prelates, grandees, and abbots of the whole kingdom, in order that they should all assist at the translation, and in effect on that day the whole nobility and dignitaries of the Church assembled. The King, in deep mourning and accompanied by a magnificent retinue, proceeded to the cathedral in a silent procession, the bells tolling meanwhile. The cathedral was completely draped with black curtains, but splendidly illumined by numberless lighted torches, and the whole hung with the royal flags and other standards and banners of kings and princes related to Portugal. D. Duarte and the Infantes bore the coffin amid clouds of incense from many swinging censors, the funeral rites being performed by the Archbishop of Braga. The coffin was placed on the catafalque, and during the night guard was kept in perfect silence by the Infante D. Pedro and many fidalgos. On the following day, after mass, a procession was formed of the various religious orders, bearing crosses and torches; five magnificent horses, splendidly caparisoned, were led by some of the highest nobles of the land. The first, covered by white and red damask, had the arms of St. George embroidered on the cloth; on that of the second, which was red and blue, the arms of the King; the third, equally caparisoned, bore the motto of the King, embroidered in damask, "Por bem"; the fourth had the device the King adopted when he married the Queen D. Philippa, the letter F; the fifth simply covered with black damask. Then followed the hearse, the pall borne by the King and the Infantes, twelve knights carrying the royal flag, lance, standard, axe, and other arms of the King, followed by the rest of the nobility and people. On reaching the door of St. Vicente, horses were put to the hearse, and the King and Infantes mounting their steeds proceeded on horseback. When Odivellas was reached the coffin was deposited in the church, the night guard falling to the Infante D. Henrique, accompanied, in his quality of Master of the Order of Christ, by all the Commandeurs and Knights of that Order. It must needs have been a splendid sight to behold in the old church of the Monastery of D. Diniz, draped in black and illuminated solely by the flickering light of the funereal torches, the long line of military monks in their ample white cloaks, worked with a red cross, watching in the silence of the night the corpse of a hero!

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From Odivellas the *cortège* proceeded in the same order to Villa Franca de Xira, and the coffin was again deposited for the night in the church; but this time the watch was taken by the Infante D. João, accompanied by the Commandeurs and Knights of the Order of Santiago, of which order he was Grand Master. On the following day the *cortège* proceeded to Alcoentre, and at night the body was guarded by the Infante D. Ferdinand, accompanied by his fidalgos, because as yet he was not Master of the Order of Aviz. The next day the procession reached to Alcobaça, where the last guarding of the body fell to the Count of Barcellos, D. Alfonso, the illegitimate son of the deceased King, accompanied by his sons the Counts of Ourem and Arrayolos and other fidalgos. On the fifth day they arrived to Batalha, and the remains of D. João I. were at length laid to rest in the tomb prepared for him beneath the shades of those marvellous domes breathing faith and poetry, of that temple which of itself is a poem, and within those walls that time has respected, and which still seem to be echoing the glorious *cantos* of the epic poem of Aljubarrota.

On the sepulchre of João I., placed by the side of that of the Queen D. Philippa, is seen sculptured the French device of the great monarch, "*Il me plait pour bien.*"

Scarcely were the funereal ceremonies concluded than the pestilence —that terrible enemy of D. Duarte which ever pursued him from the beginning to the end of his reign—burst out furiously, and the King flying before it went to Leiria, and there summoned the Cortes in order to receive from the representatives of the three states the homage due to him.

On terminating this simple ceremony, D. Duarte wished to dissolve the Cortes, but the Count of Arrayolos, afterwards Duke of Braganza, who was commencing an agitated political career in which he always played a turbulent part, exclaimed that since they were assembled it was better to prorogue them in order to discuss many important subjects, among them affairs of finance, because the late King D. João I., although a prince who was a good administrator and economist, had laid the treasury in a low state owing to his continued wars. D. Duarte acceded to the request of the Count, and the Cortes which had commenced in Leiria were continued in Santarem.

Few documents are found at the present day to tell us what subjects were discussed at these Cortes, as few of the laws promulgated on that occasion were incorporated to the *Codigo Affonsino*. After these Corte s

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D. Duarte commenced to govern with great skill, and organised the public finance, effecting considerable reductions in his household, and ordering that a permanent Council of State, composed of an Infante, a bishop, and a count, be always retained in the Cortes. He promulgated the *mental law* which his father had applied, but which was unwritten, and he began to gather together materials for the compilation of a codice, which he was unable to execute, but a work which later on was effected during the regency of his brother, D. Pedro.

Grateful to D. Duarte for the efforts he made to govern with full justice, the people manifested and felt towards him a love similar to that shown to his father, and they ever respected him. A foreign historian says that never was the saying "the word of a King" more fully proved than in the reign, of D. Duarte, because he was a man of rare faithfulness to his pledged word and promises.

In his private life, the son of D. Philippa was like his father—an example of austere morality; and his consort, D. Leonor, if she did not possess the loftiness of spirit of D. Philippa, had nevertheless the highest instincts of feminine virtue and modesty. Unfortunately, however, she had not the prudence of the daughter of the Duke of Lancaster who abstained from interfering in affairs of State, but on the contrary influenced her husband in his decisions. The King being deficient in energy, committed the mistake of not repressing his wife, from whence resulted great misfortunes to the country during the life of D. Duarte and after his death. D. Leonor possessed all the gifts of an upright woman, but not the solid qualifications for a reigning queen, hence she became at the hands of vile intriguers an instrument for introducing discord in the kingdom, and which later on they despised and forced to go through deplorable situations.

Notwithstanding the business of State affairs which were sufficiently onerous, the King D. Duarte always assigned some hours for his favourite studies, and to forming in his palace a collection of books which constituted the first library of the King of Portugal known in history.

For a great length of time it was the current opinion that the King D. Alfonso V. was the first Portuguese prince who founded a library in the royal palace; but our erudite and conscientious bibliographer, Innocencio Francisco da Silva, whose services in respect to Portuguese letters have been so great, has expounded in the *Panorama* what he

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found in a document hitherto ignored or little known, and rectified the erroneous ideas which existed, and restored to the King D. Duarte all the honour due to him.

But though occupied with the internal affairs of State, D. Duarte nevertheless followed with attention all the turns and changes of external policy. Being at peace with all Europe, after the death of D. João I., and already engaged in maritime undertakings, which later on, perchance, absorbed too much of his attention, Portugal could calmly contemplate the agitation of Europe which the great strife between France and England had enkindled. There was an affair, however, which, to a country like Portugal, so eminently religious, could not be otherwise than of supreme importance—ecclesiastical dissensions.

The schism which had for so long divided Catholics was ended. These affairs had culminated in three Popes existing at one time; but these three Popes had at length been suppressed, and Martin V. ascended the pontifical throne, established anew in Rome by the Emperor Sigismund of Germany; but he was succeeded by Eugenio IV., and the schism was about to rise up again. Council after council was held, until at length, in 1431, discords increased, and Eugenio IV. refused to acknowledge the Council of Basiléa, and gathered together in Ferrara, and later on in Florence, a council which he proclaimed as the only legal one.

The King of Portugal sent his ambassadors to the council convened by Pope Eugenio IV., in the persons of the Count of Ourem and the Bishop of Oporto, Antão Martins. These delegates were accompanied by the doctors Vasco Fernandes de Lucena and Diogo Alfonso Mangaancha; the Augustinian friar, João Thomé; and the Franciscan, Mestre Gil Lobo, besides many other fidalgos.

Eugenio IV. was extremely flattered by this proof of respect for the pontifical authority and for the unexpected adhesion he received from a kingdom situated on the extreme of Europe, at a time when the greater number of princes conspired together against him, threatening to depose him; and the Pope manifested to D. Duarte every proof of affection and esteem. He wished to honour this Catholic sovereign by granting to him and to his successors the privilege of being anointed with the holy chrism in the same way as the kings of France and England. As a fact this privilege had been granted already by Martin V. to the kings of Portugal on the occasion of the visit to

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Rome of the Infante D. Pedro, but the monarchs had not made use of this honourable right.

D. Duarte thus continued, like his father D. João I., to maintain the exterior of the kingdom free from grave complications, and the interior at peace and in good order, encouraging good morals and study.

But what already troubled the reign of D. Duarte and presaged that it would not be a happy one was the plague which was desolating the kingdom. But surrounded by his brothers, following proudly and joyously the successful attempts of D. Henrique, and leaning on the arm of the Infante D. Pedro, the prudent statesman whose counsels he highly respected, and reverencing the singular modesty and resplendent virtues which adorned the Infante D. Ferdinand, it seemed that D. Duarte would negative the prophecy of Mestre Guedelha and enjoy a happy reign, blessed by his subjects. But Providence did not will it thus, and in this apparently calm horizon was preparing a thunderbolt.

As in the progress of the history of the reign of D. Duarte his brothers took so important a place, we judge it opportune, before proceeding, to give our readers a sketch of their characters and influence.

The next in the order of birth to D. Duarte was the Infante D. Pedro, born in Lisbon on the 9th of December, 1392. He became Duke of Coimbra, Lord of Montemor-o-Velho, and during the minority of his nephew, Alfonso V., assumed the regency. He was the first in Portugal who took the title of duke. He was dowered with the loftiest moral qualities, joined to clear intellectual powers, and united in himself, although in a less sublime degree, all the qualifications possessed by his brothers.

Eloquent like D. Duarte, erudite as D. Henrique, virtuous as was D. Ferdinand, and, similarly to the latter, the victim of mean passions, the noble form of the Infante D. Pedro stands as one of the most notable and sympathetic characters of our history. As a poet he was much admired in the Spanish Peninsula. Ticknor, in his "History of Spanish Literature," says "that the Infante D. Pedro was a versifier of some renown, who travelled through various parts of the world, and personally became acquainted in Spain with Juan de Mena, who was the most noteworthy poet of the Court of D. Juan II. of Castille, and one of the most highly appreciated during the first epochs of Spanish

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literature. D. Pedro addressed to him verses which were far better than the reply received."

As a prose writer he translated some Latin works, and wrote a book entitled the "Virtuosa Benefeitoria," a book dedicated to his brother, the Infante D. Duarte, which is still unedited. Although it does not reach to the merits of the "Leal Conselheiro," yet it possesses eminent qualities of the same class—beauty of style and loftiness of principles.

His voyages were in some sense advantageous to his brother D. Henrique, since, as it appears, they afforded some important light and information, and certainly served to animate the project to which he owed his personal glory, and the Portuguese nation the splendour which shines in her history.

From these voyages of the Infante D. Pedro popular imagination worked veritable myths, interwoven with marvellous lights and colours, from the narrative of the Infante. In those chivalrous days it was the usual custom for knights to choose a device according to the tendencies of their spirit. A symbol was selected for the escutcheons, and a motto, that the sons of D. João I. always added in French, which was the language of their mother, because the English Court, being half Norman, the French language was employed in Paris and in London. On the tombs of the four Infantes, in Batalha, are still seen the devices chosen by each, the device of D. Pedro being a pair of scales entwined with some oak-leaves and acorns, and one only word, *Desir*. In this motto, *Desir*, is incontestably expressed the character of this model of princes. His life, which was crowned by so hapless a death, was a constant aspiration towards all that was good—a constant desire for instruction, for improvement, for attaining to the highest ideal of humanity.

The next Prince was the celebrated Infante D. Henrique, the third surviving son of D. João I., who was born in Oporto on 4th March, 1394. He became Duke of Vizeu, Lord of Covilha, and Master of the Order of Christ. As we have to speak very extensively of this Prince when writing on the discoveries of the Portuguese, and the notable impulse he gave to them, we shall simply give a summary sketch of his character, taking advantage in doing so of the description afforded by Rebello da Silva in his biography of this Prince:

"He was endowed by God with a most lofty genius, constancy, and firmness, in order to conceive and carry out the vast plans and projects

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which glorified his name. A knight for whom glory had gathered from his boyhood and youth martial laurels, in order later on to weave them into a crown, desirous that the world should esteem him as a perfect model when beholding him uniting the victorious palm of the soldier with the trophies of the navigator—learning with princedom, daring with austerity."

This constancy, this intrepidity and perseverance, are well demonstrated by his device, *Talent de bien faire*, the word *talent* being also a signification of will—*talante*, as our forefathers expressed it, and a signification which in some cases still holds good in our day.

It was this device of the large-hearted Infante which became the encouraging call-word of the Portuguese in their continued undertakings.

Then followed in the list of children of D. João I. a daughter, the Infanta D. Isabel, born on 21st February, 1397. She became the Duchess of Burgandy. This vast duchy was governed by Phillip (surnamed the Good), owing to the disastrous death of his father, João sem Medo (John without Fear), who was assassinated in the presence of the Dauphin of France, afterwards Charles VII. He was the third duke of the branch of Valois. For a long time this marriage had been projected with the daughter of the King of Portugal and Philippa of Lancaster. The Sieurs of Roubaix, Toulongeou Noyelle, and other nobles of Burgandy came to seek her, and she with her brothers embarked for Flanders. She had already arrived within sight of the port of Ecluse, where a large concourse of people had gathered together to receive her, when a furious tempest carried the ships right away into the sea. For many days were they tossed about and supposed lost, when they received news that the force of the storm had driven the ships to the coast of England, where she was received by the English rulers, and even a sum of money was lent to her to return. On arriving at Flanders she was received in a sumptuous manner hitherto unrivalled even by the traditions of the renowned house of Burgandy. On the 10th January, 1430, the marriage was celebrated at Bruges. It was on this occasion that the Duke instituted the famous Order of Knighthood called the Toison d'Ore. This Order was a friendly association of a limited number of knights. The Order was to consist of thirty-one nobles of renown in war and of spotless life. The Grand Master was Duke Philip, and at his death the office to descend to his successors, the Dukes of Burgandy. The institution of this Order was an homage offered to a princess of Portugal, daughter of D. João I., and the Order of the Toison d'Ore

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is even at the present day used or conferred only on sovereigns or personages of highest merit or those holding important social positions. When the States of Burgandy passed over to the dominion of Spain at the marriage of Philip I. of Castille, great-grandson of Philip the Good, with Joanna, this Order was annexed to the Spanish Crown.

Isabel died on 17th December, 1471, at the age of seventy-four. She was buried in the cathedral of Dijon.

The Infante D. João follows next in order of birth. He was born in Santarem in the month of January, 1400. He became Master of the Order of Santiago, succeeding Nuno Alvares in the charge of Constable. Although not dowered with such lofty genius as his brothers, he possessed, nevertheless, many excellent qualities of spirit. His device was, *J'ai bien raison.* We shall have occasion further on in our history to speak of this prince, who wedded a granddaughter of Nuno Alvares Pereira, and daughter of the Duke of Braganza.

The youngest son of D. João I. was the Infante D. Ferdinand—the *Saintly Infante* as the Portuguese loved to call him, and the *Constant Prince* as he was styled by the Castillian dramatist, who rendered his life so celebrated. We shall later on narrate at its proper moment the exploits which merited for him the glory that surrounds his memory and name, and recount his intrepidity in presence of evil treatment and actual misery, and his ineffable resignation. Here we shall merely mention that the device he adopted was no less fitting to his character and his lifelong destiny than that of his brother. *Le bien me plait* he chose as his motto, and his life chaste, virtuous, full of abnegation, and his death a true and voluntary sacrifice, fully proved that in his spirit he felt no difficulty of acting in conformity with that *bien* which was akin to his gentle spirit and his angelic heart.

This prince, who was to die a premature and cruel death, was born in Santarem on 29th September, 1402. He became Master of the Order of Aviz. He was naturally delicate from his birth, and of a studious nature, seldom caring for a Court life, preferring reading and study. Hence he became a perfect Latin scholar, and deeply read in the sacred writings. His charming countenance, the gravity of his manner, joined to his clear, shrewd intelligence, rendered him the idol of the Court. He was extremely religious, without being superstitious or fanatical, preferring religious exercises and all works of devotion and charity to bodily ones. He was simple in his habits and manner of living, and never desired to enrich himself further than circumstances

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permitted, the King his brother finding great difficulty in persuading him to accept the honoured post of Master of Aviz. He possessed an almost feminine reserve, an extraordinary affability, and in every way retired as far as possible from the busy turmoil of politics, justifying in all his actions the device he had adopted, *Le bien me plait*. His rental was limited, as besides the revenue accruing from the Mastership of Aviz, he only possessed the towns of Salvaterra and Athouguia. His small rental, however, was not a subject which troubled him; all he lamented was not having, owing to his extreme youth, joined the expedition to Ceuta. He felt ashamed that he had not won his spurs as a knight in these holy wars, and he felt abashed at his own tranquil existence in comparison to that of his brothers.

Valour, virtue, erudition, eloquence, and the loftiest nobility of soul shone resplendently around that privileged throne. A fertile tree, covered with flowers and laden with fruits, its shoots spread throughout Europe, and in every part flourished. Much was due to nature, but far more to education and example. In that atmosphere, all charged with the perfume of virtue, the lofty qualities of the princes flourished as in their native air.

"If in our days we should wish to form some faint idea of the austere and judicious manner in which these princes were educated," writes Ferdinand Denis, "it would be in the pages of the 'Leal Conselheiro,' the book composed by the heir to the throne, that we should seek for these minute particulars, and where alone we could find them. We should then see that D. João I. was sufficiently enlightened to despise the superstitions circulated by the followers of astrology, and that, seconded by the admirable princess whom he elevated to the throne, he had gathered together in Portugal all the elements of intel lectual development which was to be manifested so splendidly. Most certainly it was a noble epoch wherein the monarch inculcated to his sons: 'Ever bear in mind that we should guard against any and every thing wherein there could arise any diminution of honour, as things which are dangerous, while to the contrary, if any one thing is grand only in appearance, and its defect is not patent, we must despise it.'"

It was a time of eminently manly power, and at the same time of Christian purity, and in truth in the Court and palace there reigned a morality so notable that it contrasted in a singular manner with the former state of corruption.

From the character which all historians ascribe to the Infante

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D. Ferdinand may be clearly deduced that although impelled by a predilection for study, and consequently an existence of seclusion, yet he yearned for combats to fulfil what he judged a duty, and that it should never be said that he was the only one of the sons of D. João I. who had not unsheathed the sword to the glory and increase of power of his country. The war against the Mahometans seemed more than any other to favour his views by reason of the religious idea which dominated him, as well as most princes of his time. Although he rigorously fulfilled all the precepts of the Church, yet he would not become a religious, believing that other were the duties of princes; this thought even suggesting certain scruples which for a long time prevented him from accepting the charge of Master of Aviz, as he did not wish, as a layman, to enjoy ecclesiastical revenues. He gave a further proof of these scruples by obstinately refusing to accept the Cardinal's hat which Pope Eugenio IV. offered him. He was in his thirty-fourth year when he proceeded to interview the King in Almeirim, to ask leave to seek his fortunes and adventures in some foreign Court, preferably that of England, by reason of the parentage and goodwill existing between the two royal families of Portugal and England. He added that whenever his aid or presence should be required he would at once return, but that it was the custom of the Portuguese to gain honour and glory in foreign lands, and he, as a prince and a Portuguese, had a greater duty to perform, and add lustre to his name. *

The King was deeply grieved at this unexpected resolve of

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* The Portuguese were, as a fact, at that epoch, veritable knight-errants—adventurers who always appeared in Europe wherever there was strife. In the wars of the Emperor Sigismund of Germany against the Turks are found the Portuguese, the principal among them being D. Pedro. In the wars of Henry IV. of England with France rises up D. Alvaro Vaz d'Almada, who distinguished himself in the taking of Rouen. In the celebrated battle of Agincourt, gained by Henry V. of England over the French, and one of the greatest disasters in the history of France, Portuguese figured in the army of the victors, among them the illustrious paladine, Sueiro da Costa. When the Duke of Burgandy, John without Fear, was besieged in Arras by the troops of Charles VI., King of France (1414), various jousts took place, in one of which figured Portuguese knights, as we are told by E. M. de Barante. Another joust was celebrated between three French knights, led by a scion of Bourbon, who was very youthful and wished to become renowned, and the Lord of Cottebrune, a knight of Burgandy, who was already famed, against three Portuguese from the Court of Burgandy. M. de Barante does not tell us who were the victors. See "Histoire des Ducs de Bourgogne," tom. iii., p. 118.

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D. Ferdinand, and being rather weak of will, he felt deep anguish at having to deny his dearly loved brother the desired permission. He endeavoured to dissuade him from taking a step which was of small credit to both, since the world would judge that he was fired with immoderate love of riches, and that the King was treating him with small honour, and was like himself, mean and avaricious. D. Duarte besought his brother, D. Henrique, to dissuade D. Ferdinand from his design. It is true that D. Henrique combated the project of D. Ferdinand passing on to a foreign Court, but he greatly lauded the desire to distinguish himself by feats of arms, and counselled the King to project an expedition against the Moors in Africa, where D. Ferdinand might gain glory and Portugal derive some advantage.

The King energetically combated this new design, alleging that Portugal was deficient of means for such undertakings after the turbulent reign of his father, and that some tranquillity was needed; hence he besought him not to suggest any such idea of an African expedition to D. Ferdinand.

D. Henrique coldy replied that he would obey the King, but he lamented that such a glorious project as he proposed to him should not be carried out, and saying this, quitted the King's presence, leaving D. Duarte a prey to the cruellest anguish.

But D. Henrique did not desist from his project; on the contrary, seeing the hesitation of the King and the insistence of the Infante D. Ferdinand, he persevered in his idea of carrying it out. D. Duarte allowed himself to be guided, or perhaps influenced, by his consort, the Queen D. Leonor, who, unlike D. Philippa, did not possess a judgment sufficiently safe to render her counsels of advantage. It appears D. Henrique abused this influence, or rather the weakness of his brother, to gain his ends. The Queen knew that the King was deeply attached to his brothers, especially to D. Pedro, with whom she was no longer on good terms, and was glad to have a pretext for allying with D. Henrique. The Infante laid before her the great wish both he and his brother had of going to Africa, from whence great lustre would accrue to the reign of D. Duarte, and that this was an opportune moment to undertake an expedition, as there was peace internally and externally throughout Portugal. Moreover, should they be able to conquer more lands from the Moors near Ceuta, they would fix their residence in Africa, and leave all the lands they possessed in Portugal free for the King's children. D. Leonor quite approved of

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their plan, and no doubt the latter argument had some weight, for she offered to exercise her influence should the Infante judge it needful.

And as though all things were tending towards working some disaster in Portugal after fifty years that fortune had smiled upon the nation, there arrived about this time to Lisbon a Portuguese ecclesiastic, D. Gomes by name, who was abbot in Florence, and became later on Prior of Santa Cruz, bearing from Pope Eugenio IV. to D. Duarte a bull for the crusade which the King had previously demanded, in order that when the opportune moment should arrive of combating the Moors to do so without delay, and with all the advantages derived from the promulgation of such bulls. Eugenio IV., who was under great obligations to the King of Portugal, because his envoy, Count de Durem, had gone from Rome to Basilea on purpose to maintain before the rebel bishops the cause of the Pontiff, at once sent the desired bull for the crusade. However, it arrived at a most inopportune moment, because it afforded to the Infantes D. Henrique and D. Ferdinand, and to the Queen D. Leonor, a plea for insisting in their project being carried forward, and constrained the King against his will, and, as though touched by sinister forebodings, to accede to the unfortunate expedition. The weak will of D. Duarte at length yielded to the importunities of his brothers and his wife, and he resolved upon fixing Tangiers as the drift of an expedition to be commanded by the Infantes D. Henrique and D. Ferdinand. The forces he projected to assign for this expedition were 14,000 men. But in order to gather together a force of this number money was needed, and the coffers of the treasury were far from full. This objection of deficiency of means was put forward by the King when the project was under discussion, owing to the immense outlay which had occurred on various occasions, such as the dowry given to the Duchess of Burgandy, amounting to 200,000 crowns; the expenses of the marriage itself, the feasts, and her voyage to Flanders. Those incurred at his own marriage (D. Duarte's), and the presents made to the Aragonese noblemen who had accompanied D. Leonor; the feasts held at the celebration of the marriage of D. Pedro; the funeral and exequies of the late King D. João I.; later on the payment of the legacies bequeathed by the deceased monarch, and various other disbursements when the Count of Ourem and the ambassadors proceeded to Rome.

Resources were wanting, and there was no other means of obtaining money but by imposing a taxation on the people. This the King

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was loth to do, knowing that this expedition did not meet with general sympathy. However, for this object a Cortes was convened on April 15, 1436, in Evora, when the project of the expedition and consequent taxation was to be discussed. Dr. Ruy Fernandes broached the subject, and after warmly approving this expedition appealed to the nation's patriotism and the goodwill of the Councils to authorise and vote that the imposts levelled on the towns should be applied to the carrying out of this expedition—a demand at which the people murmured.

The fact of the undertaking had been decided upon, yet the Infante D. Pedro had not been consulted, he whom the monarch acknowledged possessed such high governing qualifications! Nor the Infantes D. João or the Count de Barcellos, and as these all felt aggrieved at the omission, the King was constrained to hold in Leiria, in the month of August, 1436, a kind of family council, in which the affair was newly discussed.

At this family council appeared the Infantes D. Pedro, D. Henrique, D. João, D. Ferdinand, the Count of Barcellos, and his son, the Count de Arrayolos. Three members of this council, however, abstained from voting in the affair, because they were interested parties. The Infantes D. Henrique and D. Ferdinand had promoted the expedition, hence they could not defend it; the Count of Arrayolos had been appointed Constable of the expeditionary army, therefore he likewise was interested that the decision of the council should be given in favour of the project.

The first to speak was the Infante D. João, who declared himself against the expedition, if the records of Ruy de Pina be correct, and the speech be true that the chronicler places in his mouth, which is scarcely probable, although no doubt he made some objections. The Count of Barcellos seconded the view taken by D João, in as far as it was against the expedition. However, the most notable discourse pronounced on that occasion was the speech of the Infante D. Pedro, who spoke with admirable prevision of the future, and almost prophetically. He manifested himself justly aggrieved that the King should ask his advice only after he had resolved upon the project. He called attention to the fact of the deplorable state of public finance, insufficient even should the new imposts voted by the Cortes be collected together; these collections being urgently required for other purposes. He did not deny that such a war was an honourable one for the kingdom, and probably of some advantage to the Christian faith,

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and he even went so far as to own that the forces of the country might be sufficient to carry out the project; that he had no doubt of the bravery of the Portuguese to triumph as they had triumphed in Ceuta, but that there was wanting the essential element for organising a proper expedition—money. He added that the conquest of African strongholds and places was of small advantage or profit to the State, besides the difficulty of maintaining them. The Christian conquest of Spain, on the contrary, was really a re-conquest, and the places annexed to the neo-Gothic crowns remained integrally united, but in Africa the Christian conquest would be an invasion. The cities taken by the Portuguese would never become cities of Portugal, but remain ever foreign possessions, supported and retained at the cost of great sacrifices and efforts, like so many islands in the midst of a sea of unsubmissive tribes. With an almost prophetic foresight, and which unhappily was verified, he said that the army which should besiege Tangiers would find itself in its time besieged by the Moors, who would flock from all parts to defend one of their most important cities. Hence, in consequence of all these dangers, he voted against the expedition. These words and arguments of the Infante D. Pedro were listened to with deepest respect as coming from a man held by all, and especially by his brother, D. Duarte, as one of the most eminent statesmen of Europe, and certainly the highest authority in Portugal.

Hence this vote, so strongly put forward, deeply disquieted the King, D. Duarte, who felt that his sad presentiments were echoed. The words spoken by that brother, dowered with such lofty intelligence, awakened fears, and constrained him to repent of what he had done. To retreat now appeared impossible. He saw his family divided into two opposite parties, and he, as was natural, hesitated. At length it occurred to the King to consult the Pope whether it was lawful to make war against the infidels, and in order to do so impose a tax on the people.

Eugenio IV., who was in Bologna, summoned a consistory of cardinals, and proposed the questions. The reply was to the effect that if infidels occupied Christian territory and changed the churches into mosques; or if, besides occupying their own lands, they caused any damage to the Christians; or if, without doing any of these things, they were idolaters, and committed other abominations, it would be just for princes to make war to them. Nevertheless, they must make such war with discretion and mercy, unless the people of Christ were in peril of

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life or suffered death or losses. In respect to the imposition of taxes for the continuance of the war, it was declared that they could make just war against the infidels in two manners—firstly, through necessity, or in defence of the territory; secondly, voluntarily, in order to conquer territory from the infidels. In the first case it was lawful to impose a tax; but a voluntary war could only be done at the personal expense of the King. Hence this war being an aggressive one, he could not impose such taxation, although he might hope to gain the whole of Africa.

But while these questions were asked and the affair discussed, the King, ever irresolute, allowed himself to be led by the Queen and the Infantes into taking a decision which in his heart he reprobated. On the 18th September, 1436, the Queen gave birth to a daughter, D. Leonor, in Torres-Vedras, who became later on Empress of Germany. The Queen took advantage of this event to induce him through love for her to definitely consent to this fatal project.

The equipment of the fleet and forces was at once commenced, the squadrons being simultaneously organised in Lisbon and in Oporto.

It was certainly during the last months of the year 1436 that in the long winter nights the King composed and wrote the wise instructions he gave his brother D. Henrique on the manner of conducting this expedition, which are published in the *Provas da Historia Genealogica.**

How great must have been the tribulation of the King on receiving the reply of the consistory of Bologna, and being combated by opposite elements! From this point commenced the almost uninterrupted period of his great sorrows.

Such was the internal situation of the kingdom towards the end of the year 1436. Our relations externally with foreign powers were peaceful. The King of Aragon had besought aid from Portugal against its neighbouring rulers, but D. Duarte excused himself on account of the expedition to Africa. Later on a treaty of peace was entered into at Toledo between the Kings of Castille, Aragon, and Navarre, a treaty in which Portugal was included as regarded Castille. It appears the King of Aragon, while approving the treaty, wished Portugal to be excluded, probably because he felt aggrieved, but this resentment

* Vol. i., p. 529, and following pages. One of these instructions bears date of 10th September. This is the only date found.

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was quickly extinguished, no doubt owing to the influence of the Queen.

But the greatest event which in a special manner occupied the King and the Court was the scheme for conquering Tangiers, and in the event of success thereby opening new paths to commercial relations between Portugal and Africa. With this object the Pope was solicited to grant to D. Duarte and to his subjects an authorisation to enter into all branches of commerce and effect contracts with the Moors, with the exception of iron, wood, cordage, and other articles of military equipments.

All preparations being concluded, the Infantes embarked in the war-ships prepared for them, on the 17th of August, having previously attended mass in the Cathedral, and sailed towards Rastello. Five days later, the Infantes went on shore to join the King D. Duarte and his Court, who had proceeded to the Church of Santa Catharina de Ribamar, and attended solemn mass, after which all proceeded on board and dined together. After the repast the King, with many tears, bade his brothers farewell, and he was greatly affected when he parted from his dearly loved brother D. Ferdinand, as though foreseeing the sad ending of this disastrous expedition. He gave especial instructions in writing to the Infante D. Henrique, in which he bade him, on reaching Ceuta, to divide the fleet into three squadrons —one to proceed upon Alcacer, the second to Tangiers, and the third to Arzilla, with the object of diverting the attention of the Moors. Also to select as the seat of war and for the encampment a spot which should leave two sides, or at least one free and open towards the sea, in order to enable them to hold communication with the fleet, and obtain prompt aid and provisions, and a means of retreat in the event of defeat. When these arrangements should be completed, then to assail the city of Tangiers up to three times, if necessary; but should the third attempt prove unsuccessful, to embark at once and proceed to Ceuta, and there await his arrival on the following March, when he, the King, would surely come to aid him with as large an army as he should be able to muster and recruit in the kingdom.

The King then quitted the ship and came to land, and the wind being favourable, the fleet weighed anchor and moved on to Ceuta, where they arrived on the 27th, and joined the squadron of the Count of Arrayolos from Oporto.

When the arrival of the Infantes became known, great terror took

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possession of the Moors, and many tribes sent envoys to ask peace in exchange for gold, silver, cattle, and corn. The Infante D. Henrique only accepted the vassalage of the tribe of Benamade.

The Infante, on reaching Ceuta, passed in review his forces, and perceived, to his great dismay, that instead of the 14,000 men supposed to form the strength of the army, there were only about 6,000, and even these had come against their will, thus being 8,000 short of what had been promised him. Only those had come who had been unable to avoid the general call: a great number of those requisitioned from the Councils had preferred paying heavy fines rather than take part in the expedition. Others, again, had deserted before embarking; in a word, all had been reluctant to undertake this military voyage to Africa. Moreover, money was short, notwithstanding that the tributes had been taken, and even the money from the coffers of the orphans; and the reply of Rome was unexpectedly unfavourable, even in the simple fact of the imposition of taxation. There was likewise great difficulty in obtaining transport ships, although recourse was had to foreign ships, for which heavy sums were paid. The shipping of the North was in a great measure withdrawn, owing to the wars waging between France and England, while D. Juan II. of Castille expressly forbade his ships of Biscay, manned by such skilful sailors, to undertake the transport of Portuguese troops to African shores.

From all these circumstances resulted the fact that the army was reduced to 6,000 men; yet with this number did the Infante D. Henrique expect to dominate Africa, which had all been put into movement to defend whatever stronghold the Portuguese might attack. The only way to effect some happy result with so small a force would be to attack Tangiers by surprise, as had been done when attacking Ceuta, and scale it. There was some show of probability that the terror inspired by the approach of the Portuguese might produce a panic, and the Moors deliver up Tangiers into the hands of the Portuguese Infantes almost without any attempt at defence. But to effect this the fleet should have proceeded directly to Tangiers and assaulted it at once, which would have been secretly aided by reinforcements from Ceuta. But instead of doing this, they proceeded to Ceuta, and thus gave the Moors time to prepare and take precautions, while to proceed against them with such diminished forces was really blind folly.

The Moors, therefore, strongly garrisoned the Serra da Ximeira, which was the shortest route to Tangiers, and D. Henrique resolved

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upon going *viâ* Tetuan, although it was a longer way. D. Ferdinand, owing to being unwell, proceeded by sea. On the way the Portuguese captured Tetuan, whose inhabitants had fled.

On Friday, the 13th of September, D. Henrique reached Tangiers, finding the old city abandoned. He there joined D. Ferdinand, and the camp was struck on a hill fronting the Cape of Espartel—a very fertile and delightful spot, a perfect paradise of gardens, plantations, and orchards, spots which are oftentimes met with in Barbary by the side of terrible deserts. As may be perceived, D. Henrique did not carry out what D. Duarte had ordered respecting the manner of encamping, and this gravely imprudent act of placing the camp far from the sea was one of the principal causes of the defeat and disasters sustained by the Portuguese.

Tangiers was defended by Salat-ben-Salat, the same who had been expelled by D. João I. from Ceuta, and therefore he desired to take vengeance on those who had expelled him. This circumstance, however, would have been favourable to the Portuguese had they unexpectedly and suddenly appeared before Tangiers and produced a panic similar to the one in Ceuta. But they had afforded Salat-ben-Salat sufficient time to compare his forces with those of the assailants, and to raise hopes of being able to revenge himself for the capture of the city of their predilection. As we have said, the Portuguese numbered some 6,000 men, while against this force was ranged the whole of Africa: within the walls of Tangiers alone there stood an army of 7,000 armed men, among them some archers from Granada.

As soon as the Portuguese pitched their camp they made an assault on the Moors, as it was reported that the gates of the city were open. This assault was repulsed by losses on the Christian side, and was the first of the series of foolhardy actions which signalised this unfortunate siege. Among the wounded were the Count of Arrayolos and Alvaro Vaz d'Almada and many knights.

On the 20th September the first regular assault took place. The various corps were commanded by the Infante D. Ferdinand, the Count of Arrayolos, the Marshal Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, and the Bishop of Evora, D. Alvaro de Abreu, a militant prelate who followed the traditions of the Archbishop of Braga. The Infante D. Henrique reserved to himself the most important point of attack, that of the castle itself.

This was the first siege practised by the Portuguese in which we

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find artillery actually employed, and especially used for destroying walls, likewise the use of firearms. The combat was a long one, but ended disadvantageously for the Portuguese. They were unable to force the doors of the fortress, because these doors had been well barricaded with stone and lime by the Moors, and the scaling ladders of the Portuguese were too short to reach the top of the ramparts. D. Henrique gave the order for retreat, instructing Vasco Fernandes Coutinho and Alvaro Vaz d'Almada to remain guarding the artillery—a post of great risk, but which these two brave captains held most bravely—while he sent to Ceuta for longer ladders, *bombardas*, missiles, and powder.

While waiting for these aids various skirmishes took place, in which some fidalgos perished; but the Moors would not accept war, and contented themselves with pursuing the Portuguese to the encampment. This was because they expected an important reinforcement, which actually arrived on the last day of September, consisting of 10,000 Moorish horsemen and 90,000 foot-soldiers, all this army placing itself before the Portuguese camp. D. Henrique wished to open battle at once, but the Moors retired after a slight skirmish. This manœuvre was repeated the following day by the Moors, and on the third day they advanced in larger numbers against the camp; but the Portuguese fell upon them and drove them back for a distance of a league and a half. It appears, however, that all this was no more than a stratagem skilfully combined by the Moors, because while some were pursued by the Portuguese, others fell on the camp, which, however, was brilliantly defended by Diogo Lopes de Sousa and a few companions-at-arms.

We must here add, the Moors closely surrounded the Portuguese camp, and Ruy Gomes de Pina tells us that between the shore and battle-field communications were intercepted by them. "It was a mute warning which was being given to the Infantes," says Senhor Pinheiro Chagas, "of the danger of allowing communications to be intercepted with the squadron; but the Portuguese could perceive white crosses on the horizon, yet failed to see evident and palpable dangers which lay at their very feet."

A second assault against the fortress was attempted on the 5th with the scaling ladders and a wooden castle or engine of war brought from Ceuta. But this second attack proved likewise disastrous, as the Moors employed firearms, which were already known to them, and by which many Christians were wounded and some killed.

A deep despondency took possession of D. Henrique as he began

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clearly to perceive how deceptive had been his hopes of the undertaking; nevertheless, instead of retiring in time, pride induced him to attempt a third assault. And in effect they were preparing for it, when some shieldbearers of the Count de Arroyolos brought to him two captive Almogauares, who revealed that the Kings of Fez, Belez, Morocco, and Fafilet were coming that day with an army of 70,000 horsemen and 700,000 foot-soldiers. These numbers, however, given by the chronicler Ruy de Pina, were certainly exaggerated. Yet there was no doubt that their number greatly exceeded that of the Portuguese army.

D. Henrique at once summoned a council of war, but the Moors did not give him time to discuss anything, and appeared in such numbers that the ground became covered with Berbers, while the dust which arose from the tramp of the cavalry was like a dense cloud of sand. The Infante ordered the marines back to their ships, the soldiers to the camp, and the horsemen to follow him while he went forward. But the Moors fell upon the Portuguese artillery with such vigour that Marshal Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, who had remained on guard, was forced to abandon it and to fly. The Infante covered his retreat with that heroic valour which, with all his faults, ever distinguished him, and at the head of his division turned against the Moors to pursue them, but on retiring became quickly surrounded and so hedged in by them that the Moors killed the horse under him, and he himself would have fallen a victim had not a page of the Infante D. Ferdinand quickly given him another horse, which enabled him to fly towards the camp. The Moors pursued him in their turn, and this attack would have been a mortal one, because many of the Portuguese had fled terror-stricken to the ships, had not D. Pedro de Castro, who guarded the fleet, hastened to succour the Infante; the defence of the Portuguese being so courageous that the Moors were forced to retire.

But in the Portuguese camp despondency began to show itself, and panic took possession of the army when it was discovered that there were scarcely sufficient provisions for two days. The provender on board was useless to them, as it became impossible to effect a landing, because they had allowed the Moors to intercept communications between the camp and the fleet by not keeping the distance free. The prophecy of D. Pedro was being fulfilled, and the Infante was forced to acknowledge his senseless mistake in neglecting to follow the instructions of D. Duarte. On the following day the Moors again attacked the entrenchments, but were repulsed by the Portuguese after four hours'

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combat. But this small victory could not blind them to the fact that provisions were exhausted. The Portuguese decided to open at night a passage by force through the enemy's ranks; but they were betrayed by Martim Vierra, the Chaplain of the Infante, who had deserted and gone over to the Moors, and informed them of what the Portuguese intended to do. Doubtlessly he deserted in a moment of weakness, appalled at the prospect of captivity. The Moors, believing his statement, quickly concentrated a large force on the coast and beach, this being the first warning to the Christians that they had been betrayed.

No combat took place on the next day, but on the following one, which was Saturday, the Moorish Kings and Alcaides held a council to deliberate upon what best to do should they be victorious. Should they put to death the Portuguese, all Christendom would rise up to avenge them; hence they decided it were better to allow them to depart in peace if they agreed to restitute Ceuta to them. However, in order to intimidate the Christians, they pretended to prepare and arrange themselves for a great battle; but just as all were ready to begin, the Portuguese were surprised to see advancing towards them parliamentaries conveying proposals of peace.

In the melancholy situation in which the Portuguese were placed, the terms offered could not have been better. The Moors exacted the surrender of Ceuta and all Moorish captives in Portugal, the camp, with all arms, artillery, baggage, and tents.

The Infantes, however, wished to confer directly with the Emirs of Fez and Morocco, and for this object sent to the Saracen camp Ruy Gomes da Silva, the Alcaide of Campo Maior, and Paio Rodrigues, scribe to the King D. Duarte. But while this delay took place, some of the Mussalman troops, yielding to their instincts of odium, and unable any longer to be restrained within the limits of discipline, threw themselves on the Christian camp. Had this assault been as fierce as the preceding ones, it would have been impossible to resist; but it was only a local one, and the Portuguese defended themselves almost with superhuman strength. Among them fought the Bishop of Ceuta and the Infante D. Henrique, who performed great deeds of valour. After six hours' fighting the Moors retired, but in their impotent rage they endeavoured to set fire to the camp, which the Portuguese succeeded in stamping out.

In truth, the destruction of the army of the Infantes was of no advantage to the Moors. It would not be in exchange for the slain

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bodies of the two sons of D. João I. that they would obtain the restitution of Ceuta, which was what was most desired by the Mussalman chiefs, especially by the Al-Kaid of Tangiers. The Portuguese were well aware of this, nevertheless they knew that no dependence could be placed on this fact, as the Berber tribes might at any moment break out and attempt another assault. Hence they spent the whole night of Saturday in repairing trenches and otherwise preparing for another attack. When Sunday dawned the situation of the Christians was truly horrible. Provisions had run out, and the water of the wells and fountains had been corrupted by the Moors. Hunger and thirst had appeared, with their terrible anguish. "The soldiers," says Vilhena Barbosa, "were compelled to eat the horses, which they killed for food, and they had no wood to kindle fires to cook it, and were forced to burn their saddles; and even these rations were small, and could not last long. A shower of rain fell, and although of short duration, yet it saved their lives and instilled some hope into them."

After two days' debate, an accord was come to on the 16th October, in which it was agreed that the Portuguese should retire from the camp, leaving behind all their artillery, horses, and belongings. D. Henrique pledged himself to restore the city of Ceuta, with all captive Moors held within; to maintain peace, by sea and land, with Barbary for the space of one hundred years. In pledge or security of these treaties Salat-ben-Salat would deliver up to the Christians as hostage his son, for whose life he would retain as securities the persons of Pedro de Athayde, João Gomes de Avellar, Ayres da Cunha, and Gomes da Cunha; while for the security of the Moors in respect to the restitution of Ceuta, the hostage to be the Infante D. Ferdinand.

The proposal filled the cup of indignation of D. Henrique, and he desired to exchange his own person in place of his brother Ferdinand; but the council would not hear of this, as unworthy that the commander of the expedition should do so. But in his inward soul he felt he was the author of all these disasters. The treaty was signed, and Salat-ben-Salat presented himself at the camp, and led away the Infante D. Ferdinand, accompanied by several persons, among them Fr. João Alvares, the author of his "Chronica," the Knight of Aviz, and his secretary.

The following reflections, which Senhor Pinheiro Chagas makes respecting the action of D. Ferdinand in this affair, are worthy of

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consideration. "D. Ferdinand," says this illustrious writer, "represented a purely passive character, while behaving with consummate bravery. The Infante ever conducted himself as though he was far removed from affairs of war. During this short disastrous campaign we find him simply obeying the commands of his brother without hesitation, yet without great enthusiasm, similarly to a man who fulfils a duty of honour, but who nevertheless is well-nigh indifferent to the result of his efforts. The spirit of sacrifice was his triumph, in the same way as Christian resignation was the grand trait of his character."

In truth, D. Ferdinand was not a soldier by instinct or vocation; he was out of place in the camp. Nevertheless, wishing to add lustre to his name by feats of arms, he endeavoured to follow simply a tendency of the epoch and family traditions.

The Portuguese proceeded to embark, but some of the Moors endeavoured to prevent this, and even to taking water into the transport ships which D. Henrique had ordered to approach.

This interruption was due solely to the feverish excitement of triumph, and Salat-ben-Salat, unable altogether to prevent it, advised the Portuguese to proceed along the breastwork of the fortifications of Tangiers, which was immediately under his command. D. Henrique sent along this path some of the wounded, but the Moors, after allowing some to pass, fell upon the others, many of whom were taken prisoners or slain. The Infante then comprehended that he had to embark by force of arms, and hence he prepared to effect the embarkation on the morning of the 19th October. The Moors reinforced the siege, and the embarkation commenced under a sharp fire. The Portuguese who were on board, judging that their comrades could not effect the embarkation, and that the revenge of the Moors would be a cruel one, were about to weigh anchor and fly, when Ruy Gomes da Silva approached the fleet, bringing the son of Salat-ben-Salat. This dispelled their fears, and when the Infante D. Henry appeared they were fully tranquillised. By Sunday morning all the Portuguese were on board, although the embarkation took place in a most shameful disorder. In order to take revenge for the treachery of the Moors, D. Henrique retained on board some of the Alcaides and the scribe sent by Salat-ben-Salat to take an inventory of the spoils, and took them all on to Ceuta. A council was held on board the war-ship of the Count de Arrayolos, in which it was resolved that the Count and D. Fernando de Castro, with all the fidalgos who were not actually of

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the Infantes' suite, should proceed directly to Portugal, while he, the Infante, would go on to Ceuta.

The siege of Tangiers occupied, as we have seen, thirty-seven days, from the 13th September to the 20th October. Out of 6,000 composing the army, 500 were slain on the battle-field, a great number were wounded, some of whom died from their wounds, and the Infante D. Ferdinand and some nobles made prisoners. Such was the deplorable result of that fatal expedition.

Let us glance now at what passed in Lisbon. As soon as the fleets departed for Africa, D. Duarte decided to reside in Lisbon with his brother D. Pedro, in order to be ready to relieve promptly any call for aid. D. João was sent to the Algarve with a similar intention, and he likewise was ready with men and provender in case of need. But as pestilence had broken out in Lisbon, the King and royal family removed to the outskirts, from thence he proceeded to Santarem, where towards the middle of October reports reached the King that the Infantes had been surrounded by the Moors. This report filled his heart with the saddest forebodings. D. João, on learning the sad news, at once left the Algarve, but being caught in a furious tempest, the vessel was run into Arzilla, where his brother D. Ferdinand had been taken as a captive. He endeavoured to redeem the captive Infante, and for this object entered into negotiations with Salat-ben-Salat; but the King of Fez, fearing lest the Portuguese Infante should slip out of his hands, sent him to Fez.

The noble-hearted D. Pedro also obtained leave from the King to fly to his succour, and both brothers proceeded to Carnide to fit out a fleet, and while preparing the squadron, some ships from the squadron of Tangiers arrived to Lisbon, bringing full accounts of the captivity of D. Ferdinand and disasters of the expedition.

D. Duarte fell into a deep melancholy, aggravated by seeing the state of the soldiers returning from Tangiers. These men exaggerated their sufferings, and even clothed themselves in ragged tunics, or in rusty mourning, in order to work upon the feelings of the King, and some of them at their request were landed in Andalusia, where they were received and petted by the people, who loaded them with presents; D. Duarte sending letters of thanks to the city of Seville and other places of Andalusia. These lugubrious processions of soldiers traversed the city over whose habitations the angel of death hovered, and proceeded on to Carnide. But among them was a truly noble spirit, one

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of those chivalrous forms of the Middle Ages, called Alvaro Vaz de Almada, who proceeded at once to raise the desponding spirit of the King, and dispel the melancholy impression which these spectres caused on the soul of the King and city, by clothing himself in festive array, and with him all those under his command, and went to Carnide, where he surprised the King by manifesting himself unmoved by the results of the expedition to Tangiers. He bade him bear in mind that if D. Ferdinand had remained a captive, he was, after all, only one individual, and a mortal man; that great deeds of valour had been practised to compensate for this reverse, which honoured the Portuguese name; that, therefore, there was no occasion for all this sadness and mourning for the dead, since they had died gloriously. These words of the noble knight afforded some relief and resignation to D. Duarte, but his soul, nevertheless, had received a deep and incurable blow.

From Ceuta the Infante D. Henrique besought Salat-ben-Salat to deliver up the Infante D. Ferdinand in exchange for his son, with no further compensation, as the treaty between them had been violated in an unworthy manner by the Moors when the Portuguese embarked; but Salat-ben-Salat cared little for his son, and rejected the proposal. D. Henrique was highly indignant at the refusal of the Moor, and immediately sent the son of Salat, with the Alcaides who had remained with him, to the Algarve, giving D. Duarte a detailed account of the history of the siege, and calling upon the King of Castille and various fidalgos of that kingdom to aid him to rescue the Infante, as the restitution of Ceuta would bring down grave complications and evils upon all Christian nations, especially to Spain.

D. Duarte replied bidding his brother retire from Ceuta immediately, and instructed D. Fernando de Noronha, the Governor of that city, to abstain from making war on the Moors, and avoid irritating them, as grave evils might accrue to their captive, D. Ferdinand.

D. Henrique returned to Portugal after waiting five months in Ceuta, in obedience to the orders of his brother the King; but he did not proceed to Lisbon, as he wished to enter that port only when he could do so with D. Ferdinand, but remained in the Algarve on the promontory then called "Tercena Naval," which later on was changed for "Villa do Infante," and finally into its present name of Sagres. But whether D. Henrique fixed his residence in Sagres after the return of the expedition from Ceuta in 1418, as Mr. Major tells us, or only after his return from Tangiers in 1438, it appears certain that the sorrow

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caused by the captivity of D. Ferdinand, and a certain reluctance to enter into Lisbon without him, greatly contributed to induce a love of solitude and the study of the sciences correlative to navigation, after his military career had been cut down by the melancholy results of the expedition against Tangiers.

D. Fernando de Noronha, the Governor of Ceuta, endeavoured to follow out the instructions of the King and not make war to the Moors; but the latter grew bold, and persisted almost daily in coming to the ramparts and attacking the Portuguese. At length he was forced to punish them, and the Moors retaliated by rendering the captivity of D. Ferdinand more bitter than before.

But we shall leave awhile D. Ferdinand captive in Africa and D. Henrique to his solitude in Tercena, and turn our eyes to what passed in Lisbon. As the pestilence was raging in the capital and suburbs, the King quitted Santarem and proceeded to Thomar, from whence he convened a Cortes to be held in Leiria, where the whole affair relating to the expedition of Tangiers was laid before the assembly, as also the treaties entered into respecting the captivity of D. Ferdinand. A letter of the Infante D. Ferdinand addressed to his brother the King was read to the Cortes. This letter was dated from Arzilla, and in it he begged the King and Council to allow Ceuta to be delivered up in exchange for his liberty, as it was a great expense to retain it, and practically of no use. He stated that should the reply be delayed, he would be placed in the power of the cruel Lazuraque, the Regent of Fez, of whom he stood in great fear. The opinions of the representatives of the nation were divided, and the King demanded from them their votes in writing. To his dismay, he found there were four diverse opinions and votes. The first in the list were the Infantes D. Pedro and D. João, some of the nobles, and the greater number of the cities and towns of the kingdom. These held that the Infante should be rescued in exchange for Ceuta, not only because he would sacrifice his life and liberty for others, as that the non-fulfilment of the treaty would be discourteous to the Portuguese, who had drawn it up, as well as to the King.

The second opinion—that of the Archbishop of Braga and the clergy—was to the effect that the city of Ceuta, wherein were Christian temples, could not be delivered up to the Moors without authorisation from the Holy Father granted in consistory.

The third was that the King should endeavour in course of time to

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rescue the Infante in exchange for ransom money, captives, or through the mediation of the Pope and other Christian kings, or again by some victory gained over the Moors which should facilitate the ransom of the Infante by ceding a new African possession; and only when all these means should fail, after hearing the theologians and doctors of canon law on the subject, to deliver up Ceuta.

The fourth, that by no means ought the King to deliver up Ceuta in order to rescue the Infante, even were the captive the prince-heir; that the contract was entered into without the authorisation of the King, and therefore without such authorisation the treaty could have no weight or be executed: this opinion was sustained by the Count de Arrayolos and many other representatives.

In view of all these diverse opinions it is easy to conceive and comprehend the painful conflict of feelings which took possession of D. Duarte. After much thought, and unable to arrive at any definite plan of action, he resorted to the plan of delay suggested by a portion of the representatives. He wrote to the Pope, kings, and princes of Christendom asking counsel. They all replied with the usual words of sympathy and consolation, praising the example of piety afforded by the Infante D. Ferdinand, but counselled him not to deliver up Ceuta.

From Leiria the King went to Evora, where he learnt that the Infante was already in Fez and his captivity made more severe than ever. The King then sent to Algarve for D. Henrique, whom he had not yet seen since his return from Africa, as he desired to have his opinion. The Infante at once proceeded to Portel, four leagues from Evora, and from thence sent to the King to beseech him not to compel him to appear at his Court. The King, therefore, went to Portel and had an interview with his brother, who manifested himself averse to delivering up Ceuta, declaring that if he had offered himself instead of D. Ferdinand to remain as hostage, it was for no other reason but to retain the place; moreover, that the ransom could be effected by money or by a great number of captives, with the mediation of the King of Granada, and should these means fail, then resort to arms, as 24,000 men would amply suffice to war against all the Moorish kings who might come against them. The King then returned to Evora, and the Infante to Algarve.

The pestilence which seemed to follow the footsteps of D. Duarte invaded Evora, and forced the King to retire with his Queen and family to Aviz, where resided D. Pedro, D. João, the Count of Arrayolos, and

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many personages. In August the plague broke out in Aviz, and the King, fearing to place his family in any risk of the fever, combined with them to separate. D. Pedro proceeded to Coimbra, D. João to Alcacer do Sal, the King and Queen and their children to Ponte de Sôr, and from thence to Thomar.

We are told by the historian Antonio Caetano de Sousa, that when on the road to Thomar, D. Duarte received a letter which happened to be infected, and that from thence resulted the illness and death of the King. Ruy de Pina, however, assigns a purely moral cause—grief and distress at the deplorable situation he was placed in, aggravated by the reports that had reached his ears that the pleadings of the Queen in favour of the expedition to Tangiers had been incited by the Infantes D. Henrique and D. Ferdinand with offers favouring their son D. Ferdinand. These revelations were bitter to a delicate, sensitive nature like his, and his heart was torn between two contingencies, either to allow his brother to die in captivity or deliver up Ceuta, which had been conquered by his father. It is believed with some truth that his death was due to the terrible consequences of the disasters of Tangiers.

D. Duarte, in truth, had been stricken with fever ere he reached Thomar. The malady increased, and after thirteen days of extreme suffering he expired in the palace of the convent, on the 9th September, 1438, after receiving all the sacraments of the Church. He was forty-seven years of age, and had reigned five years. His short reign was full of misfortunes, famine, pestilence, and disastrous wars, during which D. Duarte was unable to occupy himself with other affairs, nor manifest the lofty governing qualities he possessed.

Ruy de Pina further tells us that he left a will, which was opened in presence of the Infante D. Pedro, wherein he appointed his Consort guardian of his children, regent of the kingdom, and heiress of his personal estate. He enjoins that D. Ferdinand be ransomed by money or any other way, and if all means failed, to do so by surrendering Ceuta.

The Infante D. Henrique proceeded from the Algarve to Thomar as soon as the news of the sad event reached him; but the Infante D. João was lying ill in Alcacer do Sal, and his wife would not inform him of the death of the King until he was convalescent.

The remains of the King were taken to Batalha, accompanied by priests, and placed in the church where he had commenced the chapels

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denominated *imperfect*, and which are even at the present day incompleted. D. Duarte lies in the principal chapel of the temple.

Let us now return to D. Ferdinand in captivity in Africa. Let us witness and unfold that long drama of bitter trials which invested its chief character with the surname of the *Saintly Infante*, or the *Constant Prince*. In this we shall follow the narrative of Friar João Alvares, his secretary and companion in prison, eliminating the exaggerations which we find in its pages. The captivity of D. Ferdinand is in itself grand, and needs no romancing to render it a living drama, true and sublime.

As we already know, the Infante D. Ferdinand was delivered over to Salat-ben-Salat in pledge for Ceuta. The hapless Infante was accompanied by his tutor, Rodrigo Esteves; his confessor, Friar Gil Mendes; his foster-brother, João Rodrigues; his secretary, Friar João Alvares; his physician, Mestre Martinho, and others of his household, as well as some nobles who remained as securities for the life of the son of Salat-ben-Salat. At nightfall he was conducted to a tower on the ramparts of Tangiers, and prepared to spend his first night of captivity among infidels, far from his native land and his loved family, beholding before him in imagination an uncertain future full of dark forebodings.

On the following Sunday, as we said, the Portuguese fleet weighed anchor, after effecting the embarkation of the troops under a heavy firing. As the Infante D. Ferdinand did not receive any message from his brother, a last adieu, or even one word of tender farewell and regret, he supposed the Infante D. Henrique had been slain by the Moors. This thought greatly troubled him on learning that the Portuguese had been attacked at the moment of embarking. Seeing the grief which oppressed him, Salat-ben-Salat sent two Christians to reconnoitre the dead. On their return they informed D. Ferdinand that D. Henrique and the principal officers of the fleet had at least saved their lives, but the captive Infante was not altogether reassured. Two days later the Infante and his companions in captivity were removed to Arzilla. Then commenced their hardships. For nearly two hours they stood at the doors of Tangiers, exposed to all the ribald insults of the people, until Salat-ben-Salat arrived and gave the word to march. During the journey the prisoners were subjected to all species of insult and evil treatment. For seven months D. Ferdinand continued in Arzilla, a prey to constant ill-health, which caused him to address sad appeals to his royal brother. During these seven months Ferdinand

manifested the extreme goodness of his character by secretly effecting, through foreign merchants, the ransom of Christian captives, or by clothing and providing them with what they required. At the end of this term Salat-ben-Salat, finding that there were no tidings of the surrender of Ceuta, bade the Infante write to his brother to fulfil the treaty, or else to prepare to be delivered up to the Regent of Fez, whom Portuguese chroniclers call Lazuraque. The threat was carried into effect, and on the 25th May Ferdinand departed from Arzilla to Fez.

The separation from the prisoners who remained in Arzilla was most touching. He had so won their love and captivated their sympathies by his gentle, melancholy figure, their respect and veneration by his constancy as a martyr, and his saintly resignation, that no one had been able to resist the magic influence of his noble spirit and his angelic heart. Mounted on a miserable horse, D. Ferdinand departed, reaching Fez on the 31st May. During his journey he was constantly assailed with the vituperations of the populace, who were burning with revenge for the terror which the Portuguese name still inspired, even after the disaster of Tangiers. They could not forgive D. Ferdinand and his companions-in-arms the heavy price they had been forced to pay for their victory, hence they flung stones at the captives, they jeered them as they threw food at them as though no better than dogs, and would even break to pieces the vessels which they had fed from, as though the mere contact of the lips of the Nazarenes had polluted the ware, and rendered it unfit for use to the sectaries of the Koran. The Infante bore all this ill-treatment with a firmness and patience which never deserted him.

In Fez he was subjected to a more refined cruelty. Lazuraque cast D. Ferdinand into a dungeon, where not a ray of light penetrated, because he desired to shut him away from the exterior world, and the jailer was prohibited from allowing the prisoner to speak with any one. But who was this Lazuraque of whom the chroniclers speak with such horror, and whose name Salat-ben-Salat used as a threat, as though he were a monster who could devour them up? Schœffer tells us something of this man. "The prisoners," he says, "saw themselves placed in the power of this monster, whose name from afar filled them with terror, and in the clutches, reeking with blood, of the ferocious Lazuraque, the man who governed the State with unlimited power, under the name of the youthful Abdallah called the King of Fez. He was the son of a Moor and a Christian woman, brought up among the hordes of Arab

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bandits, and notwithstanding that he was the youngest of his brothers, he made them submit to him by force of skill and wickedness. By intrigue he succeeded in despoiling the crown from the two eldest sons of the King of Fez, Abu-Said, and placed on the throne the third son Abdallah, but without allowing him more than the full enjoyment of the harem, and gave him to wife his sister Halu, while he himself married the sister of the King. He ordered influential Moors to be imprisoned or decapitated, he despoiled the wealthy, and gave appointments and dignities to his creatures, who were of the most infamous class. He mistrusted the most loyal ones, ever spying the weaknesses of others, and disguising his own opinion and affecting a contrary one. His character was a mixture of wickedness and craft, of hypocrisy and cruelty. In the opinion of the people he was a saint, because his art of dissimulation and deepest hypocrisy placed him in a position to impose upon others with pious discourses and well-arranged sentences. Enjoying, as he did, public esteem among the inferior classes, he was thereby rendered more terrible to those who really knew his character. Moreover, the despised Portuguese, who were generally odious, could not find from any one near them the smallest refuge or shelter against their oppressor. The populace saw in Lazuraque the persecutor of the Christians, the true Mussalman: hence even the best and most enlightened of the Moors could not do otherwise than consent to what personally they would not have themselves done."

This man, who exercised in Fez a power similar to that exercised by the former Arab Hadjibs in the Court of Cordova when the decadence of the Ommeyah dynasty led to the throne of Abd-r-rhaman idiotic Kalifs, was the one destined to act the part of executioner to the Infante D. Ferdinand. Without possessing the grand qualities of Almansor, the glorious Hadjib of Cordova, Lazuraque had his despotic instincts and domineering character; but with the addition of a repugnent cruelty and meanness of spirit. It is the will of Heaven that by the side of the greatest martyrs should stand these sombre forms to afford a dark background and bring forward in relief their heroic resignation! It places the rapacious hawk by the side of the dove of Fez, the vulture by the eagle of Saint Helena, by the side of D. Ferdinand, Lazuraque!

If in justice we have given to the Infante D. Ferdinand the appellation of the "Saintly Infante," history knows him better under the name of the "Constant Prince," by which title he was

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immortalised by one of the greatest poets of Spain, the renowned Calderon de la Barca. One of the compositions of the great poet of the Court of Philip IV. is consecrated to the sublime form of the martyrs of Fez, and this drama he named the "Constant Prince."

This appellation is well deserved by the Infante D. Ferdinand because his constancy never failed him under the severest torments. On losing all hopes of regaining Ceuta in exchange for the Infante, Lazuraque revenged himself by inflicting the most humiliating tortures. For three months D. Ferdinand and his companions were enclosed in this dungeon bereft of air and light, owing their existence to the charity of a merchant of Majorca, who paid in a cruel manner for the services rendered to the prince. At the end of these three months the jailer expelled them in order to rob them of all they possessed, taking on this occasion 200 doubles which D. Ferdinand had concealed about his person, and which was the last and only means he had for alleviating the sufferings of his fellow-prisoners. They were conducted to the gardens of the royal palace of Fez, and made to dig and work from sunrise to sunset. With his princely hands accustomed only to brandishing the sword or turning over the pages of a devotional book, the Infante D. Ferdinand, the most delicate of all the sons of D. Philippa, was forced to do the work of a common field-labourer; yet not a word of complaint was uttered, while around his lips hovered a smile of calm resignation.

Taken to the palace of the Hadjib or of the Grand Vizer, as we may call Lazuraque, D. Ferdinand, loaded with irons and brutally driven by the soldiers who pricked him with their lances, and insulted by the crowds that pressed around him, accepted all this treatment without a murmur, and offered his sufferings to the God of martyrs. It was he who with his gentle lips comforted the Portuguese, who wept tears of blood on beholding him thus cruelly treated.

On entering the palace he was heard to say to Lazuraque that since the government of Lisbon chose to behave with undignified disloyalty and shameful perfidy by not delivering up Ceuta, he, who had been left as a pledge, would suffer the punishment of their perjury, and therefore he might consider him in future as his meanest slave.

He, miserable Arab, who did not even wear the crown of Fez, but usurped a power over its legitimate sovereign, took pleasure in seeing the scion of the most powerful kings of Christendom doing the most menial offices.

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This was in effect carried out, and D. Ferdinand was charged with the sweeping out and cleaning of the stables. He suffered all this with resignation, and even found consolation in the menial work imposed by the Moors, because it permitted him to live in company with his own people, suffer for them, and even console and animate them. With them he could commune and speak of their beloved land, for whom they were suffering; of his brothers, who, though loving him, had been forced to abandon him in obedience to cruel reasons of State.

The proceeding of the Portuguese Government was, in our opinion, disloyal: it is certain that Lazuraque behaved with barbarous cruelty, but it is likewise certain that the Portuguese acted in a manner which afforded a wretched idea to those barbarians of civilisation and Christian faith. It was not an optional question whether to abandon D. Ferdinand to his fate or to deliver up Ceuta, but it was the positive one of actually surrendering the city for which D. Ferdinand had been left as a pledge of their treaty. The Portuguese Government might refuse to ratify the capitulation, but in that case things must return to their former state, and the Portuguese army proceed to the battle-field and endeavour to release itself by some other means. But after saving the remnants of the Portuguese army, with the prince who commanded it and all the nobles who had joined, and then refuse to fulfil the treaty made, meanly sacrificing a hapless prince with his faithful household, was, it must be confessed, a manifest act of perjury. There is no doubt that not a single Portuguese would have escaped but for the terms of capitulation; for, surrounded as their camp was by the Moors, it only required that they should blockade them for all to have surrendered through famine and thirst. It is true that the undisciplined hordes of Moors on their part did not keep to their terms of capitulation, but the Portuguese easily broke them, which they would not have done had the Moorish chieftains, with the full strength of their army, opposed the embarkation of the Portuguese. The Count of Arrayolos, he who now spoke with such warmth in the Council, and who so arrogantly declared that Ceuta could not be delivered up to save the life of any one, should have thought and said so when his own life was at stake, and have protested against the capitulation being made, and not against its fulfilment. He alleged that a treaty made under the pressure of such terrible circumstances was not valid. This was certainly a useful subterfuge, which would extremely facilitate

delivering an army from perils which threatened it, or an individual from any imprudence into which he had thrown himself.

Meanwhile D. Ferdinand was enduring not only humiliations and moral tortures, but actual physical torments. His food was only bread, of which he received two loaves a day, whilst meat and wine was never given to him. At night twelve persons were huddled in one apartment scarcely large enough to hold eight. The want of cleanliness, of food and air, caused fearful suffering. The Moors were forbidden to speak to them under pain of the lash.

One day Lazuraque summoned D. Ferdinand to his presence to tell him that the King D. Duarte was dead. At first he would not credit the news, but a letter addressed to the Regent of Fez by one of the high officials of the Court dispelled all doubts. His constancy under suffering failed him at the moment, and D. Ferdinand fell down in a swoon. His soul was like a ship abandoned to the mercy of the waves, that had lost all hope of salvation when the last cord which bound her to the shore had been severed by the pitiless tempest. It was indeed a hopeless case, because Lazuraque, a prey more to avarice than zealous for the interests of the country over which he ruled, preferred a large sum to the possession of Ceuta. But his insatiable avarice was not gratified. The treasury of Portugal had become exhausted by the disasters of Tangiers and the civil discords which rose up after the death of D. Duarte, hence the enormous sum demanded by Lazuraque for the ransom of D. Ferdinand could not be paid. His brother, D. Pedro, who held the reins of government, as we shall see further on, considered it a duty of honour to liberate his brother, not only because he judged he ought not to forsake a man who had thus sacrificed himself for his country, but because he judged that the honour of Portugal was at stake for the fulfilment of the terms of capitulation. Moreover, the late King D. Duarte, in his testament, enjoined his successor to effect the liberation of the Infante. Several times did D. Pedro offer to deliver up Ceuta, but Lazuraque always evaded the exchange, meanwhile increasing the horrors of the captivity of his prisoners. He loaded them with iron manacles and chains; he tore off their dress, and clothed them with ragged coarse tunics, and diminished their dole of bread and water. On Christmas Eve the Infante and his companions were put to break stones.

In March, 1442, D. Ferdinand was brought once more before Lazuraque to ask him what price he had decided to give for the ransom

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of his companions and his own. D. Ferdinand replied that the sum was 50,000 doubles and the liberation of 50 Moorish captives. Lazuraque declined scornfully this offer, and had the Infante re-conducted to the prison, but still continued his negotiations, until D. Ferdinand offered 150,000 doubles and 150 Moorish prisoners. Lazuraque was then satisfied with this offer, but nevertheless continued his evil treatment, no doubt expecting that by prolonging his sufferings he would tire out his patience and compel him to offer still more. But he was mistaken: the Infante did not dare to ask more, as he well knew the state of public finance. Moreover, D. Ferdinand judged himself abandoned by his brothers, whose letters were intercepted by Lazuraque merely to satisfy his desire of doing evil.

After this last interview the Moors consigned D. Ferdinand to a dungeon which was more terrible than any previous ones. In this prison the Infante dragged a solitary existence for fifteen months, while his companions continued to be employed in the most menial labours, prolonged far into the night, and deprived of the consolation of seeing the Infante. Nevertheless, their affection for him enabled them to find some means of communicating with him, and by dint of pleadings and humiliations obtained some alleviation for his captivity, such as light by day and night for reading his pious books. However, his hour of release was at hand.

At the beginning of June, 1443, the Infante Ferdinand was assailed by a serious illness. His companions asked and pleaded and insisted upon that he should be removed from the prison. But all their supplications were of no avail, and all they obtained was that his physician and some Christians should watch and tend him. On the 5th of June, 1443, his sufferings increased, while the spirit of the Infante seemed to acquire a strange light as his last hour approached. He received all the sacraments of the Church with exemplary piety, and he even comforted those around him. When the sun set that night, just as the last ray illumined the horizon, the gentle life of that long-suffering prince passed away.

In full manhood, being only forty-one years of age, D. Ferdinand was yielding up his soul far from his native land, far from his brothers and friends, buried in a horrible dungeon, without being able even to gaze towards the beautiful land of Portugal. His faithful companions were bidden by the Moors to embalm the body until the Portuguese should ransom it, and they found a means of extracting his

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heart and hiding it as a precious relic. The Moors paid no respect to his mortal remains. Barbarian vengeance pursued this martyr beyond the grave. The dead body of the Infante was stripped by the executioners and suspended by the feet from the turrets of the ramparts, where for four days it was exposed to the insults of the crowds. Afterwards the body was placed in a wooden box and suspended in the same spot from the rampart walls.

As may be supposed, the torments and sufferings of the captives became further aggravated after the death of the Infante, because all hopes of Ceuta being restored to the Moors was at an end, and many of the household of the Infante perished. Father João Alvares, who was the secretary and chronicler of the Infante, was ransomed in 1448, by order of D. Pedro, in exchange for a Moor called Faquy Guiznaym. The rest of the captives were ransomed after the death of Lazuraque.

Father João Alvares arrived at Portugal on June 1st, 1451, bringing the heart of the Infante. D. Alfonso V. was then reigning, and he charged him, jointly with another of D. Ferdinand's companions in exile called Rodrigues, to conduct this precious relic to Batalha. Accompanied by a numerous cortege arrayed in mourning, these two former captives met the Master of the Order of Christ, who, surrounded by his knights, was departing for a tour. The Master of Christ was no other than the Infante D. Henrique, the leader of the expedition to Tangiers, whose imprudent acts were expiated by this martyr, whose noble heart, now cold and lifeless, was about to be laid to rest beneath the arches of the Church of Batalha. On learning their pious mission he turned round, and, followed by his suite, the Master of Christ accompanied to the monastery this relic of the Saintly Infante.

"Twenty-seven years after the death of the Infante," writes Senhor Mendes Leal, "at the head of the flower of his nobility, marched the King D. Alfonso V. towards the margins of the Tagus, followed by an immense concourse of people. The principal clergy accompanied this procession, bearing the majestic insignias of religious solemnities. What great success was this pompous ceremonial of crosses, palls, and confraternities celebrating? What did the King expect from afar?

"Across the bar of the river a galley from Africa was passing majestically. At sight of this ship the King, the nobles, and the people all reverently uncovered and bowed their heads. It was because within that frail bark lay the remains of a saint.

"D. Alfonso V. had continued the work of D. João I. Arzilla had

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redeemed Tangiers At last the Martyr of Fez was laid under the shades of the venerated dome of Santa Maria da Victoria, commonly called the Convent of Batalha."

It was the epilogue of that long drama. Alfonso V. not only avenged the Moors for the disasters of his uncles, but had wrested from the barbarian shores the body of the *Constant Prince*, the earthly casket of one of the noblest spirits that by its virtues illumined the pages of Portuguese history.

Let us now turn back to the events which meanwhile were taking place in Portugal. We said that D. Duarte, the King of Portugal, had died on September 9th, 1438. He left two sons and four daughters. His eldest son, D. Alfonso, was at the time in his seventh year. His second son was the Infante D. Ferdinand, and his daughters were the Infantas D. Philippa, D. Catharina, D. Joanna, and D. Leonor. The two eldest daughters were never married. D. Joanna in time married Henry IV., and became Queen of Castille, and D. Leonor Empress of Germany, by her marriage with the Emperor Frederick III. As D. Alfonso, the heir to the throne, was but a child at the time of his father's death, his uncle D. Pedro, brother to the late King, who was at the time in Coimbra, at once proceeded to Thomar, and while the remains of D. Duarte were conducted to Batalha, he attended to the proclamation of his nephew, the infantile prince, as successor to the throne under the title of D. Alfonso V. This was done on the 10th September, 1438, and he was proclaimed King in presence of the Infante D. Pedro and the Court. After a fitting address, D. Pedro conducted the child King to his throne, and bending before him, kissed his hand, the ceremony being followed by all present. After this, the usual publication and official announcement took place. D. Alfonso, the fifth of that name, twelfth in the list of Portuguese monarchs, and third of the dynasty of Aviz, was being seated on the Portuguese throne, conducted by the hand of one of the most illustrious men of his race, and to whom he was to prove himself later on so ungrateful. At the conclusion of this ceremony D. Leonor, the widowed Queen, summoned to her apartments the Infante and the principal fidalgos, in order to hear the will of the King read. To the great surprise of all present, he named the Queen regent and guardian of their son. The weakness of D. Duarte was now clearly manifested in placing the reins of government in the hands of a woman bereft of any governing genius, unloved by the people, who not only ascribed to her influence

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many of the evils of the King, but who felt an instinctive dislike for foreigners, to the exclusion of D. Pedro, to whom the regency legitimately appertained. "To place the reins of government," says Schœffer, "in the hands of a woman when there were so near the throne men of the stamp of the Infante D. Henrique and the Infante D. Pedro, who were fitted by Heaven for wearing crowns far more brilliant than that of Portugal; to entrust the helm of affairs to a foreign lady at a time when dangers surrounded the bark of the State, whilst there were Portuguese by birth who were the pride of the nation—the brave sons of D. João I., the saviour of the independence of Portugal, and who aspired to the glory of their illustrious father—was a fact which could only be explained by the captivating power of a wife to whom the nation was in the habit of ascribing a luckless influence ever since they learnt that it was due to her efforts that the hapless expedition to Tangiers had been carried out."

This was perceived by the true friends of the Queen, who feared not to acquaint her of the spirit of the people, who could not brook to see her Regent of the nation when there were princes so worthy and of such lofty intelligence; hence advised her that it would be a more prudent and dignified step to yield up at once the Regency voluntarily than have to give it up forcibly in the end.

Notwithstanding all her feminine defects, the Queen had good common sense, and was considering these counsels, when they were combated by the advice of some ambitious spirits who hoped to obtain beneath the wing of D. Leonor what they could not hope to win from D. Pedro. These spirits did not hesitate to calumniate the Infante in order to gain their object, and bade the Queen bear in mind that D. Pedro had children, and that his love as a parent would be superior to duty; hence that it was not prudent to confide the youthful King to him, and thus tempt him to suppress the obstacle which separated the throne from his own children.

These calumnies had the desired effect on the spirit of the Queen, already predisposed against the Infante towards whom she had a great dislike, but the true origin of this odium is unknown, although Ruy de Pina and Schœffer attribute it to feminine enmity. The wife of the Infante D. Pedro was the daughter of the Count of Urgel, the pretender to the throne of Aragon, and competitor of the King D. Fernando, father of the Queen D. Leonor, who was vanquished by his rival and condemned to imprisonment for life. The odium of the

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parents had probably descended to the daughters; moreover, it is natural that the esteem of D. Duarte for D. Pedro may have inspired jealousy in the Queen, who could not view with favour his influence over the spirit of the King. It is also possible that the popularity of D. Pedro should be distasteful to the Regent, as she could not herself captivate the sympathies of the Portuguese.

But the people murmured against her and the King D. Duarte, alleging that it did not belong to him, but to the general Cortes of the kingdom, to assign the person who should exercise the charge of Regent. The Queen, unwilling to yield up the power, perceived, however, that she ought to conciliate her people by consulting the Infantes on the affairs of State. This she did as soon as D. Henrique came to Lisbon, and was advised by him to summon a Cortes at once, and in accord with it provide all that might be needful for the government and defence of the kingdom.

Meanwhile D. Pedro was tacitly contradicting the calumnies brought against him by his adversaries, by proposing that D. Ferdinand, the brother to the prince-heir, should be sworn successor, in view that the future King was but a child, and as such subject to all the dangers and ailments of childhood, which might prove fatal ere he attained an age to ascend the throne. This act calmed the maternal fear of D. Leonor. Desirous of removing all suspicions, she proposed to the Infante, what it appears had been the last wish of the deceased monarch—the marriage of the youthful King to his daughter. D. Pedro was greatly moved at this, and manifested to her his deep acknowledgment, only suggesting that the marriage be delayed for some time, owing to the youthfulness of the contracting parties. But this gave rise to odiums which embittered the existence of D. Pedro. The marriage provoked jealousies, especially in the heart of D. Alfonso, the Count of Barcellos, natural son of D. João I., who had projected a marriage with the King and his grand-daughter, D. Isabel, and to whom this union was highly distasteful; hence he made use of every species of intrigue, and attempted to induce the Queen to retract her pledged word. At length these intrigues reached the ears of the Duke of Coimbra, and fearing their effect on the mind of the Queen, he resolved upon asking the Queen for a written promise, a demand which she at once granted.

Towards the end of October the obsequies of the late King D. Duarte were celebrated in Batalha, after which the Cortes were to be assembled in Torres-Novas. The Cortes met; but before

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the sessions commenced, all the fidalgos adverse to D. Pedro, whose energies they feared, and whose popularity was odious, planned among themselves to use their utmost efforts in order that the whole power be vested in the Queen, because, as a woman and a foreigner, they could the better dominate than should the Infante D. Pedro be the Regent, who was beloved by the people, and who would follow the traditions transmitted by his father, which were all against the privileges of the nobility. Embittered by resentments and private envies, the general interests of class served as a pretext for a conspiracy being formed by the fidalgos, whose ostensible chiefs were the Marshal Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, D. Pedro de Noronha the Archbishop of Lisbon, his brother D. Sancho, the Prior of Crato Nuno Goes, and as their secret agent the Count of Barcellos, whose aid was promised to the conspirators by the Marshal at a secret meeting held in a church of Torres-Novas. The Marshal also promised the aid of the Infante D. Henrique; and, in truth, the proceeding of the great initiator of the Portuguese discoveries in regard to his brother D. Pedro was one of the stains on his life. The accord celebrated by the nobles was communicated to the Queen, who by this means knew that she could count upon the aid of the nobles, and whose natural good sense was somewhat startled at beholding so important a party formed under the shade in her favour.

The first session of the Cortes was taken up by the ceremony of pledging homage to the King; then commenced the affairs of the regency. The Cortes proved a stormy one. The representatives of the people were as a body in favour of the Infante D. Pedro. Some nobles and ecclesiastics followed them in this resolution, which was so strongly manifested that the Queen for a time clearly saw that she would have to come to some agreement. She bade the Infante D. Henrique summon D. Pedro, and she proposed to them a treaty by which the regency should be divided between them. This was agreed to: the Queen to undertake the education of her son and the direction of financial affairs, while D. Pedro should be entrusted with the defence of the kingdom, under the title of "Defender," and the administration of all affairs of justice. It would seem that by this accord all things might be conciliated; but the Queen forgot that the nobility would not admit treaties, and accused her that she had taken this grave resolve without consulting the nobles who had sided with her, and who had, moreover, formed a plot in order to defend the

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integrity of her power; they furthermore added that it was sheer madness to forsake a regency which had been authorised by the will of her husband. They worked so energetically on the Queen that she repented of the conciliation proposed, and resumed the complete power. At the first session of the Cortes which was held after this event, D. Leonor demanded the integral fulfilment of the will of D. Duarte. This led to new discords in the Cortes. The nobles defended the resolve of the Queen; the representatives of the people declared for the Infante D. Pedro, and for their right to elect a Regent. The discussion was carried on in presence of the infantile King, and to him they appealed as to their proper sovereign, urging the rights of the people, reminding him (who could not comprehend at his age what was laid before him) that it was the people who had founded the dynasty of Aviz, and that it was their right to elect a King whenever the rightful succession should fail, and therefore the election of a Regent, in case of minority, also fell to them. It was the principle of popular sovereignty, fearlessly affirmed in the fifteenth century.

At length, after much heated discussion, the Queen was forced to give in and resign; but the ill-will which she felt towards the Infante D. Pedro was increased, of which she later on gave him a manifest proof. The Count of Barcellos, who still clung to the hope of seeing his granddaughter wedded to the King, induced the Queen to ask D. Pedro for the written promise that Alfonso V. should marry his daughter D. Isabel. She hesitated to do so, but was at length overruled, and the Count of Barcellos in person delivered the message. D. Pedro listened to her request with suppressed indignation and replied that he could contest the validity of this recall; that the Infanta D. Isabel was engaged to be married to the King D. Alfonso ever since the lifetime of D. Duarte, but that he had no intention of supporting by force a claim which had been offered spontaneously. He then drew from a casket the written promise signed by D. Leonor and tore it to pieces, in proof that the Queen had broken her pledged word, and delivered up the torn fragments into the hands of the Count of Barcellos.

When the Cortes were concluded in Torres Novas, the Queen departed for Lisbon with the King, and received in audience the ambassadors of Castille, who had come under pretext of aiding the pretensions of the Queen, and for claiming some rights of minor importance. In view of the disturbed state of the kingdom, an evasive

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reply was given them, pending a positive answer which would be sent to Castille by a Portuguese embassy. It transpired later on that this embassy from Castille had not been sent with the consent of the King D. John II., but by the Infantes of Aragon, brothers of D. Leonor, who disputed in the Castillian capital the favour accorded to the celebrated Constable, D. Alvaro de Luna.

Meanwhile the Queen continued to govern to the great displeasure of the people. Her delicate state of health, as she was enceinte at the time of her husband's death, and the grief of losing her daughter, D. Philippa, aged eleven, from the peste, in March, 1439, prevented her from attending to and furthering the affairs of State. This induced further ill-will in the hearts of the people, who complained that their appeals were not promptly attended to. The people continued to importune D. Pedro to assume the reins of government; but he, not quite confident of the unanimous wish of the people, and not wishing to promote in the kingdom a civil war, refused to accede to his partisans, and, moreover, constantly defended the Queen against the accusations made.

Soon after the death of D. Philippa, the Queen gave birth to the Infanta D. Joanna, posthumous daughter of D. Duarte, who became Queen of Castille. The Queen departed for Sacavem, and D. Pedro summoned together some of his adherents, among others Alvaro Vaz de Almada, and informed them that as he held so mean a position in the government of the kingdom, he thought it best to resign altogether the regency and retire to his possessions, but not wishing to break any treaties, he had called them together to know their opinion. As there arose various and contradictory opinions, it was decided to consult the Infante D. João, who had kept aloof from the late discords, and abide by his decision, as he was considered an impartial judge.

In effect, the brothers met at a hermitage called Our Lady of Paradise, on the spot where later on was erected the Convent of Santos-o-Novo. The Infante was of opinion that D. Pedro should at once take the regency, adding, moreover, that should he not have elder brothers, he himself would demand the regency, as it was an unworthy thing for Portuguese princes to be ruled by a foreign lady. He advised him to summon the Cortes and demand the government, but D. Pedro preferred to await the usual time for summoning the Cortes, believing that the Queen-Regent, fatigued with the duties mposed upon her, would of her own accord abdicate.

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But this was far from her intention. Irritated by the ill-will of the people, since there were courtiers who did not hesitate to give her detailed information of all that was said against her, and in favour of D. Pedro, the Queen-Regent, in place of giving up her regency and surrendering it to her brother-in-law, gave way to the odium which she had ever felt against him, and used her power in order to manifest this ill-will clearly to him by acts which often were derogatory to her dignity, and which only served to increase daily the number of her enemies, not only among the people, but even among the nobility. Among these imprudent acts was the expulsion from the Court of three maids of honour belonging to the principal families of Portugal, for no other reason than because they were adherents of D. Pedro. One of these ladies was niece of Alvaro Vaz de Almeida. This act of the Queen produced a great scandal in the country, and deeply irritated all the noble families related to the insulted ladies.

And, in truth, the Queen needed protection from the nobility when she thus was exciting against herself popular wrath. Moreover, she lavished upon her favourites large sums from the public treasury, and the Queen furthermore favoured Nuno Martins da Silveira, tutor to the Prince, by granting him the custom-house dues, to which the merchants of Lisbon were subjected for seven years. The people rose up in alarm, and solicited the Municipal Camara to defend them against this vexatious demand. A meeting was held, in which appeared the two bearers of the royal letter granting this privilege to Nuno Martins. On finding that this letter bore only the signature of the Queen, to the exclusion of D. Pedro, the people rose up indignantly, and violently assailed these bearers, one of which was cast out of the window, and by a miracle was not killed, and the other was saved by some of his friends, who were able to defend him. The city was in such a disturbed state that it became impossible to calm it. The people called out for D. Pedro, who, embittered by the offensive acts of the Queen, did not attempt to put down the revolution. It was but natural that he should feel resentment. The Queen, in view that the populace of Lisbon continued disturbed, sent the Count of Arrayolos to the city, in order to pacify the revolt. The Count, however, found his authority scorned, and, despite all his efforts, was unable to repress the crowds. He then resorted to religious influences, and bade a Dominican friar and excellent preacher, called Fr. Vasco da Alagôa, to preach to the people, and calm their spirits. But this good monk was devoted to the

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Queen, and in place of calming the people, judged he ought to menace them, and threatened the factors of the disorders with the wrath of heaven and earth.

This unexpected turn produced a bad effect, and murmurs arose, and became so violent that the monk judged it more prudent to fly from the pulpit without finishing his discourse. The Count of Arrayolos was truly exasperated at the manner the preacher had carried out his mission; but the latter paid dearly for his error, because the infuriated crowds pursued him to the monastery, and had not the Prior promptly concealed him, he could not have escaped with his life.

These tumults afforded the Infante D. Pedro an opportunity for displaying his popularity. He came from Camarate to Lisbon, and on being received enthusiastically, severely reproved the people for their tumultuous manner of seeking redress, when they had the Cortes wherein to lay their grievances, which he himself would have backed were they just ones. The crowds received the reprehensions of the Infante D. Pedro with humility, who by this means manifested to the Queen what on a former occasion his father, the Master of Aviz, had likewise manifested to D. Leonor Telles, that he could calm or rouse the popular will.

But these things only enkindled further the odium of the Queen, and she could not refrain from advising the fidalgos of her party to proceed to the Cortes armed and escorted, in order to resist the pretensions of the people. With her own hand the Queen sowed discord in the kingdom, and prepared a civil war in which she herself was to be the first victim.

The Infante D. Pedro, on learning how matters stood, conferred anew with the Infante D. John, who was ill in Alcoehete, and was advised by him to proclaim himself sole regent. The Infante D. Pedro said that he could not avoid lifting the gauntlet which the Regent had cast down, and if D. Leonor was preparing to appear at the Cortes with her nobles in war guise, he, as Defender, must make this fact known to the cities and towns. This he did by issuing a circular letter wherein he stated the intentions of the Queen, and advised the people to prepare to repulse the efforts of the nobles and foreign powers, because D. Leonor was ready to call to her support her brothers, the Infantes of Aragon.

This letter, after being read in the Camara of Lisbon, was affixed

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to the doors of the Cathedral. The people flocked in crowds to peruse it day and night, grateful to their well-beloved Infante.

The cities unanimously and gratefully responded to this communication, and urged him to proclaim himself Regent. The strife was now openly declared, through the imprudence of the Queen.

This last act of D. Leonor—one which the Count of Arrayolos sternly disapproved, and which she promised to revoke, a promise, however, which she never fulfilled—filled the cup of indignation of D. Pedro, and he openly declared war against his sister-in-law.

When D. Pedro had occasion to visit the young King in Sacavem, he entered the Queen's apartments with a cold manner and grave countenance, and told her that, as he had been positively challenged by her, he accepted the contest without dread of the consequences, and retired without kissing her hand, a proceeding which highly offended her, as being exceedingly disrespectful. The Queen became terror-stricken at this declaration of the Infante, and, fully aware of the power he exercised in Lisbon, did not consider she was safe in Sacavem, and fled with her sons to Alemquer. Some of her partisans were displeased at this, and thought she ought to enter Lisbon and prove the influence of her prestige and her authority. In this they were right. If the Queen wished to wrestle, it was ill-timed of her to commence the contest by flying from the battle-field. To leave the field open to the enemies disheartened some of her friends, and was unable to restrain the imprudent zeal of others. The events which followed fully proved that this step of the Queen was a wrong one.

The inhabitants of Lisbon, forewarned of the resolve taken by the Queen, from which might result wars, decided to choose a leader, in the person of Alvaro Vaz de Almada, the intimate friend of the Infante D. Pedro. After this election had been made they proceeded to the Church of San Domingos, and there on oath pledged to elect the Infante D. Pedro as Regent, defend this election, and demand in the Cortes that it be ratified. The Queen was kept informed of all that was being done by one of her partisans, Pedro Annes Lobato, who succeeded in convincing her of the imminent danger she placed herself in by so acting.

But all her partisans were not so prudent as Pedro Annes, for the Archbishop of Lisbon, by his imprudent acts, placed himself and her cause in jeopardy, and so excited the populace that his life was in danger, and he was obliged to fly to Alhandra, where he continued

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to fulminate threats against the inhabitants of Lisbon. This so irritated them that they appealed to the Pope to depose him and name a successor, meanwhile depriving him of his rentals. D. Pedro de Noronha then judged that his life was in peril, and passed on to Obidos; but in this latter town the inhabitants refused to receive him, and he was forced to retire to Castille.

Lisbon, meanwhile, was in a state of sedition, and, in order to mend matters, the citizens besought D. João to come and reside in the city. The Infante at once acceded, and the Queen, seeing the turn which affairs were taking, took the path of conciliation, and with this object issued a royal letter to Lisbon and other cities to refute the odious accusations made to her, and affirming that she never projected allowing foreigners to enter Portugal.

This letter did not produce the least effect, and, in truth, was not even perused. In Lisbon the letter was not allowed to be affixed to the door of the Cathedral Church. As the citizens of Lisbon had on their side the Infante D. John, they resolved to give a more definite form to the solemn promise they had made to request the Cortes to authorise the regency of D. Pedro. With this object, Alvaro Vaz de Almada drew up a petition to the Queen to yield up the regency, and D. Pedro to assume it until the majority of the King D. Alfonso V. In the event of the death of D. Pedro taking place before the expiration of the term, the regency to be taken by D. Henrique, and in succession by D. Ferdinand, then captive in Fez Then, as a last resource, the family of the natural son of D. João I.—first, the Count of Barcellos; secondly, the Counts of Arrayolos and Ourem. In no case was the Queen to rule the kingdom; nevertheless, she was to be treated with the highest consideration. On D. Alfonso V. attaining his majority, the Regent to deliver up the government of the kingdom.

This appeal was unanimously seconded, signed, and approved by the Infante D. John. The petition was then laid for the signatures of the representatives, and all hastened to affix their names.

The city of Lisbon communicated to the Queen and the Infantes the resolution they had taken, adding likewise the unanimous concurrence of other parts of the kingdom, especially of the city of Oporto. The Infante D. Pedro manifested himself deeply moved; the Infante D. John fully approved all that had been done, but D. Henrique, without actually disapproving the substance of the treaty, found it

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illegal; and the Queen, as may well be supposed, at once rebelled against it. She immediately wrote to the fidalgos of her party not to appear at the Cortes, by this means endeavouring to invalidate by their absence what might be decided upon in the Cortes, but nevertheless, for prevention sake, sending her protest against any attempt which might be made to deprive her of the regency.

The excitement in Lisbon had reached its highest point. The chief Alcaide, D. Alfonso, the Lord of Cascaes, and his son D. Fernando, taking absolutely the side of D. Leonor, had withdrawn to the castle and strongly entrenched themselves within, manifesting a visibly hostile attitude towards the city. The inhabitants of Lisbon wished to attack the castle, but the Infante D. John preferred to adopt more gentle means, and entered into negotiations with the governor through the intermediary of his wife, D. Maria de Vasconcellos. The Infante D. John desired D. Alfonso either to deliver up the Castle or allow him to enter within its walls. The reply was to the effect that he would do neither. Meanwhile, D. Maria de Vasconcellos took advantage of the occasion to tell the Infante D. João from the Queen that she could not forgive D. Pedro the insulting manner he had treated her, but that, nevertheless, her ambition of power was not so great that she would not resign it—and which she was willing to do—into the hands of any of her brothers-in-law, especially of D. John, with whose daughter she would be pleased to see wedded the King D. Alfonso V. But D. John saw through this feminine transparent wile, and replied, smiling, that the sons of the King D. João I. had always been very united, and therefore it was useless to endeavour to sow discord between them; that the King D. Alfonso V. should marry the daughter of the Infante D. Pedro, as the late King D. Duarte had arranged, and as the Queen D. Leonor had formerly promised to do, and that as regarded his own daughter, he would never consent to see her married to the youthful King. This noble abnegation was recompensed by Providence, and this very daughter Isabel became the wife of the King of Castille, D. Juan II., and mother of the great Queen Isabel, the ornament of the Castillian throne, and grandmother of many kings and emperors.

These diplomatic negotiations being unsuccessful, the people proceeded to surround the castle. The siege became a serious, although a pacific one. Provisions were not allowed to enter in, and the Alcaide was unprepared for a long resistance. Hence, after a few days, the

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Alcaide was obliged to deliver up the castle to the Infante D. John, and he himself depart to Alemquer, to inform the Queen of what was passing.

When D. Leonor heard all that had passed, fearing lest the Infante D. Pedro should prepare himself in Coimbra and remove the Prince-heir to present him at the Cortes, endeavoured to fortify herself in Alemquer with men, arms, and provisions.

The news of these bellicose preparations induced in the minds of the people a suspicion that D. Leonor awaited foreign aid to enable her to overcome the opposition her cause found on all sides, more particularly in Lisbon. But the Queen was not satisfied with this, but had recourse to other elements of contention; she resorted to intrigue. She wrote to the Infante D. Henrique, assuring him secretly that the Infante D. Pedro, being jealous of him, intended to arrest him.

This announcement, which she intended to make, by some means or other came to the knowledge of D. Pedro before the letter had time to reach the Infante D. Henrique, and he at once proceeded to have an interview with his brother in Soure. In this interview D. Pedro warned him to be prepared for some intrigue in order to repel it. Two days after D. Pedro had departed, D. Henrique received the Queen's letter by the hand of Martim de Tavora. D. Henrique immediately proceeded to Coimbra, and showed his brother the letter, adding that so certain was he of his loyalty that he had come to his home without the smallest fear. The Infante D. Pedro perused the letter and smiled, then told him the reason why he had gone to Soure, as he had been already informed of the plan laid by D. Leonor.

The Infantes then joined themselves to the Count de Barcellos, and together decided to send an embassage to D. Leonor to request her to appear at the Cortes which were to meet in Lisbon. The envoy named was the Count of Barcellos, who found the Queen in Alemquer prepared and fortified as though in time of war. The state of things startled the Count, and on delivering his message he received in reply that she would not proceed to the Cortes unless the election which the cities and towns had dared to make of the Infante D. Pedro as Regent of the kingdom was annulled. The Duke of Coimbra retorted that he had nothing to do with what the cities and towns had done, and that they could annul them, but it was his opinion that even to obtain this annulment it would be wiser for her to appear at the Cortes, and without another word returned to Lisbon. The Count of Barcellos meanwhile secretly

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joined some fidalgos and made a treaty, in which they promised one another always to seek their private advantage, whatever be the drift the affairs of the regency might take.

This strife between the Queen and the Infante D. Pedro is really one of the most characteristic in our history. D. Leonor combats with a woman's weapons, which all glance off against the impenetrable cuirass which envelopes the stern, manly spirit of the Infante. She ever retires from the contest in the open field, but resorts to small intrigues, craft, insults, mean revenges. When the Infante proceeded from Coimbra to Lisbon, accompanied, as was due to his dignity, by many nobles and adherents, D. Leonor sent word to him that it would be better for him not to appear in Alemquer, or should he wish to pay his homage to the King, go at least with less followers. This message covered an insult which D. Pedro understood, and he coldly retorted that none would excel him in love and respect for the King, and that the Queen did wrong in constantly assailing him when all his thoughts were for his service.

On his way to Lisbon, before entering the city, D. Pedro received a deputation of the inhabitants who came to desire him to assume the regency alone. The Infante replied that he could not do so without the assent of his brother, nephews, and the Cortes; but the deputation insisted, proving that they possessed the adhesion of all the councils; that the Infantes were in accord, and therefore his scruples were unfounded.

D. Pedro acceded to their demands and promised what they asked, and at once made his solemn entry into Lisbon, being received most affectionately by the Infante D. John, and proceeded to the Cathedral to take the oath prescribed, that he would govern with justice the kingdom, and deliver up the government to Alfonso V. as soon as he should attain his majority. But it was unnecessary to thus hurry the legal forms, because the Cortes were opened soon after, and the Infante D. John through a delegate, as he was prevented by illness, proposed the election of D. Pedro as the sole regent of the kingdom. The Cortes approved the election, and D. Pedro then legally assumed the regency.

Messengers were sent to the Queen to notify to her the decision of the Cortes, and to request her to bring the youthful King to Lisbon, in order to comply with the formality of making an appearance at the Cortes in approbation of an act which so nearly concerned him. The Queen obstinately refused to accede to allowing her son to appear, unless

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the Cortes acknowledged her regency. All attempts to induce her to yield proved ineffectual, until at length the Infante D. Henrique, who exercised some influence over the spirit of the Queen, convinced her of the necessity of doing this. However, she only yielded on condition of their giving her a written promise, signed by the Infantes, that the King would be restored to her immediately after the act.

In effect, the young monarch presided at the Cortes, and in his name Doctor Diogo Alfonso Manga-ancha confirmed the election of the Cortes, and declared his acceptance of D. Pedro as Regent during his minority. The King then returned to his mother, and the Cortes resumed their labours. It was during the sitting of these Cortes that D. Pedro authorised great benefits to the towns, and relieved them of heavy dues, acts which more than anything else raised him in popular esteem.

During these Cortes it was objected that the regency of D. Pedro would be useless if the Queen continued to be entrusted with the education of the King, as he would be biassed by her against the Regent, and, moreover, would receive an effeminate education, ignorant of the affairs of the realm, from whence grave dangers might accrue; besides which, the expenses of keeping up two Courts were overtaxing the country. D. Pedro acknowledged the justice of this, but besought them not to compel him to act thus violently towards the Queen—firstly, because the care of the child King was the only leniative to the wounded pride of the Queen; and secondly, he would not assume the great responsibility of watching the King, for should any mishap occur to the infantile monarch there would not be wanting those who would accuse him of want of vigilance; thirdly, that his time and attention being fully occupied by important affairs of State, he could not possibly give to the King the attention required for his education. All these objections were overruled by the delegates, until the Infante declared it would be best to propose to the Queen for both to live in the same place, entrusting to the Queen the moral education of the child King, and leaving to the Infante the care of his intellectual and political instruction. The proposal was made to the Queen, but she rejected it, and the Infantes retired disappointed, after many efforts to induce her to alter her determination.

Nevertheless, the Queen felt that she must in the end be vanquished in the strife, and a prey to cruel perplexities, she knew not what to decide. She feared to forsake her children and deliver them up to the

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Infante, of whom her counsellors had given a fearful character. On the other hand, she feared to behold the people snatching her children from her, should she persist in her resolve. In this dilemma she asked advice from the nobles who surrounded her, but these, ever ready to kindle the firebrand of discord, were of opinion that the Queen should persist in her resolve, leave her children, which would greatly embarrass the Infante D. Pedro, who feared to undertake so great a responsibility. The hapless Queen was no more than an instrument in the hands of her courtiers, who were zealous, not for her interests, but for their own private ones, and who sought to entrap and disappoint the Infante D. Pedro.

Taking counsel from her own odium and from the ambitious spirits who made her the toy for their own ends, the Queen D. Leonor decided to forsake her sons and depart with the Infantas, casting upon D. Pedro all the odium of her resolution. At the last moment the maternal instinct, hitherto controlled by her evil passions, broke out in an extraordinary manner, and at midnight a pathetic scene took place, when, awaking her children, she took leave of them amid sobbings and tears. "My child and my king," she cried, bathed in tears, as she clasped the child-king in her arms, "oh, that it may lease God in His mercy to watch over and strengthen you, and to me, not leave me in life forsaken by you, as I have been left by your father!" D. Alfonso, a child of scarcely eight years of age, endeavoured to console his mother, and surprised all those around him by the calmness of spirit he manifested. But the poor child, who could not apprehend those tangled intrigues, and who only saw the flight of his mother, felt a dislike rising up within him, which accumulated with his years, against the man who had deprived him of maternal love. The sequel proved that the youthful prince had not been an indifferent spectator of these painful scenes.

In truth, D. Pedro was deeply wounded at having the King and the Infante D. Ferdinand thus left on his hands.

We are convinced that had D. Leonor insisted upon not wishing to live near the Regent, the latter would not have obliged her to give up her son. But D. Leonor preferred to present herself as a victim, and invest D. Pedro with the odium of a persecutor, of a barbarian who respected nothing, not even maternal sentiments. Of all blows received, this one more greatly wounded D. Pedro, and the one which later on bore more dismal consequences.

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Yet these misfortunes might already be foreseen in the manner and bearing of the royal child who passed from one to the other without a word, without either complaint or satisfaction, without a word of reproach—cold, impassive, with an impenetrability superior to his age.

Without perceiving the odium that was daily growing in the heart of his royal pupil against himself, D. Pedro deeply felt the proceeding of the Queen, and endeavoured to induce her to desist from her resolve. With this object in view, D. Henrique followed D. Leonor to Cintra, where she had withdrawn; but he was in this quite unsuccessful, as she felt a secret triumph in having dealt a blow to the heart of the Infante which had taken effect.

Yet if any one thing could console the Infante for the disfavours which the Queen heaped upon him, it was most certainly the worship, almost amounting to idolatry, which the people tendered to him. This hero-worship rose to the point that the inhabitants of Lisbon desired to erect a statue to him in life. This wish was communicated to the Infante through a deputation, but, with a sad smile, he replied that if the people at the moment desired to erect a statue to him in proof of their gratitude, there might doubtless arise some other occasion for changing their opinions, and their children, or perchance they themselves, would cast down that same statue which had been erected. Hence he preferred not to accept the honour, but live in the traditions of the people.

This sad foreboding was certainly noteworthy at a time when he was surrounded by the enthusiastic worship of the people, and which seemed to rend the veils of the future and presage the destiny reserved for him. Yet this ought not to surprise us. D. Pedro was endowed with a lofty intelligence and a noble spirit, and there is no lofty intelligence or noble spirit which, after some experience in political affairs, does not permanently remain with some tincture of sceptical bitterness, the dismal privilege of those who attain to their cost to know men and the inconstancy of the masses.

Meanwhile the Queen was not at rest, and from Cintra she sent complaints to her brothers, the Infantes of Aragon, respecting the proceedings of D. Pedro towards herself. The Infantes of Aragon, though not wishing to forsake her, nevertheless replied, desiring her to keep quiet for the time being, because their own affairs were not safe in Castille. In order to communicate more easily with her brothers, the Queen quitted Cintra and proceeded to Almeirim. D. Pedro, who was

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kept well informed of the Queen's movements, grew anxious at this restlessness, and, to avoid any imprudent acts on her part, removed the Court to Santarem the better to watch her, meanwhile that he issued an order that such as should wickedly advise the Queen and induce her to sow discord in the kingdom be severely punished.

Later on, as his fears proceeded principally from the Infantes of Aragon being aware that they were in correspondence with the Queen, he resolved to effect an alliance with their adversaries in Castille, and endeavoured to do so with the Constable Alvaro de Luna and D. Guterres, the Master of Alcantara. The proposal for an alliance, offensive and defensive, was accepted and secretly entered into, and on various occasions the Infante D. Pedro had to aid the Constable Alvaro de Luna and the Master of Alcantara, while maintaining good diplomatic relations with the King of Castille. This alliance and the great skill employed reduced the efforts of the Infantes of Aragon to impotence.

In home politics the Infante D. Pedro endeavoured to avoid the machinations of the Queen and her courtiers, at whose head was the Count of Barcellos. It was decided that the Infante D. Henrique should proceed to Vizeu in order to prevent the conspiracy from extending to the north of the country, and spread its ramifications into Castille, D. Pedro taking upon himself to watch the Queen and the fidalgos who surrounded her. The latter beholding themselves hedged in by this iron circle, out of which they could not stretch their hands avaricious for favours, counselled the Queen to effect an apparent reconciliation with the Infante D. Pedro, by which she and they would be somewhat relieved from the oppression they were under.

The Queen approved this counsel, and in effect proposed an alliance with the Infante, who accepted it in good faith, despite his ripe judgment and experience. The concord established between them was officially notified in Portugal and Castille at the end of May, 1440. Confiding in the sincerity of the proposed alliance with the Queen, the Infante ordered all the scouts he had placed at all points where any secret correspondence could pass with the Queen, to be removed.

Meanwhile the Count of Barcellos, without attaching the smallest importance to the above-said treaty, made known confidentially to the widow of D. Duarte that such an alliance would prejudice the spirits of their adherents, and advised her to proceed to Crato, a well-fortified land, and dependency of the Prior of the Hospitallers, Nuno Goes, who

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was on her side, and from thence, appealing to the nobles of her party and her brothers, the Infantes of Aragon, for aid, boldly raised the standard of war. D. Leonor joyfully acceded to the proposal, and the hesitation of the Prior of Crato being overruled by the Count of Barcellos, the Queen prepared to quit Almeirim secretly, and hoist the standard of civil war.

But the Count of Barcellos did not stop here. After persuading the Queen to follow his advice, he himself plotted a private alliance with the Infantes of Aragon, an act which was highly censured by his brothers and his own sons, the Count of Ourem going so far as to declare that, should a war break out, he would sooner join the party of D. Pedro than side with his father. The Infante D. Henrique endeavoured to dissuade the Count of Barcellos from forming such a scandalous alliance, but without success, and he persevered in his intention. The result of his intrigues was that an embassage came from Castille to Portugal, with the object of demanding indemnification for some maritime prizes taken by the Portuguese in Castillian ships, but principally to intimate to D. Pedro to restitute D. Leonor in the regency, or else allow her to depart to Castille. D. Pedro, after consulting his counsellors, replied that, as far as concerned the indemnifications, judges would be nominated to decide their validity, and as what respected the Queen D. Leonor, an embassy from Portugal would be sent to Castille to take the reply. These envoys made a singular petition—that their message be communicated to the cities and towns of the kingdom, their intention by so doing being to terrify the people by a prospect of war with Castille, and thus appeal to the interests of D. Leonor. The Infante replied that all political affairs were arranged by the Government which represented the country, and not by the people. Meanwhile he learnt privately, through the Bishop of Coria, who was one of the envoys, that this message came rather from the Infantes of Aragon than from the King of Castille, as the latter was no adversary of D. Pedro, but, on the contrary, was favourable to him, judging that it was but just that the regency of the kingdom and the education of the King should be effected by a man, as he himself had experienced the evil results of his kingdom being governed and he educated by his mother, the Queen D. Catharina.

In view of this, D. Pedro sent word to the Queen D. Leonor that, since it was her wish, he desired her to depart to Castille with the ambassadors. But it was not this that the Queen desired. The

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ambassadors showed him a letter which they said they had received from the King of Castille, in which they were bidden not to depart until all the business they had come for should be settled.

However, it appeared to D. Pedro that they could not have had time to receive an answer, and he suspected that probably they had brought blank letters with the royal seal. In order to verify this, he wrote to D. Alvaro de Luna. The Constable was then an exile from the Court, but kept up a secret correspondence with the King. He at once replied to the Infante, fully confirming his suspicions, and, as a further proof, sent a letter written by the King himself to say that the ambassadors were proceeding without the concurrence of D. Juan II., and were simply obeying the orders of the Infantes of Aragon, who ruled everything in Castille. The Infante D. Pedro then formally intimated to the ambassadors to quit Portugal, but they, without actually disobeying him, managed, under various pretexts, to prolong their stay, so that they were still in Santarem when the Queen fled to Crato.

D. Pedro at length became aware of the project of D. Leonor, and in his name the Infante D. Henrique went to menace the Prior of Crato, and bade him appear before the Regent to explain his conduct. The Prior, alleging his age and infirmities, sent his son, Fernão Goes, who, in effect, presented himself in all humility, and asked leave to proceed to Almeirim and communicate to the Queen their resolve not to receive her. He went ostensibly with this object, but in truth secretly to combine with the Queen the manner and day of departure.

However, when the day agreed upon (October 31, 1440) arrived, hesitation assailed the Queen D. Leonor, while the counsels of a Dominican, in opposition to the project of the Queen, actuated on her spirit and well-nigh dissuaded her.

It was already night when the sons of the Prior of Crato, the brothers Goes, arrived, being the eve of All Saints, and found the Queen a prey to irresolution. They were startled and irritated at this change, and bitterly complained. In order not to prove unfaithful to her word, rather than through her own wish, the Queen departed at nine o'clock, weeping bitterly, and taking only her baby daughter, D. Joanna, as the Infanta D. Leonor was ill. Her departure was effected secretly, When she reached Crato, she was magnificently received by the Prior, who delivered up to her the keys of the fortress and pledged to serve her in every way.

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It was past midnight when throughout Almeirim a cry arose, "*Fly for your lives! the Infante D. Pedro is coming to apprehend us!*" The people rushed to the palace of the Queen, but did not find her. Consternation then became general, and some, suspecting the road the Queen had taken, ran in pursuit. One of these was D. Alfonso, the Lord of Cascaes, a man advanced in years, with his wife, D. Maria de Vasconcellos, and their son, D. Ferdinand.

It was about the same hour that the Infante D. Pedro was apprised by Gil Peres de Rezende, Auditor of Santarem, of the flight of the Queen. The news caused a great shock; but he at once energetically provided against this by sending D. Guiomar de Castro to take charge of the Infanta D. Leonor. Other persons were sent to take inventories of the Queen's properties and those of the nobles, while Diogo Fernandes d'Almeida was sent as ambassador to the Queen to beseech her to return, or at least deliver up the Infanta D. Joanna, with instructions, in the event of the Queen refusing to do so, to draw up a protest against such extraordinary proceedings. Diogo Fernandes went, but returned without having seen the Queen, because, he said, she was so firm in her resolve that it would have been impossible to move her; but the Chronicler assures us that being a relative of the Prior of Crato, he was secretly in the interests of the Queen.

The Infante at once wrote to his brothers and nobles of the kingdom, cities, and towns, notifying to them what had taken place, and advising them to be in readiness to defend the person of the King, because by the step taken by the Queen it was evident that she meant to start a civil war. D. Pedro nominated the Infante D. Henrique Governor of the frontier of Beira, D. John that of Alemtejo, and instructed the citizens of the latter province not to furnish Crato with more provisions than should be necessary for the support of the Queen and twenty persons of her suite. He otherwise took prompt measures for stamping out any revolutionary movements which might be attempted by the Queen's party.

In effect, as soon as D. Leonor arrived to Crato she despatched throughout the kingdom letters to affirm anew her right to the regency, and bringing grave accusations against the government of the Infante. No notice was taken of these letters, and in some places the messengers were even ill-treated. Nevertheless, the Infante judged he ought to justify himself, and sent to Lisbon, as the capital of the kingdom, a letter in which he refuted all that had been imputed to him.

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The Count of Barcellos and other nobles of his party, taken by surprise at the prompt, energetic measures taken by D. Pedro, and, moreover, not perceiving any prospect of help from Castille, remained immovable, and thereby placed the Queen in an embarrassing position. Provisions ran short, and the Queen was forced to ask the Infante D. John permission to furnish the garrison, but the Infante refused to do so, and in temperate language reproved her for her acts, which placed her honour, the State, and her reputation at the mercy of the Prior and his sons, who did not bear a good character in the kingdom, and exhorting her to alter her course; but all to no purpose. About this time the Bishop of Segorbe arrived to Portugal as envoy of the King of Aragon, brother to D. Leonor, to propose in the name of his master the bases of an accord between the Queen and the Regent. The latter replied that nought could be done so long as the Queen continued in Crato. The Bishop was unable to persuade her, and thus returned to Aragon without effecting anything.

Civil war was definitely enkindled in the kingdom, and in order to curtail its evils, D. Pedro resolved upon taking the strongholds belonging to the Order of the Hospital, which were under obedience to the Prior of Crato, and sent against the Castle of Belver a division commanded by Lopo de Almeida, he who later on became the Count of Abrantes; against the castle of Amieira another division led by Alvaro Vaz de Almada, Count of Avranches in Normandy, and against Crato itself he went in person with his brother the Infante D. John, and his nephews the Counts of Ourem and Arrayolos. The castle of Amieira quickly surrendered; Belver also, after a brave resistance, on 17th December, 1440. The Queen, who saw this, and that the Portuguese fidalgos took no steps to defend her, sent to Castille to recruit soldiers, for this purpose sending a great portion of her jewels. Soldiers in effect came from Castille commanded by one Alfonso Henriques, who, in order to furnish the town, went foraging, and committed such damage that the whole kingdom was fired with indignation, and D. Pedro hastened to march upon Crato. Many of its inhabitants were of his party, and from these he learnt, on approaching the walls of the city, that the Queen had fled to Castille on the 29th December, 1440, accompanied by the Prior and other nobles, leaving the garrison of the castle under the command of Gonçalo da Silveira. Some of the inhabitants had gone to Alter and gave information to the Chief Commandeur of Aviz, Garcia Rodrigues de Sequeira, who proceeded to take possession

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of Crato, and fortified the town to defend it against the castle, whose governor appeared inclined to resist; but when the Infantes approached with their army, which exceeded 12,000 men, and many cannons and war engines for besieging, Gonçalo da Silveira saw that it would be impossible to resist, and delivered it up. D. Pedro gave the castle to his brother D. John, and the Priory of Crato to D. Henrique de Castro. D. Pedro then proceeded to reduce to obedience the rebel fidalgos, particularly the Count de Barcellos, who vacillated, and, it appears, counselled the Queen, who was in Albuquerque close to the frontier, to enter anew into Portugal through the district of Tras-os-Montes, where he resided. To this spot marched the Infante D. Pedro, and joining the Infante D. Henrique, proceeded towards Lamego, intending to reduce by force the Count of Barcellos. The latter became disquieted at the approach of his brothers, and replied in a hesitating manner to the Queen, who, acting under his advice, was coming to join him, complaining that the Infantes of Aragon were not prompt in aiding her. However, wishing to disguise weakness by arrogance, he sent word to his son, the Count of Ourem, who was coming with the Infantes, to apprise D. Pedro not to cross the Douro, as he might repent it. This message so angered the Infante that the Count of Ourem, deeply distressed, besought him to restrain his wrath whilst he went to confer with his father, and endeavour to move him from his obstinate mood. In this he was unsuccessful, hence the Infantes marched on to Mesão-Frio in order to cross the Douro. The Count of Barcellos, to prevent them from crossing, ordered all the shipping to be submerged, but D. Pedro quickly improvised a floating bridge.

The Count of Ourem, on witnessing the wrath of the Infante D. Pedro, who was generally able to control himself, feared the consequences, and again besought leave to make another attempt at conciliation. This time he was more successful, although Ruy de Pina tells us the Count of Barcellos was conquered rather through the evidence of danger than through the supplications of his son, and he proceeded to Lamego to have an interview with the Infantes, who came forward to receive him with demonstrations of friendship and benevolence. The people rejoiced to see former enmities at an end, when they heard reciprocal expressions of reconciliation and affection manifested, which seemed to guarantee peace and rest to the kingdom.

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On entering the city (end of February, 1441), they conferred together, and D. Pedro kindly listened and accepted the explanation and excuses of the Count, who promised to obey him in future, acknowledge his regency, and withdraw from the service of the Queen. At this conference the subject of the marriage of the young King Alfonso V. with the daughter of the Regent was discussed and arranged, and the project laid before the Cortes, which were held subsequently in Torres Vedras. The union met with the unanimous approval of the Cortes, and a considerable sum was voted for that purpose. The King was in his tenth year when his betrothal was celebrated in Obidos, in May, 1441.

The kingdom being at peace, the Infante D. Pedro endeavoured to effect a reconciliation with the Queen through the mediation of the Count of Barcellos. But D. Leonor, who was in Madrigal at the time, seemed to be avoiding him, as she still lived in hopes of regaining the regency. Her brothers had attained the height of their power, and were ruling in Spain without rivals, having forcibly taken possession, in Medino del Campo, of the person of the King, who, a toy in the hands of foreign ambitious spirits, allowed himself to be governed by any one who had sufficient energy and strength to rule him. Hence D. Leonor judged herself, for this reason, triumphant, and rejected the concord offered by the Infante D. Pedro as one who held a definite victory in her hands. But this was not her only imprudent act; she furthermore spent the sums raised by the sale of her jewels in enlisting men to serve her brothers, thinking, by so doing, that she would captivate their goodwill, but obtained in return naught but vain promises and appearances of protection.

But D. Leonor, blinded by pride, would not enter into any reasonable conditions. D. Pedro was ready to concede all lands and revenues he held in the kingdom, and the education of her children, in order to secure peace, although he well knew that the Queen would inculcate in the youthful monarch sentiments of odium against the Regent. D. Leonor refused all this, and still demanded the regency, and at her instigation the Infantes sent an embassy to Portugal, which they said would be the last, with threats of war should the government not be delivered up to the Queen. To this D. Pedro replied that he must first consult the Cortes. The envoys were joyed at this, because their intention was no more than to terrify the people. However, D. Pedro put down their joy somewhat by the energetic measures he took, which

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manifested to them that if he wished to hear the Cortes it was not because he feared a campaign or required to temporise. Hence he at once garrisoned and victualled the strongholds of war, appointing governors for the frontiers; troops were raised, ships of war fitted and equipped, and commercial relations with Castille were interrupted. The envoys, somewhat disappointed, viewed all these preparations for war, and became still more disappointed when, on the Cortes being assembled in Evora, at the beginning of 1442, many of the members demanded that war should be made, and at length the three states jointly declared that they would leave the resolution of this affair in the hands of D. Pedro, to whose prudence and tact they fully trusted.

In view of this declaration, D. Pedro simply refused to do what the ambassadors demanded, and declared he was ready to accept a war, which he did not fear, as he was the son of the conqueror of Aljubarrota.

On seeing the turn affairs had taken, the ambassadors, in place of visiting on this small daring kingdom all the horrors of war, acted like the bully in a comedy, that retires as soon as he sees coming. sword in hand, he whom he had threatened, and the Castillians effected a ridiculous retreat, after having entered into Portugal, like the hero of Camões.

"Chafing, yet not eloquent;
Threatening earth, the ocean, and the world."

D. Leonor, however, once more laid before the Castillian Cortes her grounds of complaint, and another embassy was sent to Portugal, composed of two fidalgos representing the King, and two representatives of the people, in the name of the Cortes of Castille. This was a new phase, but the Infantes of Aragon, to satisfy their sister, were ready to employ against Portugal all and every means of intimidation save that of moving a soldier or spending the smallest coin. Unfortunately for them, they found in their adversary a skilful statesman, an eminent genius, a man of stern metal, who allowed nothing to move him from his purpose, one who was ready to make every reasonable concession, but who, nevertheless, only smiled at their bravados, which did not influence him.

His reply to this embassy was to the effect that he desired the Queen not to return to Portugal, as it would only be an element of discord, but that he was ready to send her in Castille her dowry and fortune, adding 10,000 gold doubles to recompense her servitors.

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The Queen did not wish to yield, but that war be made to Portugal. A council was then held, at which diverse votes were given, but the majority were for peace. Those who combated more forcibly the wishes of the Queen were the Count of Haro and the Bishop of Avila. The council adhered to the opinion of these nobles, and an embassy was sent to Portugal to obtain for the Queen D. Leonor the most favourable conditions. Meanwhile great changes were taking place in Castille to interrupt the negotiations.

The new elevation of the Constable D. Alvaro de Luna produced, as an immediate result, the fall of the Infantes of Aragon, and D. Leonor, in disgrace with the King and Queen, left the capital, and withdrew to Toledo. Here she fell into deep misery, and owed her existence to the gifts in money and provisions of some Castillian prelates and a few noble ladies. Humbled by seeing her hopes thus dashed to the ground, forsaken by the royal court, reduced to live on the charity of others, and engulphed in the depths of an obscure misery, she saw all perspective of a better future in Castille closed upon her, and forgetfulness around her. She then felt a greater attraction towards the country to which she owed her past brilliant existence, and in order to return she essayed to effect a reconciliation with the Regent, through the mediation of the Count de Arrayolos.

She did not wish to return to Portugal as Queen, and end her life as such, she only aspired to reside there as the youngest sister of the Regent, whose wishes would be law to her, and willing to content herself with what he might allow her. D. Pedro, whose heart was never closed to tender, conciliatory sentiments, was already taking steps to meet the wishes of the Queen, when he was apprised of her death, which took place in Toledo, on the 19th February, 1445.

A report was spread that D. Leonor had been poisoned, and which accounted for her sudden death. The enemies of the Regent accused him of doing this, but such an act was incompatible with the nobility of sentiments traditional to the sons of D. João I. Moreover, he had nothing to fear from her, and she appealed to his compassion. It is, however, held as a fact that she was poisoned by order of D. Alvaro de Luna, fearing lest D. Leonor should incite her brother D. Henrique to return to the city of Toledo, from whence he had been expelled, as it appears she had actually combined to do with the governor-general of the city It appears, likewise, that it was the Constable who had the

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Queen of Castille poisoned, as she died in the same sudden manner a fortnight after the death of D. Leonor.

Thus ended, far from the land of Portugal and in the last stage of misery, that proud woman who, in her adopted country, had attempted to kindle the firebrand of civil war, and who, herself a victim to her own intrigues, went to Castille to expiate the errors of her spirit and the crimes of her evil counsellors.

The Regent D. Pedro at once sent to Toledo for the Infanta D. Joanna and her suite, although from many of the latter he had received aggrievances.

Later on, in 1457, D. Alfonso V. had the body of his mother brought from Toledo to the Church of Batalha, where it has remained ever since.

After the death of the two queen-sisters, D. Alvaro de Luna resolved upon expelling the Infantes of Aragon from Castille, and for this object besought aid from Portugal, as had been arranged. D. Pedro decided to send his son Pedro, who was then fifteen years of age, accompanied by many distinguished fidalgos, 2,000 horsemen, and 4,000 foot-soldiers.

Previous to departing for the war, D. Pedro wished his son to be knighted. For this object he invited the Infante D. Henrique to come from Lagos to Coimbra to invest his nephew. D. Henrique at once responded, and the ceremony took place in that city in the Monastery of St. George, from whence the youthful Constable departed for Ciudad Rodrigo.

The King of Navarre and the Infante D. Henrique were surrounded by the King of Castille, D. Juan, in the town of Olmedo, and on learning that reinforcements were arriving from Portugal, resolved to make war, in which they were defeated, and the Infante D. Henrique wounded in the arm, which caused his death.

In Ciudad Rodrigo, the son of the Regent learnt the result of the battle of Olmedo, but proceeded to advance. When the King of Castille knew his resolve, he desired the Portuguese Constable to proceed with his people to the town of Mayorga, where he would await him. In Mayorga D. Pedro was received with great honours and feasts, and it appears that the King of Castille manifested a desire to keep him in his Court, but the Infante son of the Regent departed for Portugal after receiving large gifts in jewels, horses, and other articles of great price. The Portuguese army entered into Portugal by

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the north, and the Regent and King proceeded to Aveiro to receive them.

The year 1446 was approaching. The youthful King D. Alfonso was soon to complete his fourteenth year, the age when, according to the *foro* of Spain, royal princes could emancipate themselves. The Regent D. Pedro hastened to summon a Cortes in Lisbon to arrange this affair. In effect, in presence of the three states, the Infante D. Pedro voluntarily resigned the government of the kingdom and delivered it up to his nephew, to whom on bended knee he kissed his hand and then de'ivered up the sceptre of justice.

D. Alfonso V. then besought his uncle to assist him in the government of the kingdom until he should be able to direct alone the affairs of the State. The King forwarded this resolve to the Cortes, thanking his uncle for the great care he had bestowed on his training and education, and to the Cortes for its approbation of his marriage with his cousin, the Infanta D. Isabella.

The Count of Barcellos, the natural son of D. João I., went so far as to send to the Cortes, through the intervention of Gonçalo Pereira, some notes against the resolve of the King; but this the Cortes refused to second. Nevertheless, he did not desist from the purpose of insisting with the King and through his own sons to assume the whole government of the kingdom. Thus counselled by his uncle and cousins, D. Alfonso V. demanded the whole royal jurisdiction. Although doubtlessly D. Pedro knew from whence the blow came, he nevertheless replied to his nephew that he was ready to deliver up the government of the kingdom on condition that the marriage should be solemnised with D. Isabel at the same time. D. Alfonso consented to this, and appointed the date for both these celebrations to take place. However, the young King, instigated by the Archbishop of Lisbon, who used to come by night to speak to him, asked the Infante D. Pedro to yield up the government before his marriage. In order to avoid new conflicts, D. Pedro immediately delivered it up. The marriage of the King with his cousin took place in May, 1447, in Santarem; but the feasts held on the occasion were not brilliant, because all things changed in respect to D. Pedro and his family as soon as he gave up the reins of the State. From that moment D. Isabel of Lancaster commenced to be, in effect, Queen, which she held by right since her nuptials, a betrothal made in Obidos, when she issued her first document as such.

Thus terminated the agitated period of the regency of D. Pedro, a

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man of upright principles and a superior spirit, but it was not long before he fell a victim to his good services. He was not far wrong when he spoke those prophetic words to the people of Lisbon when declining to allow a statue to be erected to him.

EPILOGUE.

We have already entered a period in the history of Portugal when the events and loftiness of its heroes and their characteristics could only be fittingly treated and appreciated should the chronicler and historian, by a singular predestination, be gifted not only with all the attributes proper and indispensable to an historian of the first order, and which are difficult to be met with in one individual—but, likewise, he must be endowed with a deeply artistic sentiment, which would render him at once a poet, a painter, a sculptor, and strengthened by that grand virility that distinguished the Portuguese of the fifteenth century, such as the warriors of Aljubarrota and of Ceuta, the fearless navigators of the *dark seas*, and of the unexplored waters of the Atlantic Ocean. And, in truth, to write of the great battles and of the extended navigations of that period, above all others notable, without feeling awed at the magnitude of the task, would be equal to giving to the world a new epos, the conception and execution of one of the greatest poems which men have seen since the Hellenic times of antiquity. In order to reproduce the historic individualities of that memorable cycle, in which nature appears so perfect in her work that even a woman like the Queen D. Philippa rises before us and attains gigantic proportions of grandest luminosity unusual in women, however nobly born or educated; and to portray those epic forms, so to say, of that vast Portuguese gallery of the fifteenth century, only an artist whose pencil could trace on the canvas outlines of a majesty and dimensions comparable to the ray which, like a pencil of light, describes on the horizon great dense clouds would be fit to do so. To evoke before our readers the profiles of the sons of D. João I., and of the men that surrounded them, without marring their lustre by the resurrection, would be not to write on paper, but to sculpture in bronze; it would undoubtedly be, as Zeuxis said of his picture, a glorious working for immortality.

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But this wonderful chronicler, whomsoever he might be, should have to be born by a happy anachronism, struck in the moulds of the men of four ages ago: it would be necessary that he should altogether lose the memory and conscience of the times he lived in to go back to the period when his heroes existed. In fact, however much we might concentrate and abstract ourselves to reconstruct historically the past—to-day when the seas are so rapidly furrowed by steamers that in order to know the whole world there only remains that we should persist in our attempts to cut through the frozen waters of the Poles and traverse some dangerous territories—when terrible legends of the seas have fled in terror once and for all centuries ago in face of the prows of the caravels of discoveries; to-day, when artillery crushes by sea or by land the most powerful fleets and the strongest redoubts of the enemy; when telegraphy, by an instantaneous communication, is able to decide the fate of a battle, the destiny of a nation—we can but very imperfectly imagine, even in face of the remaining monuments, what could have been a battle four hundred years ago. Of that monstrous combat of enormous heavy steel armouries, which perchance became mingled and massed together into a colossal barrier on either sides what could have been our perilous navigations on the open ocean full of mysterious terrors, *with some inaccurate needle and some astrolabe which was incorrect*, as Xavier Botelho writes, but which, ere it was preferred to the graduated compass of Pedro Nunes, afforded us important services. Up to a certain point it does not astonish us that in our day, when the face of the globe has been completely altered, that we should scarcely construct the splendid reality of that epoch, truly extraordinary, when the very individuals of that epoch, breathing that especial atmosphere, dwelling in that social centre of which only memories remain, should feel at times doubts whether they would be able to carry out such arduous enterprises and undertakings of such magnitude. It is known, for example, that the soldiers of D. Nuno Alvares Pereira distrusted at times the happy issue of the orders of the General in a cause in which, on the battlefield, he was its most strenuous paladine; we know that in the siege of Lisbon by the Castillians the besieged were prone to rapid changes from hope to despair; and lastly, that the Infante D. Henrique for over twelve years persevered in his determination to double the Cape Bojador, and that Gil Eannes himself, who at length doubled it, often shuddered and hesitated in presence of the disheartening objections which sailors

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placed before him. But in our opinion the glory of our great Portuguese of the fifteenth century would not have been so great but for these hesitations. To ponder and weigh well dangers belongs to the prudent ones; to fly from them is fit for cowards; to know them, wrestle with them, and conquer them, is of heroes.

If writing history is ever an undertaking of grave responsibility, to write the history of this epoch becomes, for the above-mentioned reasons, a task of redoubled seriousness, more especially to us who acknowledge ourselves awed in presence of the vastness of the historic scene laid before us. But though we may feel our own incompetency, we have the will, and shall endeavour, in so far as we are able, to correspond to the invitation and favour of the public.

Before proceeding further in this history we must understand the scene which Portugal was unfolding during the reign of D. Duarte, a veritable drama wherein his own form becomes, if not completely stamped out, at least dimmed by the glory of the personages surrounding him.

In the year 1433, when the homeric form of D. João I. descended from the loftiest throne which a monarch can erect for himself to enter the eternal gallery of history, Portugal, by extending its limits beyond the seas, had reached a degree of splendour which astonished the entire known world, and our small country was casting over the rest of Europe the rays of an aurora so singularly splendid that it filled it with admiration and envy.

It was Portugal that, among all the nations of the world, was taking the initial steps to rend asunder the dark mist which the ocean, then scarcely explored, enveloped the African continent, sealing therefore with the clouds of terrifying legends the secrets of communications between the Atlantic and the seas of the East. We have said, scarcely explored, because there was still a tradition held of the memory of at least two attempts to circumnavigate Africa—attempts which we shall narrate—but in the course of ages this passage or road had, so to say, been allowed to become newly covered with shadows after being once opened—that is to say, if these voyages actually took place, which some writers contest.

It appears that the first of these two voyages was effected by Phœnician sailors paid by the King Necho, who left the Red Sea, and coasting the whole of Africa, returned after three years to Egypt by the Straits of Hercules (Gibraltar). The second voyage is attributed

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to the Carthaginian Hanno, who quitted Carthage with sixty ships of colonists, and which some historians supposed had sighted the Cape Bojador. But whether the priority of these voyages around Africa belongs to the ancients or no, one thing is certain, that even in the sixteenth century the map of the brothers Pizzigani (1367) places opposite Cape Bojador this inscription, indicative of the height of nautical discoveries of that time, "*Caput finis Africæ et terræ occidentalis.*" And in another map, traced out eight years later, a Catalan map mentioned by the Viscount de Santarem, the coast of Africa likewise terminates in that Cape, which proves that the navigation of Africa by the Greeks had not advanced much since the time of Homer figured in the rocks called in our day Gibraltar and Ceuta as the most extreme columns of the world watched over by Atlantes.

If such was the state of African navigation, the exploration of the territory of Africa attempted by the ancient expeditions of the Romans was not more advanced.

It was reserved to a Portuguese prince—although until then no one had borne that title in Portugal, not even the heir to the throne*—the glory of impelling the Portuguese caravels along the western coasts of Africa, and thus preparing the discovery of the road by sea to India. The Infante D. Henrique, fifth son of D. João I., was greatly versed, for his time, in the knowledge of the mathematical sciences, and became the heroic impeller of the great nautical events of the sixteenth century, which afforded such lustre to Portugal. Some historians suppose that the navigations promoted and protected by the Infante date from the year 1412, because at that date commenced the preparations for the expedition to Ceuta, which was the principal basis of all our maritime progress, not only because the passage of the western coast was thereby more free of Moors, as on account of the information collected by the Infante during that expedition.

Other historians contest that date. Azurara places the first expedition ordered by the Infante to the year 1421; and if we credit the relation of Diogo Gomes, the first voyage effected was in 1415, when João de Trasto was entrusted with its execution.

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* Ruy de Pina says in his Chronicle, as follows: "It was this Infante, (D. Alfonso, son of the King D. Duarte), the first of the heirs of the kings of these kingdoms that was called *Prince*, because up to him all others were called first-born Infantes, heirs, &c."

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Many writers follow the opinion that it was after the conquest of Ceuta, in 1415, that the Infante, through the information and knowledge gained of the Moors in that expedition, was induced to carry out his projects. This idea is followed by more recent writers, among them Sr. Alexandre Magno de Castilho, when he says, referring to the taking of Ceuta: "Then did he (D. Henrique) give himself up to acquiring a more *certain and individual* knowledge of the Desert of Sahara, and many phases of those coasts, lands, and people, *by which he was much fired, and resolved* upon executing the daring undertaking inspired by his great genius.' Hence, in view of what has been stated, we are inclined to believe that the nautical traditions of antiquity found in Herodotus, Strabo, and others, by nourishing a natural tendency, moved the Infante D. Henrique to take the initiative in our navigations. The author of the "Indice" supposes that about that year, 1412, some pilots, the memory of which has been lost, passed the Cape of Não, and reached as far as Cape Bojador. Azurara mentions various motives which moved the Infante D. Henrique, such as the desire to know lands beyond the Canary Isles, of developing commerce, of knowing how far the power of the Moors had reached, of finding allies among the infidels, of spreading the Christian faith, and the fatality of the destiny of the Infante—a reason in our day ridiculous. But all these reasons may be summed up in the light of a more rigorous criticism by the following: To find the road to India through the West, to find Prester John, to find the Nile of the negroes; or, to simplify it still further: To discover the maritime road to India, to find new lands and discover new people. In effect, to double the Bojador was equal to journeying towards India, and finding Prester John, that mysterious prince who professed the Christian religion, or a similar one: at the same time, to find a powerful ally against the infidels, and open a new path to the commerce of the East, which in those days was done through the Persian and Arabian Gulphs, because, as Azurara observes, to find some populations of Christians, or some ports in which, free of danger, they could navigate, was equivalent to bringing towards the kingdom much merchandize that would find a good market. The tradition of Prester John, both prince and patriarch, began to be circulated towards the middle of the twelfth century, his empire being assigned as situated behind Armenia and Persia; but in course of time the Portuguese changed opinions, and took Negus the Christian of Abyssinia as the

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veritable Prester John, although this opinion is controverted by Guilherme Lejean, who considers him a prince of Central Asia.

Most certainly the taking of Ceuta in 1415 exercised a great influence over the spirit of the Infante D. Henrique, and as a consequence, in the maritime destinies of Portugal. By personally gathering together much information from the Moors respecting lands, coasts, and people, by taking individual surveys of the Desert of Sahara, the Infante brought from that glorious expedition a more vivid enthusiasm for adventure by sea and for the discovery of lands which the Black Sea enclosed within its mysterious mists.

The poetic legend of the Black Sea (Mar Tenebrosa) was to the effect that a certain King of Portugal ordered ships to be prepared and fitted and provisioned for a long voyage, which was to last fourteen years. In effect the ships departed, and at the end of two years they arrived to a darksome region, and to the shores of an unknown and deserted island, where, in subterranean habitations, the seamen found enormous riches. This wealth, however, they dared not touch, owing to some superstitious fear which assailed them. On returning to their ships and embarking to continue their voyage, the sea became so agitated that the dread of the Portuguese navigators was greatly increased. What were they to do? Continue their voyage, or retreat back from whence they came? After some discussion, they decided in council that two of these ships should attack the place, and the third ship to await them up to a fixed time. The term of time expired and no news of the ships, and then the commander of the third ship decided to return to Portugal. When the ship arrived to Portugal and the crew disembarked, they had become so altered and had aged so in the space of twenty-four months that neither the King nor their relatives recognised them.

All manner of terrifying legends rose up and clustered over the whole expanse of that ocean. The dark sea, whose waves were black as pitch, rose up far beyond the horizon where the sun sank. This was the ancient legend, the pagan legend transmitted from generation to generation, which had prevented for a long time the most daring investigations of the Atlantic Ocean from being carried out. Whoever entered it was everlastingly lost; whoever attempted to approach it, should he have the good fortune to return, came back decrepit, and having departed in manhood, would find to his sorrow that the voyage he had thought was only of a few days, had really lasted long years.

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By the side of these legends rose Christian legends, the Celtic legends of the mysterious islands, the isles of punishment, veritable depths of hell, where Judas wept eternally over his infamous treachery, where the condemned, mounted on fiery steeds, broke out into cries of despair whilst pursuing an incessant galloping, while others uninterruptedly wept over their sins of earth.

By this may be seen what efforts must have been needed to overcome all these horrible superstitions which ruled the epoch when the Infante D. Henrique initiated the Portuguese discoveries. But, as we have said, the Infante returned from Ceuta fully bent upon carrying out his resolves, and, as it appears, from the moment of his arrival to Portugal, he strove to promote navigations with the intention of doubling Cape Bojador. The repugnance evinced by the sailors to obey the Infante was, *at first*, very great. "How shall we pass," they said, "the barriers placed by our fathers, or what advantage can accrue to the Infante from the loss of our souls as well as our bodies, which would be really committing homicide?" We have said *at first*, because, subsequently encouraged by the good result of some navigations, it was the sailors themselves who, putting aside the idea of gain, strove ardently to bring the greatest information to the Infante. Azurara tells us that in one of the voyages in which many caravels sailed in convoy, and whose captains were proceeding to trade in the various ports already discovered by the Portuguese, there was one commanded by Alvaro Fernandes, nephew of João Gonçalves Zarco, one of our most celebrated navigators and the discoverer of Sierra Leone. This individual had bidden his nephew not to take heed of making profit, but to continue going on forward in order to bring some news which would interest the Prince. From this may be perceived that all navigators were aware that in order to please the Infante D. Henrique they should, above all things, endeavour to effect new discoveries, and that he would be far better pleased to hear accounts of some new lands than to receive a fifth of the greatest prizes.

In the year 1418 two knights of the house of the Infante João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira, offered themselves, should it be agreeable, to proceed and explore the western coast of Africa beyond the Cape of Não. This cape, whether, as is the opinion of the Viscount de Santarem, had been already reached in the time of the King D. Alfonso IV. or not, it is certain that it represents the point of departure of the greatest maritime glories of Portugal, because it repre-

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sented, as we know, at that epoch a terrible barrier. A tempest drove from the coast both our navigators, and impelled their ships to an island to which they gave the name of Porto Santo, because they had found in it shelter after so uncertain a navigation. On returning to Portugal, the Infante was so elated at the good news received that, no doubt to gratify him, many fidalgos offered to accompany to this recently discovered island the two discoverers on a fresh voyage. Among those who offered themselves we find the name of Bartholomew Perestrello. On reaching together to Porto Santo, Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz went to discover Madeira, because they either noticed a dark spot in the horizon which made them suspect the existence of some land near at hand, or because the fresh crops of Porto Santo had been destroyed by a number of rabbits. It appears that, according to the account of Azurara, a simple circumstance had the effect of rendering their first efforts at colonisation a failure. A friend of Bartholomew Perestrello gave him a rabbit when proceeding on the voyage of exploration, and on discovering Porto Santo he released her and left her in the newly discovered land with her little ones which she had given birth to during the voyage, and, as the story goes, he thought no more about the fate of this animal. While on the land Perestrello and those who went with him, finding that the country was beautiful and likely to be of consequence, endeavoured to construct huts and houses to live in, and also prepared some land and sowed crops, intending to return. But the rabbits multiplied to such an extent that they devoured all the crops. In vain did the new colonists pursue a vigorous hunt: the rabbits baffled all their efforts to exterminate them, and the colonists lost all hopes of deriving any result from their new colony.

There rises now a contested point as to the original discoverers of the island of Madeira. Barros, and with him all subsequent historians, tells us that these discoverers were attracted by a black point or rising which appeared in the horizon and remained immovable and always in the same spot, and was very visible on clear days. Persons who have visited the isles affirm that even at the present time, notwithstanding that the island of Madeira is bereft of tall trees, from Porto Santo can be discovered a kind of fog hanging over Madeira. This spot on the horizon arrested their attention. If they did not suspect on that side the existence of any known land, what must have been the dreams of the navigators when, in the stillness of evening, they could see above the extension of the ocean rising up in the horizon this dark change-

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less line? "We should be little acquainted," writes Ferdinand Denis, "with the geographical ideas of the Middle Ages did we not imagine the diverse preoccupations which agitated Gonçalves Zarco and his faithful companions. Antilia and its cities of gold, S. Brandão and its vast tomb in the midst of the ocean, those vague legends which were mingled even with the grand conceptions of Columbus, and to which we shall revert, must have often interposed with their chimeras the vestiges of a far-away land, and the real world which they feared to forsake, those who had already undertaken such large efforts."

"Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira nevertheless quitted resolutely their small island. Embarking in their fragile bark, and accompanied by some ships, they proceeded towards those dark fogs which they descried from Porto Santo. They had barely voyaged towards two-thirds of the space when Madeira appeared before them, with its porticos of basalt and its grand virgin forests, its hills gently rising to the clouds."

But Azurara does not say a word of all this. He tells us, after recounting the circumstance of the rabbits, that on this account the people quitted this island, and proceeded to the other of Madeira, which was forty leagues in circuit, and about twelve from Porto Santo. Thus implying that Madeira, like the Canary Islands, had been discovered during the reign of D. Alfonso IV., by the fact that, as the Portuguese did not find the agricultural conditions of the island of Porto Santo sufficiently prosperous, they confidently proceeded to Madeira as though they were aware of its existence. But if this was actually the case, then the island of Porto Santo must have been already known to the Infante and marked in their maps, and only the attempt at colonisation, and the name given to the island, as the fact of Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz having arrived. The question of the first discovery of the island of Madeira is certainly obscure, and we shall therefore limit ourselves to giving a legend of its discovery, and follow Gonçalves Zarco in his voyage of exploration to the island of Madeira.

On the 1st July, 1419, departed João Gonçalves and Zarco from Porto Santo towards the island of Madeira, and in navigating found a point of land which they called Saint Lawrence, which was the name of the ship which conducted them. Sailing further to the south, they came to a beach or shore, where they anchored, and a knight, by name Ruy Paes, proceeded to land, he being the first who had stepped on the island of Madeira. Continuing to sail around the coast, keeping as

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closely as possible to land, and coming to a bay, they called it Porto de Seixo; and arriving at another, they called it Santa Cruz, where Gonçalves Zarco ordered a cross to be erected with some of the branches broken down by the winds. A small promontory was named, which lay towards the west, Ponta do Garajão, and Ribeiro de Gonçalo Ayres, a river at whose mouth a fidalgo of that name disembarked.

Further on they came to a deep bay, despoiled of trees, but sparsely covered with the herb called fennel (*funcho*), and to this place they gave the name of Funchal. "The navigators," writes F. Denis, "spent the night in their ships, but protected by two small islets which stand at the entrance to the bay. Probably since then, and in their future projects, they designed these charming shores which stretched before their gaze as the spot for the city which, in a short space of time, was to rise in that happy island. What must necessarily have confirmed them in their project of immediate colonisation was what the simplest observation would show them--that no country of the world was more proper than this for an agricultural establishment. No reptile soiled its shores, no wild beast disturbed its tranquillity, and such were the assurances of safety from the peaceful dwellers of those shores that even the very birds allowed the men to approach them, and became the prey of the sailors, whom they had not yet learned to fear."

On the following day they continued their explorations. After giving the name of Porta da Cruz to one of the points of the bay, they sailed on and found a shore whose splendid panorama perfectly captivated them, and to which they gave the name of Praia Formosa. They saw before them, rolling down in a frothy torrent, the limpid waters of a river which flowed into the sea, and which two youths from Lagos attempted to cross by swimming, but they were nearly lost in the attempt, and it became necessary to succour them, and from this circumstance the river took the name of Ribeira dos Accorridos. Further on they came to a large cave or den full of sea-wolves, which afforded some fine sport to the navigators. Many of these animals were killed, and this place was named Camara do Lobos (Chamber of Wolves), from whence João Gonçalves Zarco took the surname of Camara, which was perpetuated in his descendants.

After doubling this last point, which received the name of Ponta do Girão, because here terminated the voyage of the ships around the island, as the navigators sighted the point of Saint Lawrence, from whence they had commenced the circumnavigation. Hence the circle

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was completed, and the whole coast of the island of Madeira known and explored. It was one of those deep joys, those sublime pleasures, which in our days is denied to our generations, that of beholding suddenly, rising from the bosom of the waves, an unknown land, of cruising the length of its coasts, where reigns the majestic silence of a virgin nature, of giving a name to each beautiful shore, to each picturesque rock and cliff, which drew a burst of admiration from those who gazed on it for the first time. But at the present day what can our navigators hope for? Perchance to sight for the first time some fragment of Arctic or Antarctic land, some block of ice where reigns terror and the awe-inspiring silence of regions unvisited by the sun. But in those days, when little by little the corners of the veil were being lifted up which concealed one half of the world from the other half, how many navigators had the ineffable delight of entering for the first time the naves of those magnificent temples wherein is revealed the omnipotence of God, where the leafy tops of the trees form the vaulted domes, studded by the rays of the sun like so many stars, where the aged trunks of trees form majestic columns, where the songs of birds substitute the organ and the choir, the balsamic odour of flowers the incense, the grandeur of immensity the altar, and solitude the priesthood.

When this new island had been reconnoitred, the navigators returned to Portugal, bringing marvellous news of all they had seen. The King D. João I. and the Infante D. Henrique greatly rejoiced at the prospect of new discoveries, and the advantages which would accrue to the country, and the glory it would cast over his reign. Many were the murmurs which the people expressed on hearing the attempts of the Infante D. Henrique, as they wondered that he should risk lives and money in those expeditions, which only tempted God, endeavouring to fathom the mysteries in which He had enveloped the ocean; but all were silenced when the results of these attempts began to appear, when our discoverers began to wrench from that ocean its pearls, which it concealed amid the seething waves.

Then followed the rewards to the navigators. "The King," says Antonio Cordeiro, "took for the fidalgo of his house the discoverer João Gonçalves, and confirmed the surname of Camara—hence he was ever after called João Gonçalves da Camara—gave him a coat-of-arms and escutcheon, and appointed him Captain and Patron of the Jurisdiction of Funchal, for him and his successors; and thus this fortunate

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captain became the chief and first stem of the illustrious families of the Camaras, which became so extended, as we shall see further on.

The newly discovered islands were divided into three captaincies: one, which embraced solely the island of Porto Santo, was given to Bartholomew Perestrello, and the two which comprised the island of Madeira was the just portion of the two discoverers. Funchal, as we have seen, belonged to João Gonçalves Zarco, and Machico to Tristão Vaz Teixeira.

This name of Machico leads us naturally to speak of the romantic tradition which attributes to two English lovers the finding of Madeira. This tradition, narrated for the first time by Antonio Galvão, served to English writers to arrogate to their nation the priority of the discovery, without, however, offering any weighty reasons for its confirmation. Let us see, however, whether it was really the English who were cast on that beautiful isle, which at the present day they call the Flower of the Ocean. If such was the case, this lovely island, which is like an idyll dreamed by the ocean, received its baptism of poetry from the tears of these two lovers.

Edward III. was reigning in England, when a youth of good family, but not a nobleman, fell desperately in love with a beautiful lady of high rank, and whose family was shocked at the boldness of the plebeian. But as love knows no distinction of rank, Robert Machim continued to love Anna Arfet, or Anna Dorset, and the fair-haired damsel, attending rather to the charms of her lover than to the antiquity of his pedigree, corresponded to the love he lavished upon her. This, however, did not soften her relatives, but rather irritated them. Being all-powerful at Court, they were able to obtain from Edward III. an order of imprisonment, which cast the daring lover in prison. Alone and forsaken in the midst of an inimical family, and not having aught else but her tears to resist the tyrannical orders of her parents, Anna Arfet yielded to the instances of those that surrounded her, and consented to a marriage which they imposed upon her with a nobleman of high birth, and wealth equal or superior to hers. It was her father who led her to the marriage altar, like in the Greek tragedy it was Agamemnon who conducted Iphigenia to the altar of sacrifice.

But when giving her hand to the man they had assigned to her, Anna Arfet did not, nor could bestow on him her heart, whereon was indelibly engraved the image of her loved Machim. Her parents judged that once the sacrifice had been consummated, they could safely

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open the doors of the dungeon which held the man who had dared to aspire to the noble hand which was now indissolubly held by the nuptial bonds.

Once out of prison, Robert Machim made inquiries about his beloved one, and found a means of communicating with her which convinced him that her love was unchanged towards him, and she was ready to face any perils to be united to the beloved of her heart. A friend of Machim offered to aid the fugitives. He disguised himself and succeeded to enter the service of the husband of Anna, and with her planned all the arrangements for the flight. Meanwhile Robert was freighting a ship to pass on to France, which was more greatly separated from England by odiums and rivalries than by the tempestuous barrier which the ocean places between Dover and Calais.

Anna of Arfet resided in Bristol, and it was from thence they departed. One night, accompanied by the supposed servant, Anna fled from the house. Robert awaited her on board, and unfurling sails, the British ship departed towards the hospitable shores of France. It appears, however, that Providence wished to punish the rebellion of the two lovers, because scarcely had they quitted the port of Bristol than a tempest broke over them. A fierce north-east wind which blew at the time carried the ship towards the vast Atlantic. The two lovers judged their last hour had come, and thanked God that at least they would have the supreme joy of dying together. But who could depict the feelings of Robert during those long days when the ship, tossed and driven by the storm, was impelled on towards the dark unploughed sea, as though the ship had been darkly attracted by the maelstrom? It must have been a terrible trial to him to see that woman whom he had taken from her luxurious home to afford her in exchange a horrible death in the vast solitudes of the unknown seas. Yet the ship sped on, driven by the storm, and the ocean waves rose up higher and higher, and roared its eternal wailings, and as far as the sight could fathom, nought was seen but wave upon wave fringed with white froth. "Land!" at length sang out a sailor, on perceiving a black line which the experienced eyes of the seaman at once clearly announced as the desired port. Can it be in these heights that there should be land? Perchance is it the famous Antilia, the isle of S. Brandão? Some fantastic continent wherein float spectres and populated by uncouth monsters? But the streak of land meanwhile grew clearer and clearer, until at length the lovers descried the island rising up with its placid shores and green

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trees. They made for this tract of land and disembarked. The examination of the island perfectly fascinated them. For three days did the lovers revel in this island, which our readers may already have surmised was the island of Madeira, when misfortune again assailed them. The crew of the ship had gone, some to explore the interior of the island, while others proceeded along the coast to reconnoitre the bays and creeks and shores. On the third night another tempest broke over them, and the waves rose with mighty power, driving the hapless ship before it until it dashed her against the coast of Africa, where the inhabitants of Morocco took the sailors captive.

And in this island remained Robert Machim with Anna of Arfet and the few sailors who were scouring the interior, with no ship to take them back to known lands, and barely a barge (escaler) in which they certainly would not attempt to brave the ocean waves. This isle, which appeared to them a paradise, now that they could not quit it, seemed to them a hideous prison-house. Deprivation of liberty, like the absence of sun, darkens and saddens the most charming landscape.

Anna of Arfet was unable to battle against all these varied emotions; her delicate organisation which had borne up bravely under the excitement of love and circumstances, now that she had to face a fearful reality, lost its powers of endurance, and after suffering for a time she succumbed and died. Robert Machim suffered a double sorrow, because he suffered for her and for himself. On beholding his loved one expire in his arms, reason well-nigh left him, and five days after her death the sailors who had wandered inland, on their return found him dead on the grave of Anna of Arfet. It appears that on arriving to the island the lovers had erected an altar in thanksgiving for their salvation, and it was at its foot that the sailors buried the lovers. After performing this pious duty the sailors embarked in the frail barque which still remained to them, preferring a probable death to the complete hopelessness of again seeing their native land, and they set sail towards the east, trusting to God and fate.

Meanwhile the survivors of the unfortunate ship from Bristol were carried on to the coast of Morocco, and being taken captives, were cast into dungeons along with other Christian victims of Mussalman piracy. One of these prisoners was a Spanish pilot, called Juan Morales, who became very friendly with the English captives, from whom he learnt the whole story of the new island they had found, and the latitude it stood.

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Years of captivity followed, and the English one by one died, victims of ill-treatment and home sickness, and of the trials they had endured. But Juan Morales, being of a more stoic character, survived them all. In the year 1416 the Prince D. Sancho, youngest son of the King D. Ferdinand of Aragon, died, leaving a large sum of money to be expended exclusively in the redemption of captives in Moorish lands. A long time elapsed before his wishes were carried out, but at length the redemption of captives was commenced, and one of the first ransomed was Juan Morales, and he returned to his native place.

The ship which conveyed Juan Morales was captured by the ship bearing João Gonçalves Zarco, probably on its return from Porto Santo, because Porto Santo had been already discovered. The motive for capturing this ship is not explained, because Portugal and Castille were at peace, and this act could not have been otherwise than an act of piracy. However, in the Middle Ages there did not exist modern scruples, and the continued demands made by the Portuguese Government to the Castillian and *vice versâ*, on account of similar facts, prove to us that these partial violations of treaties were frequent on the seas.

A captive now of the Portuguese instead of a captive of the Moors, Juan de Morales endeavoured to win the good graces of Gonçalves Zarco by revealing what he had heard from his fellow-captives and companions of Robert Machim, and offering to conduct him to that island, as the information he had acquired had been most minute.

Gonçalves Zarco brought the pilot to Portugal and presented him to D. Henrique, and receiving from him the necessary authorisation, he returned with the Spanish pilot to Porto Santo. It was then that the latter explained to Gonçalves Zarco that the black line in the horizon indicated the island of Madeira, and to which he at once conducted him. At the first shore they came to they disembarked, and found the graves of Anna of Arfet and Robert Machim, and the priests who had come in the expedition recited the responses for the dead over the graves of the English lovers. On this spot a church was erected, and in memory of the Englishman, Robert Machim, one of the two provinces into which the island was divided was called by the name of Machico, and this name still exists at the present day in one of the towns.

Such was the romantic legend of the first discovery of the island of Madeira. The discovery of Madeira greatly influenced various branches of public administration, notwithstanding a singular disaster

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which for some years prevented their realisation. We refer to a conflagration which, it is said, lasted seven years, and devoured a great portion of the great trees of the island, and which was thoughtlessly ordered by Gonçalves Zarco, in order to clear a space wherein to found the town of Funchal, now the city and capital. Hence the actual colonisation of the island of Madeira could only have commenced in 1425. The Infante, after dividing the island and assigning the portions to João Gonçalves Zarco and Tristão Vaz Teixeira, and up to a certain point enriching the soil with the fecundating ashes of the conflagration, sent to Cyprus for slips of the celebrated species of vine which produces the wine called Malvasia, and to Sicily for roots of the sugar-cane, in order to commence important plantations in the island of Madeira, by which he encouraged agriculture, promoted commerce and industry with Portugal. Ferdinand Denis likewise tells us that D. Henrique sent for vines to Burgandy. The culture of the sugar-cane and the manufacture of sugar became, in the course of time, extended to the island of S. Thomé, and later on even to Brazils. The arts, especially architecture, also gained considerably from the discovery of the island, because from the conflagration there was sufficient wood saved to allow Portugal to alter the system hitherto pursued in the construction of high-class residences, elevating houses by increase of floors, substituting them to the Roman and Arab styles

The discovery of the Desert Isles, due also to Gonçalves Zarco, if it had no very great material importance, on account of the smallness and the geological and geographical circumstances of the islands, nevertheless bore its fruit in morally increasing the desire for exploring the western sea, wherein new lands seemed to spring up as though by enchantment. In proportion as D. Henrique received auspicious information from the discoverers respecting the Atlantic, so did his desires increase to promote and activate fresh navigations, more particularly as it had not yet been possible to double Cape Bojador, despite the efforts made to realise this idea.

In the year 1431, the Infante D. Henrique resolved to send Gonçalo Velho Cabral to navigate the West, in order to find some islands which were supposed to exist in that direction. Some authors believe that the discovery of the Azores, like Madeira, took place in the fourteenth century, by Portuguese ships commanded by Genoese pilots, as these islands appear in the Lourenciana Chart of 1351; and no doubt this expedition was sent out by D. Henrique. In effect, Gonçalo Velho

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found the shallows of Formigas, between the isles of Santa Maria and Saint Michael, but gave no faith to these islands. He returned to Portugal with the news of the recent discovery, which would not be of any importance to a less exacting and enthusiastic spirit than that of the Infante, but he, not well satisfied, bade him in the following year navigate in the same direction. Gonçalo Velho departed, and this time discovered the island of Santa Maria, on the 15th August, being the Feast of the Assumption of Our Lady, for which reason this island, the first discovered in the Archipelago of the Azores, was named Santa Maria.

In passing, we shall just note the religious faith which shines in the greater number of the names given to lands discovered by Portuguese navigators, from Porto Santo up to Santa Cruz (Brazil). Even in our days, when over four hundred years have rolled by, are found deep vestiges of that ancient religious faith among the Portuguese sailors who navigate the most dangerous rivers. Where this fact is more manifestly developed is on the torrential River Douro. Among the most dangerous and difficult points of this river is that of Velleira, formed by sharp rocks which force the river to rush through a narrow gorge. On the roughest shore of this terrible passage, on the high mountain called Salvador do Mundo (Saviour of the World), rises a temple which calls from the sailors and boatmen of that river a devotion which appears to increase year by year. Let us see what they do when they sight the church placed over these frightful crags. "The sailors," says the Viscount de Villa-Maior, "uncover reverently and recite a short prayer. The severe aspect of nature, the sincere devotion of this rude people, the temple of the Saviour of the World erected above the heights, the silence which instinctively all preserve on approaching the Cachão da Velleira, all impose an irresistible respect to that spot."

We shall here give a short sketch of the two explorers to whom, as we said above, were assigned the island of Madeira, divided into two districts—Funchal and Machico.

João Gonçalves Zarco was, it appears, of a good family, and a brave soldier. He was knighted by the Infante D. Henrique at the siege of Tangiers, from whence he escaped, being at the time already the owner of Funchal. But his maritime undertakings were not limited to the discovery of Madeira, because we find him figuring in the expeditions sent out by the Infante beyond the Cape Bojador.

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João Gonçalves was well versed in the art of navigation, because before he departed on the voyage which had driven him to Porto Santo, he already commanded the caravels which guarded the coasts of the Algarve. He married a lady called Constancia Rodrigues de Almeida, by whom he had three sons and four daughters, who all came to reside in Madeira.*

Tristão Vaz Teixeira was a valiant soldier, but not of such noble birth as Zarco, as Azurara informs us, but he equally distinguished himself by performing feats of arms, particularly during the continual skirmishes with the Moors at the gates of Ceuta.

On account of his singular chivalry, nobility of acts and deeds, says the author of the *Historia Insulana*, he was always called Tristão, without any other surname, and the King gave him for his arms the bird Fenix, which is singularly rare among birds, and in his testament he even then only calls himself Tristão. However, his descendants in the escutcheon joined to the Fenix a Cross and Fleur-de-Lis, the arms of the Teixeiras, and these arms are still to be seen sculptured in the arch of the chapel of St. John, in the principal church of Machico. He married a noble lady, who was evidently some relative, as she was called Branca Teixeira, a daughter of the illustrious house of Villa Real. From this marriage were born four sons and eight daughters.

These explorers, on taking possession of their magnificent possessions, at once, like good Catholics, erected churches in order to turn these lands feudatory to Christianity. In Machico was erected the oldest temple of the island, under the "invocation of Christ," says Antonio Cordeiro. In Funchal, Gonçalves Zarco erected a church under the invocation of Our Lady, and which was called Senhora de Calhaa, owing to the stony character of the spot.

After this they commenced the exploration of the island, which they found cut up by deep rivers. The coast was more fully examined. Some sailors proceeded inland, while the two leaders went by sea. During this exploration they gave the name of Ribeira Brava to the powerful river which they found difficult to traverse: Ponta do Sol to

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* Ferdinand Denis tells us that Gonçalves Zarco was the first who made use of artillery and powder in naval engagements. A well-known poet, Manuel Thomaz, preserved the memory of this curious fact in his *Insulana*, a book rare to find at the present day.

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a point where the rocks from the distance gleamed like the sun. This spot was chosen by Gonçalves Zarco to found a second town. Another place where they disembarked was called Calheta. Further down was later on founded the town of Calheta, which became the illustrious title of Count Simão Gonçalves da Camara. To a small promontory they named Ponta do Pargo, where they caught a fish of that name. Ponta do Tristão was another promontory which the owner of Machico discovered after he had separated from his colleague.

Meanwhile Bartholomew Perestrello returned to Porto Santo, the governorship of which belonged to him; but finding that the plague of rabbits had again overrun the place, returned disheartened to Portugal. Again he was persuaded to take heart and return to colonise the place, founding at last an establishment which continued to prosper, but did not attain the prosperity of Madeira.

Other islands near Madeira were discovered which are called Deserted; but finding that they were rocky and did not possess any springs of sweet water, he did not attempt to populate them, but only placed some cattle and birds, which quickly multiplied. Lastly, thirty miles to the south of Madeira, towards the Canary Islands, are two other large islands, which are called Selvagens (wild), at a distance of three leagues from each other.

Respecting the discovery of the islands of the Azores, or Western Isles, it appears they were visited by Portuguese ships, commanded by the Genoese Admiral, Manuel Pezagno, or Pesanha. The existence of a group of islands, though bearing different names from those given by the Portuguese, being demarcated in maps anterior to the year 1431, appears to prove that the Azores were known, but only in a vague manner. If we credit Jose de Torres, these islands, with the exception of the last two, were already discovered in the year 1439. It is unknown who discovered the island of Terceira. The name appears to indicate that it was the third discovered. Hence, after the discovery of Santa Maria and Saint Michael, it is known that it was found between the years 1444 and 1450, because Saint Michael being already discovered in 1444, there appears a donation made by the Infante D. Henrique in the year 1450 to a Flemish knight by name Jacome de Bruges, to whom he assigns the captaincy of the desert isle, for him to order its population. On this account the Dutch wished to take to themselves the glory of the discovery, but in this document

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of donation not the least allusion is made that this nobleman was the discoverer.

If what Antonio Cordeiro refers be true, a dramatic history is bound to the discovery of the island of Terceira. It appears Jacome of Bruges could not find people to settle in and populate the island. He went on to Madeira, where a friendship sprung up with a fidalgo called Diogo de Tieve, who offered to assist him in the colonisation of the isle. They returned to Terceira, and for a time lived in good fellowship, until ambition instigated Diogo de Tieve to become the only possessor of the island. He forged a letter purporting to come from Bruges, a Flemish city, from whence he took his surname. This letter announced to the owner of Terceira that a rich inheritance awaited him. Jacome embarked for Flanders and was never more heard of. The assassin, if in truth the crime took place, chose for the theatre of his perfidious act the magnificent solitudes of the ocean.

The same uncertainty occurs in the discovery of the island of Saint George. Antonio Cordeiro ascribes its discovery to Vasco Eanes Cortereal, the first owner or donor of the captaincy of Angra, because he was likewise the first possessor of Saint George. This statement is later on contradicted, as he declares that the first to populate the island was a Dutchman called Guilherme van der Haagen, who took the Portuguese surname of Silveira, which he said was equivalent to Haagen in Dutch.

It appears, however, that the many streams which flow in torrents from the high *serra* which stands in the centre down to the sea carried away the seed crops, and Haagen passed on to Fayal, where he established himself, and the captaincy of Saint George was later on given to the donor of Angra.

Antonio Cordeiro gives us the date of its discovery, and says, "It was found on the 23rd of April, the feast of the knight and brave martyr Saint George, and for this reason they gave his name to the island, but it is not known in what year."

The discoverer of the island of Graciosa is likewise unknown. The first populator is known to have been Vasco Gil Sodré, a native of Monte-môr-o-Velho, who, on hearing from the navigators of the beauty of the islands, which on that account had been named Graciosa, passed on to it and began to colonise it.

It is also unknown who discovered the island of Fayal, though it is known that its first owner was a Dutchman, whom the Portuguese

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called Joz d'Utra (Jobst van Heurter). When Fayal was discovered, its sister isle of Pico was found, as it stands about the distance of a league, and is plainly visible on account of the high peak which gives it the name.

Respecting the discovery of Pico there is a graceful legend quoted by Antonio Cordeiro. This historian tells us that the first discoverers of Terceira and Saint George placed in the island of Fayal some cattle, and that a holy hermit, wishful of leading a more solitary life, went to live in Fayal. The dwellers of Terceira and Saint George used to go in the summer-time to Fayal to look after the properties they had taken and their cattle, and to visit the hermit. Finding on one occasion that he was preparing a craft after his own fashion, they asked him what was the object of this ship, and he told them that from the quarter where stood the neighbouring island of Pico there had appeared to him the form of a woman robed in white, and as it seemed to him that it was the Virgin, he was constructing this little ship, encased in skins, and had resolved upon proceeding to it the next time she should call him. His listeners endeavoured to dissuade him, but the hermit paid no heed to them, and finished his little craft, embarked, and sped out to sea, and was never more seen or heard of.

In truth, it seems to us very probable that these first seven islands of the Azores were discovered at an epoch much earlier than it is imagined. The fact that this group was vaguely known confirms our opinion. After finding one island of the archipelago it is not likely that D. Henrique should have allowed eighteen years to elapse without finding them all. The discovery of the islands of Flores and Corvo was certainly much later, because they were separated from the rest, and the ancient maps give no indication of the nine islands which is the total constituting this archipelago.

The island of Flores is supposed by Antonio Cordeiro to have been discovered about the year 1464. He declared that it was so named because the island was found covered with magnificent flowers. The first inhabitants are unknown, but it is an ancient tradition that two Castillians, Antan Vaz and Lopo Vaz, were the first colonists. The same occurred in the discovery of Corvo, and the name was given either because they found a crow or raven, or because the island has that shape. It was in this island that it is said was found the famous statue which revealed America to its discoverers. Mounted on a steed of stone, the figure stood with arm extended towards the west, and

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appeared to indicate to those who leaped on land that a mysterious world was concealed beyond the waves, where the sun sets. The imagination of the people in those times was richer than in our contemporaries. On beholding rising up new lands from the fecund bosom of the ocean, fancy exalted itself and dreamed of marvels, like the ancients dreamt of the Elysian fields when they discovered the Fortunate Islands.

We must now speak of another archipelago of the ocean over which the Portuguese acquired rights more or less well founded. We refer to the group of Canary Islands. Although these had not been consecutively explored, they were known, although vaguely, before the expeditions projected by D. Henrique. But it is an incontrovertible fact that the discovery, or rather re-discovery, of the Canaries (since they were known to the ancients) was due to the Portuguese. For a long time this glory was attributed to the Castillians, yet it is clearly demonstrated that it belongs to the Portuguese, in proof of which stands a letter written by D. Alfonso IV. to Pope Clement VI.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century a Norman noble called John de Bettencourt, accompanied by other adventurers, formed the project of conquering the Canary Islands, which were frequented by pirates and occasionally by some Spanish merchants. These islands were inhabited by a savage population, whose customs were described in a manuscript by Boccacio. This French adventurer landed in the island of Lancerote, and endeavoured to take possession of the others. Unable to do so, he sought the aid of the King of Castille, pledging him homage on account of the islands he had taken possession of, and the King confirmed him in the feudatory sovereignty to the Castillian Crown. With the aid obtained from this vassalage, Bettencourt returned to the Canaries, and subjugated the island of Fuerteventura. He returned once again to France and brought new adventurers, with whose aid he took the island of Ferro. Wishing to end his days in France, he distributed the lands among his companions, and left his nephew, Maciot de Bettencourt, as his representative or viceroy. This Maciot of Bettencourt, after residing some time in the Canaries, unable to cope against the enmity of the natives, went over to Madeira, and in return for some privileges granted by the Infante D. Henrique, ceded to him his rights over the islands. In the year 1424 the Infante sent an expedition to this archipelago, commanded by D. Fernando de Castro, and composed, it is said, of 2,500 men and 120 horsemen. D. Fernando

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conquered a part of the islands, and would have conquered all but for the deficiency of provisions and the hostile attitude of the indigenous tribes. D. Henrique desired to send other expeditions, and in order to secure the proprietorship of the islands, he asked his brother D. Pedro to aid him, he being at the time Regent of the kingdom, by appointing him proprietor, which he did, and, moreover, expressedly forbade all persons of the kingdom to do business with the Canaries unless with the permission of the Infante, and assigned to him one-fifth of all that came from the islands. But the King of Castille intervened against the pretensions of the Infante, declaring himself the legitimate lord of the islands in virtue of the vassalage rendered by Bettencourt. Portugal insisted, founding its rights on the submission made by Maciot de Bettencourt. At length, after a prolonged discussion, Castille won the day. The King of Portugal was loth to start a war when Providence was laying at his feet new provinces, and ceased to claim the possession of this archipelago, which definitely belonged to the Castillian Crown.

After the taking of Ceuta, the Infante adopted the custom of sending every year some caravels beyond the Cape Não. Some Portuguese historians, such as Galvão Faria and Sousa, and Damiano de Goes, maintain that to the caravels of D. Henrique belongs the glory of having first doubled the Cape Não. The Cape Bojador was the limit of the navigation of that time. Besides the superstitious terrors which the legends of the Dark Seas infused into Portuguese navigators, and the erroneous suppositions concerning the sea which bathed those coasts, they were terrified at the idea of having to alter their course and proceed towards the west. The sailors insisted that beyond this Cape there did not exist either people or any habitations, the land being no less sandy than the deserts of Lybia, where there exists neither water nor tree nor green herb, and where the sea is so shallow that for a whole league the water is no deeper than an arm's length. Such is the relation by Azurara. Twelve years the Portuguese spent in these vain attempts. In order to excuse themselves to the Prince for not daring to double the Cape, the navigators would take their revenge by attacking the Moors of Granada and the Arabs of Africa, and would not return to Portugal unless bringing some prey taken from the infidels. It was from one of these attempts that resulted the finding of Madeira.

One of the knights of the Infante who more ardently desired to

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double Cape Bojador was Gil Eanes, of whom we know nothing but that he was born in Lagos. In 1433 he departed, intending to seek the dreaded promontory, but disheartened by these terrors, returned to Portugal without proceeding beyond the Canary Islands, but bringing a few captives to compensate for his fears. D. Henrique on the following year sent him again in the newly furnished ship. Gil Eanes pledged this time either to double the Cape Bojador or die. In a short space of time he returned, surprised that he should have found it so easy to accomplish the feat which all had dreaded. The Infante received him with every demonstration of joy and welcome, and knighted him, bestowing upon him a rich recompense.

The spell had been broken and the barrier raised which for so long a time had stood before the imagination of the men of the West, and which afforded access to those unknown regions, alleging that by the dauntless gaze of a man of courage the pillars of Hercules and the symbolical statues erected by the fears of Arab geographers had been broken down ; the veil being rent by the prow of the barque of Gil Eanes, the phantoms had fled towards more remote regions, pursued constantly by the daring Portuguese to the furthest horizon, until at length they had dissolved in mists lost in the abyss of legendary lore. But it is not the simple fact of doubling Cape Bojador which confers glory on Gil Eanes, it is having intrepidly confronted the fears which terrified his contemporaries, and of having opened a path to Portuguese expeditions.

On reaching to Cape Bojador, Gil Eanes despatched a boat to land, but could find no trace of inhabitants. Wishing to bring, nevertheless, some sign of the newly discovered land, he gathered some herbs, known in Portugal by the name of Roses of St. Mary, or, as Denis supposes, the flower called Rose of Jericho. Like the heroes in the romances of chivalry, he penetrated unknown perils in new regions in order to cull this marvellous flower. Like to the branch of gold gathered by Eanes, which opened to the hero of Virgil the entrance to the Elysian fields, so did the Rose of St. Mary prove the talisman which opened to the Portuguese the paradise of India.

The Infante, unwilling to allow the ardour of his knights for discovery to cool, projected another expedition. In this the navigators went fifty leagues beyond Cape Bojador, and reached a creek which they called Angra dos Ruivos. They found no houses on the land, but traces of inhabitants and camels. They returned to Portugal, bringing this news, which was received with joy by the Infante.

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In 1436 the Infante D. Henrique, fired by the news of vestiges of men and camels being found in this spot, sent the navigators in the same direction, bidding them make every effort to acquire the language, capturing some of the dwellers and bringing them to Portugal. Gonçalves Baldaya proceeded in the same craft as formerly, and reached a place supposed to be the Rio do Oiro (River of Gold). This was no more than a bay, and here he anchored. He landed with two horses, and bidding two youths called Hector Homen and Diogo Lopes de Almeida to mount them, bade them explore the land. These youths started and found a group of nineteen men, armed with assegais, who fled as soon as they beheld the horsemen. They took refuge in a crevice, where they fought the young men and wounded one of them in the foot. On the following day Alfonso Gonçalves Baldaya, with some of the crew, went on land to find and capture some of the natives, but they had fled into the interior so precipitately that they had left their things behind, which were taken by the Portuguese. But as their principal aim was to capture a prisoner, Baldaya proceeded more than fifty leagues to the south, until he reached Ponta da Galé, but was unable to find any native, and only found some nets made from the fibre of trees.

He returned very dissatisfied to Portugal, but his expedition was not altogether fruitless, because he had discovered 170 leagues of coast beyond Cape Bojador.

From this until the year 1441 there was an interruption in the discoveries. The unfortunate expedition of Tangiers, the death of D. Duarte, the discords which followed during the minority of D. Alfonso V., withdrew the attention of D. Henrique from the undertaking he had so much at heart.

In 1441, when affairs were a little more tranquil, D. Henrique ordered a small ship to be armed and manned, and appointed Antão Gonçalves to proceed to Rio do Oiro and bring oil and skins of the sea-wolves which abounded there. When he arrived to the place, Gonçalves summoned all the crew and officers, and declared to them that he thought they might gain glory and be highly commended were they to bring some captives from that land. This resolution was applauded, and in effect they proceeded along the coast until they found a man bearing in his hand two assegais, who followed a camel. They fell upon the man and captured him, despite a desperate resistance. They also captured a Moorish blackwoman in sight of a group of men whose slave she was.

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These men attempted to rescue her, but retreated in view of the martial aspect of the Portuguese. They then returned to their ship, taking with them these two prisoners. But here an extraordinary event awaited them. In this port where Antonio Gonçalves anchored, another ship likewise ported. This ship was Portuguese, and commanded by a knight of the Infante, called Nuno Tristão. It was a strange event that two Portuguese ships should meet in these remote regions, and to the explorers of that epoch the apparition of a sail in the distance was an event well-nigh impossible. Hence the joy of Antão Gonçalves may well be imagined.

After the first greetings, Nuno Tristão informed Gonçalves that the Infante had sent him to prosecute the discoveries beyond the Ponta da Galé, and on hearing of the prize taken by Gonçalves they were fired with emulation, and resolved together to proceed and take further captives by night, which they did, and among them caught the chief, called Andahú. The language spoken by them was unknown even to the Arab interpreter whom Nuno had brought with him. The chief alone understood Arabic, and from him they learnt that these people were Azenegues, inhabitants of the coast of Sahara, between the coast of Morocco and that of Senegambia. The proofs of courage and skill afforded by Antonio Gonçalves were so signal that the officers and crews of both ships unanimously besought Nuno Tristão to knight him. Hence from that circumstance the port or bay where the two caravels had anchored was called Porto do Cavalleiro (Knight's Port). Wishing to enter into negotiations with the Azenegues, he sent the Arab interpreter to land; but the Azenegues behaved treacherously, although they retained the chief as their prisoner. Then both ships weighed anchor, Nuno Tristão in order to continue his voyage of discoveries, and Antão Gonçalves to return to Portugal with the captives. On returning, when passing opposite the Ponta da Galé, he descried a promontory formed of white cliffs, and named it Cabo Branco (White Cape).

The return to Portugal of Antonio Gonçalves with the captives caused great joy to the Infante; but notwithstanding that the chief Andahú was treated with the greatest kindness, he pined to return to his native land, and besought Gonçalves to take him back, promising a good ransom.

It was on this occasion that the Infante D. Henrique sent an embassy to Pope Eugenio IV. to apprise him of the new discoveries,

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beseeching him to grant indulgences to all who should die in those undertakings. This boon was immediately granted. At the same time the regent D. Pedro, his brother, conceded to him a fifth of what might accrue to the King, meanwhile ordering that no one should be able to equip ships to proceed to those parts without permission from the Infante.

Urged by the pleadings of Andahú, Gonçalves proposed to the Infante to return to the Rio do Oiro and obtain a more ample knowledge of those lands. The Infante acceded to his request, and bade Gonçalves endeavour to find some information about India, and also respecting the famous Prester John,* the monarch who followed the law of Christ and lived among pagans.

Again did Antonio Gonçalves depart to the Rio do Oiro, taking with him a German knight called Balthazar, a nobleman of the household of the Emperor Frederick III. He had come to combat the Moors in Ceuta, but on beholding the activity of the Infante D. Henrique in promoting navigations, he desired to take part in them. War and strife was common to all Europe, but the especial pleasure of discovery was only in Portugal that it could be found.

On quitting Lagos a terrible storm overtook them, and the ship of Gonçalves had to return to port. Again they set sail towards Africa, and reached the Rio do Oiro, where he sent on land the chief Andahú, in order that he should arrange about his ransom; but he never more appeared, taking, moreover, with him all the rich robes the Infante D. Henrique had given him. In compensation, however, many Azenegues came to arrange the ransom of the two youths who had remained as hostages, for which they gave ten black slaves, a large quantity of gold dust, a dagger, and many ostrich eggs, some of which were still fresh and good when brought to the Infante. Gonçalves returned to Portugal with the negroes.

In the year 1443 Nuno Tristão departed in a caravel to discover the coast beyond Cape Branco, and reached an island which he named Gete,

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* This tradition of Prester John is most ancient, but his kingdom occupied various positions in maps, going from India to Africa, until it became fixed in Abyssinia, where in effect Christianity exists since remote times. In a document of the twelfth century, found by Mr. Thomassy in the Library of Nancy, it is recorded that the Patriarch of the Indies had come to Rome. The reigning Pontiff was Calistus II., and the arrival of this personage from India produced throughout Italy a great surprise.

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and which is known at the present day as Arguim.* At Arguim, Nuno Tristão captured fifteen of the natives, who were passing in rafts from this place to another island, which Tristão called the Island of Garças, from the great number of herons which abounded there, and he then returned to Portugal. The discovery of the coast of Sahara was now completed, and that of the coast of Senegambia had commenced.

These undertakings and expeditions, projected and carried out by the Infante D. Henrique, had not been effected without great resistance and opposition, and when he began to populate the deserted islands of the Atlantic and to send out ships with orders to pass beyond the Cape Bojador, there arose great murmurs against him, the people complaining that he wasted wealth and risked valuable lives in attempts of small value and profit. But when the cultivation of these islands began to yield its fruits, and when from the lands beyond Bojador came slaves to the kingdom in numbers, the popular feeling altered its tone, and accusations became turned into praises and discontent into avarice.

It was Diniz Dias, shieldbearer in the service of the late D. João I., who had the boldness to repair to the coast of Senegambia, or land of negroes, in order to pursue the discoveries initiated by Nuno Tristão. In the year 1445, when the expeditions were multiplying, he left Portugal with the firm resolve of not returning until he should visit the land of the negroes. He passed Cape Branco, the mouth of Senegal, and arrived to a cape he named Cape Verde, on account of the luxuriance of vegetation which it presented. He captured some negroes and returned to Portugal, where he was received with signal honour by the Infante, not on account of the importance of the capture, but what he valued more highly—the extension of discovery.

The coast of Senegambia was now discovered, the mouth of the celebrated Senegal passed, the country of the negroes entered, and the position of Guinea rectified, although the limits which were afterwards attributed had not yet been reached.

Seven months after the departure of João Fernandes on his African exploration, three Portuguese ships went forth to meet him. These were commanded by Garcia Homen, Diogo Alfonso, and Antão Gonçalves, the last being the chief commander of the expedition. A violent

* At this place the Infante, in 1448, ordered a fort to be constructed. This fort was taken by the Dutch in 1638, then by the English in 1675, by the French in 1678, then again by the Dutch in 1685, once more by the French in 1721, and by the Dutch for the third time in 1722.

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storm separated them, and Diogo Alfonso, the first of the three to reach Cabo Branco, placed a wooden cross which subsisted down to the time when Azurara wrote his book. After planting the cross, the other two ships arrived, and Antão Gonçalves proposed to leave their caravels there and the captains to proceed in their barges to the island of Arguim. This was done, and during the three days they were absent they took over twenty blacks. On their return to the ships they found that the caravels, in obedience to orders, had sailed towards the island of Arguim, but as they did not know the exact position, they proceeded more to the south, and on anchoring they perceived a man running along the coast. This man was no other than João Fernandes, who, wild with delight, had sighted his countrymen, but was greatly distressed that he could not reach the caravels. On that occasion, however, the barges appeared, and João Fernandes was received with extraordinary joy. This spot was called the Cape of Rescue (Cabo do Resgate). From thence Antão Gonçalves proceeded with the three ships as far as the island of Tider, where they had a fierce combat with the natives. Returning to Portugal, Gonçalves touched at Cape Branco, where he took sixty natives, and finally ported in Lisbon.

The narrative of João Fernandes is very interesting. He tells that the first thing the natives did was to strip him of his European clothes in exchange for a raiment similar to what they used, called *Alquice*. These were nomade shepherds, the land was nearly all a sand desert, with few trees, few flowers, and sparse grass. The trees which were most numerous were the *Palma Christi*, palm-trees and various thorns.

These inhabitants, which professed the Mussalman religion, were called Alarves, Azenegues, or Berbers. Their language differed both in writing and speech from that of other Moors.

END OF SEVENTH BOOK.

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THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL.

BOOK THE EIGHTH.

1447—1481.

REIGN OF D. ALFONSO V.

Acts of aggression against the Infante D. Pedro—The ex-Regent retires from Court—Intervention of the Infante D. Henrique—Fresh persecutions against D. Pedro—Arrival of the Duke of Braganza—Resistance of the ex-Regent—Journey of D. Pedro from Coimbra to Alfarrobeira—Incidents on the road—The two armies approach and war is declared—Death of the Infante D. Pedro—The last Portuguese Knight—After the battle—Marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor—Character of D. Alfonso V.—Dawn of the Renaissance—Letter of the Marquis of Santilhana—Literary education of the King—Resentments of the Infante D. Ferdinand—The taking of Constantinople by the Turks—Political state of Europe—Marriage of the Infanta D. Joanna—Death of the Queen D. Isabella—Project of a crusade against the Turks—Correlative facts—The taking of Alcacer Seguer—Heroism of D. Isabella de Castro—Guadalupe—Arzilla—Tangiers—Continuation of the Portuguese discoveries—Death of the Infante D. Henrique—Marriage of Alfonso V. with D. Joanna—The battle of Toro—Departure of Alfonso V. to France—Character of Louis XI.—Alfonso V. wishes to proceed to Jerusalem—He returns to Portugal—His death.

The state of the kingdom of Portugal at the time when D. Alfonso V. definitely grasped the sceptre has been already sufficiently described, as well as the germs of discords which had been sown between the Infante D. Pedro and his nephew, fostered by the resentment of the Count of Barcellos.

The illegitimate son of D. João I., as soon as D. Pedro delivered up to Alfonso the government of the kingdom, departed to the town of Chaves in war guise, and traversing the cities of Oporto and Guimarães, the town of Ponte de Lima, and other places of that district, deprived

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the servants of the Infante D. Pedro of their respective appointments, and ordered the fortresses to be guarded and watched as though in effect war had been formally declared between the young King and the former Regent.

The Count of Barcellos, whom the Regent in 1442 had created Duke of Braganza, and the Count de Ourem, secretly charged one Barredo, who was of the Royal household, to foment a calumnious intrigue between the King and his uncle. Through the intervention of Barredo, it was arranged that the King should have an interview in Torres Novas with the Count of Ourem, and in this interview they induced the King to dismiss D. Pedro from the Court, as otherwise, they urged, he could never be entirely freed from the yoke of the Infante, whom, they affirmed, desired to reign and exalt his own sons.

D. Pedro was aware of what passed, and simulating great tranquillity of spirit, which he certainly could not possess in this hour of persecution and vengeance, he hastened to meet his nephew in Santarem, where he besought leave to absent himself from the Court, as he desired to attend to his own house, which he had abandoned in the interest of public affairs.

As D. Alfonso had not at that moment his wretched councillors at his side, he received his uncle with all that expansion proper to his youthful age, and gave him leave of absence, and passed a receipt in full for all the time he had served as Regent.

D. Pedro then retired to Coimbra, but suspecting some ambuscade from the Duke of Braganza, he had a numerous escort to accompany him as far as Thomar. As soon as the Duke and the Archbishop learnt that the Infante had departed, they raised up supposed resentments in the spirit of the King against the Infante D. Pedro—intrigues which had been furthered by the former servants of the Queen D. Leonor, whom the regency of D. Pedro had prejudiced in their ambitions.

We must here mention the intervention of the Infante D. Henrique in this affair, as narrated by Ruy de Pina: "The King quitted Santarem for Lisbon, where the Infante D. Henrique, who was in the Algarve, hastened to reach in order to speak to him, because he felt that the life and honour of the Infante, his brother, had been assailed by his enemies, and were in peril. His accusers brought against him falsely, that in his ambition for reigning, he was guilty of poisoning and fratricide, that D. Leonor had been poisoned by his orders, as also

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D. Duarte, and the same fate awaited the King unless some term was put to his insolence."

Although D. Henrique defended him, yet he did not do so with that firmness and brotherly ardour which he ought to have shown, and all historians are one in censuring his conduct. But even this cold, half-hearted defence was of no avail, and those who surrounded him found a way to prejudice the spirit of the King against D. Henrique.

But in the midst of the general apathy of the friends of D. Pedro, one only remained active, faithful, and heroic, ready to immolate himself to save the life and honour of the noble Infante, and incapable of collusion with the enemies of this just man, of double dealing under any consideration, of a moment's repose while there was a question of defending a friend and a loyal man. This individual—one of the noblest found in our annals—was Alvaro Vaz de Almada, Count of Abranches in Normandy, and Knight of the Order of Jarreteira. He had been knighted by the Infante D. Pedro in the Mosque of Ceuta, and the duties of fraternal love and dedication which this ceremony imposed, he fulfilled in all its fulness.

The Count of Abranches was at that moment in Ceuta, but as soon as he learnt the intrigues which were rising against the Infante D. Pedro, his beloved friend, he resolved to proceed to Lisbon in the hope of repressing the calumny, which during his absence had assumed great proportions. On being apprised of the arrival of the Count, the enemies of D. Pedro endeavoured to induce the King to forbid his entrance into the capital. But Alfonso V., although at an age when credulity is blind, had been educated in the chivalrous traditions of his grandfather, and enthusiastically admired Alvaro Vaz de Almada beyond all others. But the enemies of the Infante did not lose hope, and sent word to the Count de Abranches that should he insist upon entering the capital, he would be taken prisoner as conniving in many acts of the Infante. Alvaro Vaz fearlessly presented himself at the Court at the very moment when the King, surrounded by many fidalgos, was discussing affairs relative to his uncle. The enemies of the Infante were perfectly amazed at this daring act of the Count de Abranches, who, in presence of the King and Court, laid before them with stern calmness the services performed by the Infante D. Pedro, his virtues and deeds, alluding to the threats by which they had attempted to intimidate him, and concluded by challenging

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solemnly the enemies of the Infante, and provoking three of them to come forward and fight himself alone.

The conspirators felt themselves vividly embarrassed, and, in order to withdraw the King from the influence of the Count of Abranches, they took hurriedly D. Alfonso V. to Cintra, where beneath its leafy shades and favoured by distance, they could counteract the threats and reprimands of Alvaro Vaz de Almada. In effect, in Cintra they succeeded better to dominate the young impressionable spirit of D. Alfonso V., and induced him to publish a warning to all fidalgos and knights of the kingdom not to visit the Infante D. Pedro, and another *warning* to all the favourites of the Queen D. Leonor who should consider themselves wronged in their interests by the Government of the Infante, to send in their claim for indemnification, which was actually done without any process of verification. Lastly, the enemies of the Infante were able to obtain from D. Alfonso V. an order prohibiting the Infante D. Pedro to return to the capital without previous authorisation, or to quit his lands.

When the King left for Cintra, the Count of Abranches and the Infante D. Henrique had departed for Coimbra to visit D. Pedro. This interview of the three could not be otherwise than shadowed by such manifest indications of rupture with the King. In effect, it was not long before aggressions, as we have said, broke out on the part of the King. The Infantes, however, sent an intermediary to their nephew, D. Alfonso V., beseeching him to revoke such baseless orders. The King evaded the reply, by promising to send it by another person. The two brothers then separated: the Infante D. Pedro proceeded to the Castle of Montemor-o-Velho, and the Infante D. Henrique to the town of Soure.

When D. Pedro was in Montemor-o-Velho, he received a messenger from the King bearing a species of treaty of alliance between the King, the Duke of Braganza, and the Infante. This treaty must necessarily be grievous to D. Pedro, because in it there was an allusion to the faults he was not guilty of, and this treaty must needs be signed by him. It was one more intrigue and weapon of his enemies, as, if he refused to sign it, they would accuse him of disobedience to the King. The Infante saw the snare and signed the treaty. They were disarmed, but his enemies directed their aim to another direction, and urged the King to send Diogo da Silveira to the Infante to reprehend him for supposed crimes, especially of preparing for war in his castles of

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Montemor and Coimbra. The Infante ordered the castles to be shown them, in order that they should be convinced that no extraordinary preparations had been effected; but, despite all this, the King still persisted in persecuting the friends of the Infante. He deprived Alvaro Vaz of being Alcaide of the Castle of Lisbon, and the son of the Infante D. Pedro the office of Constable of the Kingdom, which office the Count of Ourem desired for himself, but which he conferred on his brother, the Infante D. Ferdinand.

Yet still more fierce grew the conspiracy of the palace against D. Pedro around the youthful King, and D. Alfonso V. sent to his uncle, demanding the surrender of all the arms he possessed in the arsenal of Coimbra, and which the Constable D. Pedro had brought from Castille when he proceeded to aid the King D. João in fighting the Aragonese princes.

The Infante D. Pedro perfectly comprehended the aim of this demand. Should he accede, he would remain with no defence; if he refused, he would fall into the trap of disobedience and rebellion, and then the indignation of the King would seem just and reasonable. The Infante excused himself as skilfully as he could, but the King insisted. Then the Infante replied that the King had no need of the aid of arms, either for the interior of the kingdom or out of it; and whereas, in view that his arms of innocence were insufficient for defending himself against his enemies, he besought him to leave him those of steel; but should the King not be satisfied with this, to give him time to order other arms from abroad, or allow him to redeem them by money.

The Count of Arrayollos, who had been appointed the Governor of Ceuta after the death of the Count of Villa Real, came to the Court. It appears the Count of Arrayollos intended to effect a reconciliation between the uncle and the nephew by endeavouring to bring to the capital the Infante D. Pedro, in order that he should personally defend himself. The Count of Arrayollos wished to show himself grateful to the Infante, who had appointed him, and he was fully informed of the whole intrigue by letters received from his uncle, D. Pedro. But the Duke of Braganza, his father, and his brother, the Count of Ourem, were on the eve of gaining the cause, and it did not suit them to allow any one to oppose them. Hence they invented a story that the Moors had surrounded, or were about to besiege Ceuta, and therefore the Count of Barcellos was forced to return immediately to Africa. The

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conspiracy was therefore gaining ground, and it was now of no avail the counter action of some friends of the Infante D. Pedro, and his own letters to the King, in which he expressed his loyalty and respect, and reminded him of his love when bringing him up, and bade him never forget that he had wedded his daughter, most certainly with the object of perpetuating his *life and royal generation*.

D. Alfonso V., when by himself, seemed disposed to listen to his uncle, but very quickly would the palace intrigue again involve him in its web.

Towards the beginning of October, 1447, the King proceeded to Cintra, and the Count of Ourem, thinking to find another snare for the Infante D. Pedro, insinuated to the King that it would be convenient to summon to the Court the Duke of Braganza, and bade him come in war guise, as he should have to cross the lands of the Infante D. Pedro, because, should the Infante prevent his passage, the King would come upon him.

D. Pedro, on knowing what was passing, took counsel from those around him, and, following the opinion of the Count de Abranches, resolved upon combating the Duke by force of arms, in view that so opportunely the hour of vengeance and of settling affairs had come. The Infante D. Pedro furthermore sent word to his brother D. Henrique who was in Thomar, of what he proposed to do, as he, though he had another road, intended to pass through the town of Louzã without first asking permission to do so.

The Infante D. Henrique replied that he, the Infante D. Pedro, should do nothing without interviewing each other.

Wishing, however, to right himself, the ex-Regent sent a message to the Duke to the effect that he marvelled greatly at his proceedings with him, and the Duke cunningly replied that he was going to the Court by orders of the King through public roads, and that he would not allow his men to cause any damage to the lands of the Infante D. Pedro. The latter replied that to proceed to the Court it was not necessary that the Duke should traverse his lands with 1,600 horsemen and many foot-soldiers, and that should he insist on so doing he would be forced to stop his passage.

The Count of Ourem, who was aware that the Duke was accompanied by a great number of men who were not partial to him, and who were only recruited for the occasion, besought the Infante D. Ferdinand, brother to the King, and who was married to a granddaughter of the

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Duke, to write letters to the fidalgos who were to accompany him to be very careful in this expedition. This Infante was young and fiery, and he not only wrote the desired letters, but offered to go personally to aid the Duke; this offer being made by letter sent by the bearer, Alvaro de Faria. The spies which the Infante had placed on the roads apprehended the bearer of the letters, which were read by the Infante.

On returning to the Court, Alvaro de Faria reported what had taken place in the blackest colours, which led the King at once to suspend the pensions he paid him, meanwhile writing to the Infante bidding him not to attempt to molest the Duke on the road.

The messenger of this royal order on returning to the Court spitefully told the King that the Infante D. Pedro had declared open rebellion. It was an artful way of stirring up the conflagration, which the King at once published in the kingdom in order to turn public opinion against the Infante. But the truth was that D. Pedro told every one, including D. João Manuel, the Bishop of Ceuta, that he would freely allow the Duke to pass if he came as a peaceful friend, but not otherwise.

Meanwhile the Infante D. Pedro waited in vain for his brother D. Henrique, who, instead of proceeding to Penella where the ex-Regent was, went to the King in Santarem—a fact which has been censured, and to which no easy explanation has been afforded, unless it was that the King had sent for him on purpose to prevent his aiding the Infante D. Pedro.

But time was speeding, and yet the journey of the Duke was not effected. The King sent word to D. Pedro to return to Coimbra, from whence he was not to depart without his orders, and to allow the Duke freely to pass. To this D. Pedro replied that he would be pleased to allow him to pass if he came as a friend, but that if he, the King, reprehended him, with far greater reason should he reprehend the Duke, as between them there was difference of position; but that at least in presence of royal justice he should place them in identity of circumstances and rights.

Assisted by the protection of the King, the Duke resolved upon performing his journey with his soldiers, and the Infante resolved upon departing from Penella to Louzã, from whence he proceeded in war guise to Villarinho. At that place he learnt that the Duke was in Coja, protected by the Bishop of Coimbra.

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In Villarinho the Infante ranged his men in form of battle, entrusting the vanguard to his son Jayme and the Count of Abranches, and reserved the command of the rearguard to himself. On advancing up to the town of Serpiz, he learnt that the Duke was near at hand. The Count of Abranches, impelled by his natural ardour, desired to see the enemy's camp, and on his return advised the Infante to begin the battle that same day, because the troops of the Duke were disheartened and undisciplined. The Infante, however, was of opinion to await the Duke and to rest that day, and also that the Duke might not allege that he had been attacked without notice.

The illegitimate son of D. João I. knew, however, that his camp had been explored by the scouts of the Infante, and that his own people marched but coldly to the combat, as many of them were really in favour of the Infante; and, not wishing to retreat because he had been told that D. Pedro had ordered all the bridges and ships of the Mondego to be rendered useless—which really was not the case—he resolved to cross secretly the Serra da Estrella, which lay to the left. This he effected with great difficulty, owing to the bad roads and the snow, and it was during this journey that he took a violent cold, which left dire effects for the rest of his life.

When those he left behind knew of this proceeding they were truly disheartened; moreover, feared the Infante would come upon them. They therefore endeavoured to fly in the direction of Covilha, forsaking their baggage, which the shepherds of the Serra took possession of, many of them perishing on the road.

The Infante was only made aware of the resolve of the Duke when he had proceeded four or five leagues. D. Pedro was joyed at this incident, which prevented an effusion of blood. Others, especially the Count of Abranches, were disappointed, and advised the Infante to proceed to the ambush of the Duke; but the Infante refused to follow the counsel, and, before retiring to Coimbra, he dismissed with grateful words those who had mustered around him to defend and aid him.

These events occurred during Lent of 1449. The enemies of the Infante D. Pedro designedly feasted the Duke of Braganza on his arrival to the Court, which was then in Santarem, not only to cover up the cowardice which had induced him to alter his road, as also to place the ex-Regent in an apparently false position. Some even endeavoured to fire the spirit of the young King by saying that he ought to show

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himself offended at the proceedings of the Infante D. Pedro, and not with the Duke. This opinion was, however, overthrown in council by the Infante D. Henrique, who declared that he would never consent that it should be said that any son of D. João I. had or could injure his king and liege-lord. The enemies of the Infante D. Pedro recoiled for a moment at this intervention of D. Henrique, but nevertheless the intrigue was rekindled. Up to a certain point, the chronicler, Ruy de Pina, lays, in a great measure, the responsibility of previous events to the *nonchalance* of the Infante D. Henrique in this affair.

Day by day the gravity of circumstances became greater. The King ordered that throughout the kingdom preparations of war should be made to combat the Infante, giving letters of pardon to all refugees who would wish to accompany him, and bidding those who sided for D. Pedro to quit him. The ex-Regent was accused of disobedience and disloyalty to the King.

The Constable D. Pedro was in the town of Fronteira when he was informed that the King, suspecting that he might receive aid from the Master of Alcantara, was about to surround him and besiege him. He immediately passed on to Marvão, in order to resist. He was advised, however, not to aggravate the position of his father by a resistance which could have no good effect, in view of the disproportion of forces and the want of means. Whether this advice was perfidious or not is not known, but the Constable D. Pedro departed for Valencia de Alcantara, where the Master received him discourteously, leaving in Marvão an alcaide, who delivered up the castle to the one whom the King sent to demand it.

Meanwhile at the Court the intrigue had assumed grave proportions, and hostilities were about to break out. The Queen wished to warn her father by letter that her husband intended to depart on 5th of May (1449), to besiege him, and that in the event of the Infante D. Pedro being conquered, one of the three following fates awaited him: "A shameful death, perpetual imprisonment, or exile for life out of the kingdom."

The Infante disguised his emotion in presence of the bearer, and calmly inquired after the health of the King and Queen, but as soon as the messenger departed, he opened his heart to his friends and besought them to give him their individual advice as to what he should do.

The opinions of his counsellors were divided into three groups:—

First, that of D. Alvaro Alfonso: That D. Pedro ought not to go

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and seek his death, but await it. To fortify himself in Coimbra, whose siege would be a long one, giving thus time for reflection to the King, and that by the mouth of Buarcos he could easily be delivered in case of need.

Second, that of the brothers Azevedos, and the brothers Coelhos: That the Infante pass on to the Province of Douro, where he would find aid from various fidalgos, and where the King could not easily follow him.

Third, that of the Count of Abranches: That he ought rather to die an honoured, glorious death than live a miserable existence and dishonoured; that he should ask the King permission to justify himself of the accusations of his enemies, and take from them their apologies, and should this demand not be accepted, then to defend himself and die on the battlefield like a good soldier and a brave knight.

This latter counsel was the one adopted by the Infante with apparent calmness of spirit.

Meanwhile the womanly heart of the Queen was being torn asunder between the husband and the father; moreover, she was soon to become a mother, and her feelings vibrating under opposite sentiments and bitterest anguish, endeavoured to arrest the great catastrophe which she felt imminent. The Queen fell on her knees before the King and besought mercy for her father. The King gently raised her to his arms and promised to be merciful if the Infante besought his pardon. The Queen asked leave to apprise the Infante of this, and the King consented.

The first thought of the ex-Regent was to refuse to ask pardon for supposed crimes, but remembering that between him and the King stood his daughter in the most critical position of life, he decided to agree to the proposal. But when the reply reached the Court, Alfonso V. had already been newly heated by the intrigue which was around him. He had repented of his weakness in regard to his wife, and sought a pretext for refusing the proffered favour. This pretext he found in a phrase of the letter from the Infante, which was as follows: "This I do, lady, rather to please you, and because you have so bidden me, than because I deem it in reason for me to do." The King then replied, that as the repentance of the Infante was only forced or feigned, he would not accept it. Hostilities were therefore recommenced. Meantime, some friends of the Infante D. Pedro pleaded that he should not depart in war guise, but rather await the

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result, whether good or bad. This was especially urged by two religious, Friar Antão, the Prior of the Monastery of Aveiro, and Friar Deniz, who later on became the King's Confessor, and these succeeded in winning the consent of the Infante to allow them to arrange the concord; D. Pedro even promising as a guarantee of his word that his sons should remain as hostages with the King.

Friar Antão then immediately departed to the Court, but intrigue had preceded him, and he was prevented from seeing the King and deliver his letters to him.

As no satisfactory reply came from the Court, because, in truth, Friar Antão had none to give, the Infante prepared to depart before the 5th of May, the date when the King had fixed to besiege him in Coimbra. The King no doubt had this intention, but the unavoidable difficulties of raising men and arms in such a short space of time would render it little probable that he should be able to lay siege at that date. However, they apprised the King that the Infante had resolved upon attacking him in Santarem, which news greatly pleased the Duke, since it appeared that fate was bringing to his hands his enemy. The King being forewarned, placed frontier captains in the castles around Coimbra.

On the 5th of May the Infante quitted Coimbra with his army, although experiencing grave financial difficulties, which his partisans supplied with loans. His son, D. Jayme, was entrusted with the command of the vanguard. The Infante, whose forces comprised 100 horsemen and 5,000 foot-soldiers, with much baggage, oxen, and beasts, before departing from the city, attended divine service in the cathedral, the churches of Santa Cruz and Santa Clara. After these religious acts he bade adieu to his wife and proceeded calmly to spend the night in Egoa. In the Infante's camp two flags waved—one bore the motto, "*Lealdade*," and the other, "*Justiça e Vingança.*" Around these flags slumbered peacefully brave fidalgos, such as the Count of Abranches, who had linked their destiny to the fate of arms of the Infante D. Pedro; yet this sacred and sworn pledge was unable to deprive them of peace of mind and body. But in the soul of the Infante D. Pedro a great wrestling was taking place at that hour, anguishing thoughts that in that journey would certainly result mourning for the wife and the daughter.

On the following day the Infante D. Pedro divided his men into companies, and then informed them that his aim was to proceed as a

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loyal servant of the King to ask and obtain justice. He recommended them to abstain from robbery and evil, and to pay fairly for all provisions they should take, and bade them take no notice of what they should hear, however disagreeable it might be. They then started on their march, and when near the Monastery of Batalha, the Ranger, who had been formerly surgeon to D. João I., attempted to resist the Infante, but the monks would not allow this, and opening the doors, sent word to ask him how he would wish to be received, to which the Infante replied that they should await him chanting the psalm, "*Qui habitat in adjutorio Altissimi in protectione Dei Cœli commorabitur.*"

D. Pedro then assisted at mass in the church of the monastery, and lingered some time before the sepulchre which he was to fill some day in the chapel of the founder. He then continued the march to Alcobaça, where he was most genially received by the friars. On reaching the Rio Maior, about five leagues from Santarem, the Infante summoned a council to discuss whether it was expedient that he should proceed personally to the Court or send emissaries to the King to demand justice. The general opinion was that he ought to retreat to Coimbra, since it was a sufficient victory to have come so near his enemies without their having intercepted his way, and should he proceed further and pitch his camp in the olive plantations of Santarem he might very easily be envolved by the troops of the King, while should he desire to march upon Lisbon he might very probably not find the former goodwill and welcome.

The Infante replied that he had no wish to approach so closely to the King as to appear he had come to combat him, but nevertheless he did not wish to retreat; therefore, on reaching the bridge of Loures, he would turn by Torres Vedras and Obidos to Coimbra; and he furthermore told his men that meanwhile the Queen and D. Henrique might perchance enlighten the spirit of the King. This was a manner of fostering hopes in the hearts of others, but which in his own, as was evident, no hope really existed.

From Campo Maior the Infante proceeded to Alcoentre at the time when in Lisbon it was known that D. Pedro was coming to take refuge in that city. Behind the army of D. Pedro ever followed the scouts of the royal troops to spy the direction of the march and at times addressing to them insulting epithets. The Infante advised and enjoined his men to bear up their taunts with the greatest patience.

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On the 16th May, D. Pedro reached Alcoentre. He then was told that the King had surrounded Ayres Gomes da Silva, who was entrusted with the guarding of the wood and herbage for the needs of the army. As soon as the Count of Abranches learnt this, he immediately departed with other knights, and speedily broke through the siege which the King's men had placed around Ayres Gomes. The enemies of the Infante fled so precipitately that many fell into a lake—it is said to the number of thirty. The others were taken to D. Pedro, among the latter being a servant of the Infante D. Henrique, called Pero de Castro, whom the Infante sharply reprehended, and, taking a truncheon, knocked him on the head; other knights who stood by also gave him blows until he dropped dead.

Some of the knights of the King, such as the Captain Gonçalo Rodrigues de Sousa, were able to escape, owing to the swiftness of their horses, but were pursued for a great distance by the Count of Abranches and other knights.

The news of these facts inflamed the wrath of the King, who inferred that the Infante would fall upon Lisbon, and therefore ordered the city to be strongly garrisoned, and from Santarem at once departed an army of 30,000 men—cavalry and infantry—which was, the chronicler tells us, "the largest number of warriors that up to that time had been mustered in the kingdom."

The counsellors of the King advised him to proceed slowly on the march, because by that means the nearer the Infante should approach Lisbon the greater danger would he run, on account of his retreat being cut off.

The Infante was in Castanheira when he learnt that the King had left Santarem. He struck the camp, saying that he was marching upon Lisbon. This he said with the object of inspiring a greater confidence into his own people, many of whom were disheartened. But in effect the Infante stopped near Alverca, on the border of Alfarrobeira, and disposed his camp with admirable order.

On the 20th May the army of the King arrived and pitched their camps. The Count of Abranches sallied out with some knights to reconnoitre the forces of D. Alfonso V. He was greatly astonished at the number and strength of the troops. However, he disguised his impressions to the troops, but told the truth to the Infante D. Pedro.

The ex-Regent might yet save himself by flight, but this he would

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not do. It is manifest that he intended to seek his death, as also the Count of Abranches, both having pledged to die together.

D. Alfonso V. had resolved upon not fighting his uncle on the day he arrived, but ordered his kings-at-arms and buglers to sound and publish the call of war, threatening all the fidalgos who served the Infante with their arms to quit his service, or else be severely punished. No one obeyed this order, but, to the contrary, some of the King's people passed on to the service of the Infante, among them Fernam de Fonseca, the Alcaide of Lisbon, João Vogado, Rodrigo de Arnellos, and Gonçalo Fernandes.

Both camps were impatient to commence the battle. Without express orders, they nevertheless began to shoot at each other; some archers of the King's camp, who had concealed themselves in a plantation near the water, shot their arrows unperceived into the camp of the Infante, while Alvaro de Brito Pestaña, commandant of the infantry, ordered fire to be made on the troops of the Infante, causing thereby much damage.

D. Pedro, wishful to respond to the provocation, ordered some bombards to be discharged, and a stone hurled by one of them fell close to the royal tent, which caused much confusion in the camp of D. Alfonso V., as it was feared the King had been wounded.

This incident caused great indignation in the army of Alfonso V., and without awaiting further orders the army rushed to attack the camp of the Infante, where the shock was so great that many of the soldiers grew disheartened and fled. D. Pedro, who was on horseback, now dismounted, and flinging off his heavy mail, rushed to the weakest point to defend it. The friends of the Infante, who saw him in the most dangerous part of the affray, implored him to retire, but D. Pedro took no heed, and it really appeared as though his ardour grew in proportion as he saw the men fall in numbers slain and wounded It is said that he alone slew ten shieldbearers, but this may be only one of the heroic legends of the epoch. The chronicler recounts to us the rapid result of this encounter of Alfarrobeira. "The Infante when thus engaged in the combat was wounded in the breast by an arrow, which pierced his heart through, and without having before or after received any other wound. He received his death with every sign of perfect contrition and great repentance for all his sins, affording a pious hope for the salvation of his soul. These signs induced the Bishop of Coimbra, who at once attended

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him, to give him absolution, as there was no time to make his confession, as he in his last moments devoutly besought, but on that same morning he had confessed and been absolved, and made his testament, hence it clearly appeared that he died as he had ever lived, a good Catholic and a Christian, a loyal vassal, and servitor of the King. He was in the fifty-seventh year of his age."

At this stage of our narrative it is needful to speak of one of the most notable figures of the Middle Ages in Portugal. The battle of Alfarrobeira, although it does not possess any great military importance, must, however, be held as the last act of the chivalrous cycle among us. The Infante D. Pedro and Alvaro Vaz de Almada, his bosom friend, close, so to say, the golden and ivory door of the medieval traditions of Portuguese history. We have spoken somewhat extensively of the Infante D. Pedro, let us say a few words of his faithful friend.

Alvaro Vaz de Almada was the son of Joanna Eannes and João Vaz de Almada who was knighted by D. João I. after the battle of Aljubarrota, and who later on, by reason of personal troubles, proceeded to England, where he died. He also played an important part in the taking of Ceuta, where his sons Alvaro and Pedro also took a part.

It was at the taking of Ceuta that Alvaro Vaz de Almada appears for the first time. He was there knighted by the Infante D. Pedro after the conquest; it was there, likewise, that his brother Pedro Vaz de Almada received previously a similar honour at the hands of the Infante D. Duarte, the heir to the crown.

It was after the conquest of Ceuta, in 1415, that it is supposed João Vaz de Almada withdrew to England with his two sons, Alvaro and Pedro. The space of time which elapsed from his departure to England until the hapless expedition of Tangiers was gloriously employed by Alvaro in the campaigns of Henry V. against France, which recommenced in 1418. The services he rendered this King and to his dynasty are incontestably proved by documents to which we shall have occasion to refer, and which are most curious. After Henry VI. was acclaimed King of France and England in 1422 at the age of eight months, Alvaro Vaz de Almada must have returned to the kingdom, because in 1423, eight years after the taking of Ceuta, D. João 1. nominated him Captain-General of the kingdom. At the request of Alvaro Vaz the letter of appointment was confirmed by another from the King D. Duarte, given in Almeirim on 5th January, 1434.

The post of Captain-General of the Navy was continued to be held

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by the descendants of the receiver until the time of the King D. Sebastian, when he conferred it on D. Ferdinand de Almada, great-grandson of Alvaro Vaz, in a letter given in Evora on 25th August, 1573.

In the disastrous expedition of Tangiers in 1437 appears for the second time our brave Captain Alvaro Vaz, practising prodigies of valour, where he was wounded in the arm; then we find him combating in the first regular battle ordered by the Infante D. Henrique against the Moors. In the second combat against the Moors he continued to signalise himself, but it was in the tumultuous embarkation of the troops when they withdrew from Tangiers that he more greatly distinguished himself, together with the Marshal Vasco Fernandes Coutinho, who was later on created Count of Marialva. On the return from Tangiers, it was Alvaro Vaz who became truly noteworthy for the manner in which he disguised his sorrow for the disaster, as we have seen when describing the affair of Tangiers. We must here add that, according to the testimony of the chronicler Pina, the King D. Duarte died before he had had time to confer on Alvaro Vaz all the favours he had intended, and that it was from England and not from Portugal that this famous captain received the greatest honours. For a great length of time it was supposed that Alvaro had been created Count of Abranches by the King of France, and a Knight of the Order of Jarreteira by the King of England, but it has been ascertained, without a shadow of doubt, that both these favours were granted by the English monarch, Henry VI. At that date (1445), Abranches was comprehended in the dominions of the Crown of England ever since the conquest of this kingdom by William the Conqueror, and it continued so until it was reduced by the arms of the King of France, Charles VI. But Henry VI. was still Duke of Normandy in 1445, and it was as such that he conferred, as he could do so, the title of Count of Abranches on D. Alvaro.

The affair of Alfarrobeira had a rapid and sorrowful termination. It appears that D. Pedro and the Count of Abranches had sworn to die together, and the life of the Infante was linked to that of Alvaro by a sacred vow, and for a knight an indissoluble one.

When D. Pedro was thus struck dead, Alvaro could do naught but seek his own death. Ruy de Pina, in his characteristic language, tells us: "The Count of Abranches was riding in another part of the camp, and attending, like a good and experienced knight, to his army, and resisting the many affronts which assailed him, when a youth ran up to

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him weeping bitterly, and said to him, 'Count, what are you doing? The Infante D. Pedro is dead.' Then the Count, who was well aware that this news was an embassy of death which came to claim his life, yet with an unmoved face and stout heart replied: 'Hold thy tongue, and do not say a word of this to any one.' Then setting spurs to his horse, he proceeded to his tent, and without perturbation he asked for bread and wine to strengthen himself, and grasping his arms to honour his burial, which was the earth whereupon he was to fall, he sallied out on foot into the camp, which had been on every side conquered and entered into by the King's troops. As soon as he was recognised they fell upon him on all sides; but he first with a broken lance, and afterwards with his sword, wounded all those who approached him, and in this way he fought for a long time, like a skilful and valiant knight, to the great surprise of those who saw him, yet he was not himself wounded. At last, worn out, he threw himself on the ground, crying out loudly, 'Oh, my body! thou canst fight no more, and thou, my soul, it is time!' And thus he laid himself down, saying, 'Now, boys, come and take your revenge.' Then his body was pierced and wounded, and his soul very quickly went to join that of the Infante, as he had promised to do. Then a friend did what he ought not—he cut his head off and took it to the King, to ask for promotion and the honour of knighthood, and the body remained on the ground cut up to pieces, until by the appeal of João Vaz de Almada, his foster-brother, who was ranger of the King, he buried him in camp, and later on gave him an honoured sepulture. Then the rest of the fidalgos and noblemen who were with the Infante abandoned the defence of the stations which had been entrusted to them, and rushed pell-mell throughout the camp, killing and wounding until none remained."

Such was the last page of the biography of the renowned Captain Alvaro Vaz de Almada, who in death so gloriously manifested the grandeur of his whole life, an example of military valour and loyal friendship. In all the events of his life he manifested the ardour of his spirit. Honour and religion he defends with his arms, his most cherished motto being, "Sooner die great and honoured than live small and dishonoured." The race of heroes seems to have ended with the death of this extraordinary man. D. Pedro was a soul worthy of Alvaro Vaz; it was the complement of his own, and they thoroughly understood one another.

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Alexandre Herculano adds in his *Panorama*, "When D. Alvaro fell dead, it was the symbol of expiring chivalry."

This simple phrase is worthy of a poem. And, in truth, Portuguese chivalry expires with D. Alvaro on the plain of Alfarrobeira.

Alvaro Vaz received condign sepulture in the principal chapel of the Monastery of San Domingos in Lisbon, wherein had been buried his grandsires.

Death saved him from a vexation which was reserved for the partisans of the Infante who survived the battle of Alfarrobeira By letters of D. Alfonso V., dated 10th of October, they were deprived of all benefices, dignities, offices, honours, prerogatives, exemptions, privileges, liberties, &c., this law being revoked some five years later by Royal Letters of 20th July, 1455.

Rebello Silva, writing on the above episode, concludes with the following words, which enclose a lofty philosophical conceit: "The blood spilt in Alfarrobeira claimed an avenger. D. João II., inheriting the odiums engendered at the epoch in which he was born, was the man predestined to fulfil in the generation of persecutors and assassins of his grandfather and mother, the terrible threat which makes the children responsible for the crimes of their parents."

"The execution of the Duke of Braganza on the Plaza of Evora, the fall and ruin of his house, the inconsolable widowhood of his wife, the exile of his sons, and his immense power levelled to the ground were the slow but inevitable effects of the justice of Providence."

"Thirty-four years had barely elapsed, and already on the scaffold had the head of a grandson of the Count de Barcellos fallen at a sign of a grandson of the Infante D. Pedro."

The death of the Regent and of his friends had therefore been avenged.

Let us return to D. Pedro. His body was left on the battle-field until night, when some men of humble condition—writes the chronicler—carried it to a lonely house, where it was laid with other corpses for thirty-six hours. The enemies of the ex-Regent, who were the courtiers of Alfonso V., insinuated to the youthful King, that as this had been a pitched battle, it was customary to leave the spoils of war of any importance for some time on the field of battle, in testimony of the glory of the conqueror. Hence, as the body of the ex-Regent was, so to say, the *principal spoil* of the battle, it was irreverently left for three days, and on contemplating it thus despised, those who gazed upon it must have

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remembered the words of the ex-Regent when declining the honour of a statue being erected in Lisbon.

The Queen D. Isabel experienced, as was natural, a violent emotion on receiving in Santarem the news of the death of her father; and to this grief was added the natural fear that upon her head would fall the vengeance of the enemies of D. Pedro. She was, as it were, alone in the world, exposed to the intrigues of the Court, without any one she could depend upon as a friend, not even her husband, for it was he who had been the blind instrument of the death of her father.

The widow of the ex-Regent, when she received the news at Coimbra, was fearfully shocked, and stricken with fear and dread. She went from monastery to monastery, beseeching them to save her and her children from death, one of whom, D. Jayme, was taken prisoner in Alfarrobeira along with many fidalgos who had maintained the cause of the Infante D. Pedro.

At the end of the three days destined to celebrate the victory of Alfarrobeira, D. Alfonso V. raised the camp and departed for Lisbon, accompanied by the Court. As might be expected, the palace intrigue began to work against the Queen, urging the King to believe her a suspected and dangerous person, and advising him to revenge himself and put her away for another wife.

But the youthful King loved his wife, as may be inferred from some passages of the chronicler, and not only did he repulse the intrigue of the Court which conspired against her, but solaced her grief in Santarem, bidding her meet him in Lisbon.

The position of D. Isabel in this event was truly deplorable. She was either to come, crushing in her heart her just resentment as a wife or else be lost for ever. She came robed in *modest mourning*, says Ruy de Pina, in order not to leave off mourning for the death of her father, yet, at the same time, not so deep as to anger Alfonso V.

The enemies of the Regent required, however, to justify his death to the foreign courts, and therefore drew up an exposition of the supposed crimes committed by D. Pedro, and sent it to the Pope and some Christian princes; but the impression this document effected was totally opposed to what they intended. Madame Isabel of Burgandy, as the sister of the ex-Regent was generally called in Europe, hastened to send to Portugal an ambassador charged with claiming condign sepulture for D. Pedro in the Monastery of Batalha. The King refused this petition, and then the ambassador replied that in that case, to

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command that the remains of the Infante be delivered up to him to be conducted to Burgandy. The remains of D Pedro were at that time placed in the church of Alverca, from whence Alfonso V., fearing lest they should be taken away, sent them to the castle of Abrantes, entrusting their custody to Lopo de Almeida, who later on became the first Count created under that title.

Later on, the remains of D. Pedro were taken to Lisbon and placed in the monastery of Saint Eloy by order of the Queen D. Isabel, who never desisted from pleading with her husband to justify and re-establish the memory of her father. In the year 1452, D. Isabel made her will, and in a clause ordered that the remains of her father should be taken from Saint Eloy and translated to Batalha. But the Queen lived to assist at the translation of the remains, which took place in 1455. She, however, survived but a short time, dying in December of that same year.

Yet the embassy sent by the Duchess of Burgandy produced some effect, because the Infante D. Jayme, son of D. Pedro, who had been taken prisoner in Alfarrobeira, was released. Whether from the effects of family griefs, or through natural inclination which he had been hitherto unable to follow freely, D. Jayme took holy orders, and in 1453 was elected Bishop of Array. The Duchess of Burgandy summoned him to her Court, and later on sent him to Rome, where Pope Calixtus III. created him Cardinal in 1456, under the title of Santa Maria in Porticu.

Meanwhile, as might be expected, the promoters of the war against the Infante D. Pedro strove to obtain from the King the rewards of their infamy. D. Alfonso V. gave Guimarães to the Duke of Braganza, who had often besought it from the Infante D. Pedro, and he would have likewise granted Oporto, but the inhabitants obstinately opposed it. The inhabitants of Portalegre also opposed the grant of their place to the Count D. Sancho, as Alfonso V. had projected.

When the dismal tragedy of the battle of Alfarrobeira was ended, the King passed on with his Court to the palaces of S. Francisco, in Evora, and he was so charmed with the city and its situation that he resided there the greater portion of his life.

At the commencement of the following year, 1450, Alfonso V. received the ambassadors of Frederick III., Emperor of Germany, asking in marriage the hand of his sister D. Leonor. D. Alfonso V. came from Evora to Santarem to summon a Cortes, in order to lay

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before them the question of the marriage of his sister. The three states approved the demand of Frederick III., and the preparations for the departure and embarkation of the princess were at once commenced, which took place in the month of October, 1451, with the greatest magnificence. The Emperor proceeded to await the arrival of his bride in Siena, from whence they proceeded to Rome, where Pope Nicholas V. consecrated and crowned them.

With the history of the marriage of the Infanta D. Leonor is linked a romance of love,* which is found sketched in "Evora Gloriosa."

"The marriage of the Empress D. Leonor, sister of D. Alfonso," says Rebello da Silva, "was celebrated with such pomp, and the voyage to Italy with such display, that twenty-four years later the conqueror of Arzilla lamented the excessive liberality and superfluous expenses he had incurred, imputing the fault to his youthful age and small experi-

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* The Blessed Amadeus, known formerly as D. João da Silva, was the son of the famous frontier governor of Ceuta and D. Isabel de Menezes. João and his sister D. Brites (or Beatriz) da Silva, were educated under the tutorship of their uncle, João Gomes da Silva. The children were brought up so carefully that they soon manifested what they would be in mature age. D. Brites entered as a child, and then as maid of honour in the service of the Infanta D. Isabel, daughter of the Infante D. João, and grandchild of the King D. João I. Her brother, after his studies in human letters and the arts worthy of his birth, entered the service of the King D. Duarte, where he had many occasions of seeing the Infanta D. Leonor, his daughter, and was so charmed with her rare beauty that, within the limits of the respect due to so sovereign a person, he dedicated to her all his worship and thoughts. Thus for a length of time he lived, content with the bliss of serving his star; but when the year 1449 approached, and he knew that D. Leonor was the promised bride of the Emperor Frederick III., and that she was proceeding to a distant land, he fell into despair at the thought of losing her presence. However, there arose one gleam of hope. His aunt D. Guiomar, the Countess of Villa Real, was appointed first lady of the bedchamber of the new Empress, and he took advantage of this to accompany his relative to Italy, and thus still behold the Empress.

D. João embarked, in 1452, in the fleet, and accompanied the Empress to Seina, where Frederick, with Ladislaus the King of Hungary, and Albert the Archduke of Austria, awaited her, and from thence proceeded in the suite to Rome, where he was present at the marriage and coronation of Leonor and Frederick by the Pontiff. But during the sacred ceremonies which took place, God touched the heart of D. João da Silva with a ray of divine fire, such as converted Saul into Paul, and he began to know that God whom he had ignored, and he experienced emotions never before felt, so that he saw himself in a light hitherto never experienced; and feeling stricken with sorrow and shame for his past errors, he resolved upon loving none else but his God and Lord, as the only One Who was worthy of being loved. With this firm resolu-

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ence, and besought his successors, with the aid of the clergy and people, not to refuse to liquidate the dowry of his sister, towards which he had already paid the Emperor 7,000 crowns."

This waste of money of the nation was not one of the least errors of Alfonso V., whose reign commenced, as we have seen, by acts which were not calculated to captivate public sympathies. For the time being we have before us a child animated by a certain chivalrous spirit, but completely sacrificed to the demands of the palace intrigues, moved principally by the Duke of Braganza, whose house was becoming enormously benefited by the donations received from the Crown.

As regards his physique, Rebello da Silva affords us the following sketch: "He was tall and elegant and well-proportioned, and in his youth Alfonso V. realised the idea of majesty and dignity of the monarch. His fair, rosy countenance and oval face showed, like D. Duarte, the foreign origin of his grandmother, D. Philippa of

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tion our João da Silva quitted the Vatican, and wishing to express what he felt, he took the name of Amadeus, and leaving all the pomps and vanities of the world, he assumed a coarse garb and interned himself in the Apennines, to join in its melancholy caves the hermits called of Saint Jerome, where in their company he spent a solitary life, until, by divine revelation, he was bidden to quit this rule and follow the Seraphic Order. For this object he proceeded to Assissium, where he received the habit of Saint Francis, and so great were the prodigies which, by God's grace, were performed by this servant of God that the Duke of Milan, Francisco Esforcia, who had no heirs, besought the Superiors of the Order to send him this wonderful monk to Milan. Friar Amadeus went to Milan, where he suffered more from the honours which the Duke showered upon him than from the continual penances he performed. He obtained for him from God the desired heir, and he founded, close to the city, a small convent, under the title of Our Lady of Peace, in which he introduced the new reform which is called "of Amadeus." From thence he was summoned to Rome by the Pontiff, Sixtus IV., who not only ordained him priest, but appointed him his confessor; and, moreover, consulted him upon the gravest affairs in the government of the Church, because he was illumined by such superior lights that his words were uttered as from an oracle. The Pope assigned him for his residence that portion of the Janiculo which is now called Montorio, which the Prince of the Apostles, Saint Peter, sanctified with his blood and consecrated by his martyrdom; where, with the alms of the Portuguese Infanta D. Isabel, who was already Queen of Castille, wife of D. Juan II., he founded a convent, which is still preserved, and wherein many apostolic men, following the footsteps of its saintly reformer, led an angelic life. At the death of Pope Sixtus IV., the Blessed Amadeus retired to his little Convent of Peace, where he wrote his "Apocalypse" and renowned prophecies; and after spending some years in the most saintly exercises, he passed to a better life, to enjoy the rewards of his labours, on the 10th August, 1482, and is venerated on our altars with the glory of beatification.

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Lancaster, tempered by Southern vivacity. His long and well-developed beard, and the straightforward, gentle look of his eyes, encouraged all around him. With age he became very stout, and to hide this he began to use loose garments. Educated in the austere school of the sons of D. João I., the monarch and captain, whose labours were in many respects the lessons of kings, he profitably studied letters and arts such as were learnt in those times, and were reputed indispensable for a perfect education."

"The letters and arts as were learnt in those times," writes Rebello da Silva. It was at that time the epoch of the first dawn of the Renaissance. "The Renaissance of Europe," observes Lopes de Mendoça, "owes it all to the renaissance of Portugal of the fourteenth century. But for the Infante D. Henrique and his observatory at Sagres, Columbus would not have discovered America, nor Vasco de Gama doubled the Cape of Storms (Cabo das Tormentas), to show the amazed nations the road to India." A document of this epoch clearly reveals the intellectual state of the Spanish Peninsula, which announces on this side of the Pyrenees the luminous germs of the dawn of the Renaissance. We refer to the celebrated letter of the Marquis de Santilhana addressed to the son of D. Pedro, also called D. Pedro, and Constable of the kingdom, a letter supposed to have been written between the years 1445 and 1449. No doubt a friendship had sprung up with the illustrious Marquis, the great authority of Provençal literature and of Italian poets, during the time when his father went into Castille.

The son of the ex-Regent besought the Marquis, through Alvaro Gonçalves de Alcantara, for a copy of his literary compositions, principally his poetical ones.

The Marquis commences by expressing the paucity of his productions, and endeavours to compensate for it by an interesting dissertation upon the history of literature.

He first gives an epitome of the primary versifiers among the Greeks and the Romans, showing that poetic science was especially loved of God, and by all the human race. He furthermore speaks of the various subjects to which rhyme and metre are applicable, and passes on to speak of the modern poets who cultivated poetry, Petrarch, Boccácio, Guido, and Dante, who so elegantly wrote the three comedies of the *Inferno, Purgatorio, and Paradisio.* He then proceeds to Provençal poetry and its influence in Spain. He demonstrated the ability

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of the people of Catalonia and Valencia for poetry, and gives a dissertation on the various forms of metre, and their origin, as employed in Castille. In a paragraph of his letter he says: "I remember, in my youth, when a minor in the care of my grandmother, Dona Mencia de Cisneros, among other books, seeing a large volume of 'Cantigas Serranas,' and Portuguese and Gallician, the greater number of which were from the King Don Denis of Portugal (and I believe, Senhor, he was your great-grandfather), whose works were greatly lauded as being subtle inventions, and graceful, gentle words. There were others of Joham Xoares de Pavia, of whom, it is said, had died in Gallicia through love for an Infanta of Portugal; and of another, called Fernant Gonzales de Sanabria. After these came Basco Peres de Camões and Ferrant Casquicio, and that great lover Macias, of which are known only four songs, but these are certainly amorous and of most beautiful words."

He then occupies himself with the songs of the Castillian poets, and concludes by alluding to the preface of his "Proverbios," where the Infante would find correlative notices to the subject, and exhorting him to cultivate poetry, in order that his pen may be always employed, so that when Atropos should sever the frail thread of his life, he should obtain Delphic honours as well as martial ones.

From what we have said may be inferred that the Renaissance of the Spanish Peninsula preceded the Italian, which became European. The Marquis of Santilhana was the precursor of the Medicis. He resuscitates, in order to form the history of poetry, the Greek models, Achatesio, Millesio, Phesecides, Siro, and Homer; he quotes among the Latin ones, Ennio and Virgil. It is in this way that the Castillian fidalgo mentally evokes to come close to him the best poets of antiquity, like Cosmo de Medicis drew towards him, in later years in Florence, some of the first Greek artists.

"From this gathering of the sages," says Jules Zeler, "like to the Trojan horse, if we may so use a comparison of the time, came forth all that legion of champions of antiquity, who propagated and spread throughout the whole of Europe the knowledge of the primary works of Greek and Latin literature. All the means he could possibly gather together, Cosmo placed at his service. He made use of his commercial relations to send to the far East, and to the most remote convents of the West, for numerous manuscripts, which constituted the foundation of the library which later on became so renowned under the name of

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the Mediceo-Laurenciana. Many sages gave up their private libraries, among them Aurista, Niccolo Niccoli, and others."

It is undoubted that in the letter of the Marquis de Santilhana is perceived that literary tendency which must needs culminate in the reconstruction of Greek and Latin antiquity, of resuscitating paganism in Art, giving to the Madonnas the plastic beauty of mythological Venuses.

Alfonso V. had been educated in this literary focus under the direction of his uncle, who visited Europe and "traversed the seven parts of the world," who saw and studied. Besides this, he found in the royal palace the nucleus of a library organised by his father, who cultivated letters. He found already formed the codification of the national laws, which was of manifest advantage to his elevated position as head of the State. With all these educational elements, Alfonso V. could not be otherwise than an enlightened spirit in relation to his epoch and his official position.

As we said, the King had a great predilection for Evora, where he preferred to reside. Here likewise lived his brother, D. Ferdinand, who was then about eighteen years of age and was already married. It appears the Infante demanded from the King certain loans, which did not meet with favour, because we find D. Ferdinand secretly fitting a caravel on the Guadiana. He departed from Evora, proceeding to the Algarve in order to embark—whether to make war in Africa or to visit the King of Naples, from whom he expected to inherit, as he had no direct heir, is not known for certain. However, when on the following day D. Alfonso V. knew by chance of the departure of his brother, he hastened to trace him, but on learning that he had embarked from the Algarve, he sent emissaries to Ceuta, in order that the Governor should guard the Strait of Gibraltar in such a manner as to prevent the passage of the Infante. In effect, the Governor of Ceuta, Count D. Sancho, put forth to sea and met the caravel of D. Ferdinand and brought it to Ceuta, where he made known to him the King's orders. The Infante insisted that he did not wish to return to the kingdom, but remain as frontier governor in Africa. It was truly a family quarrel. The Count judged he ought to inform the King of what passed, and Alfonso V. consented that he should remain as frontier governor of Ceuta, and sent him some fidalgos to be with him; but a great pestilence broke out in Ceuta, and the Infante decided to return to Portugal, where the

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King received him willingly, and gave him the towns of Beja, Serpa, and Moura.

But all these events in the political history of Portugal are insignificant in view of the great European event which took place about that time, and which definitely marked the advent of the Renaissance, the inception of modern history. We refer to the invasion of Constantinople by the Turks in 1453.

The Roman Empire of the West had been invaded by the barbarians of the North, but the East survived, whose capital was Constantinople, for the space of a thousand years; that is to say, the ten centuries of the duration of the Middle Ages.

Let us trace how the Roman Empire of the East was crushed out at this epoch.

The Turks, proceeding from Altai, had invaded India, Persia, Syria, and Asia Minor. In the year 1325, the chief of one of its smallest tribes had taken possession of Prussia, and his son had effected a conquest on the European margin of the Hellespont (Dardanelles). But it was principally upon Constantinople that the Turks fixed their gaze. A Sultan attained to submit Macedonia and Bulgaria, and rendered Wallachia tributary.

Years after, Bejazet I. fought on the Danube a fleet of French crusaders, which were routed in the battle of Nicopolis, but Tamerlan having been summoned to succour the Greeks, Bejazet was routed in the battle of Ancyra.

Encouraged by the rapid dissolution of the Empire of Mongol, the Turks again turned their thoughts once more towards Constantinople, which was the great barrier that prevented them from penetrating into Western Europe. At length the hour of conquest sounded for the Crescent. Mahomet II. surrounded Constantinople with 260,000 men, a colossal artillery, and an important fleet.

On the 29th May, after three days' slaughter, Constantinople fell into the power of Mahomet II., became constituted the capital of the Ottoman Empire, and called Stamboul by the Turks.

It was this enormous human wave which had rolled from the rugged paths of Central Asia, impelled by the fanaticism of religion, which had proposed to itself to invade the whole world, following the device placed above the Crescent, the symbol of its religion: *Donec totum impleat orbe.* Let us glance at the political situation of Europe at this juncture.

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Towards the south-east the Ottoman Empire extended from the Adriatic to the Black Sea, and from the Archipelago to the Danube, and in Asia as far as Mount Taurus. Likewise to the south-west, but to the north of the Ottoman Empire were the Greco-Slav and Magyar States. On the valley of the Danube there were six other Christian States, which were so many barriers for the Turks—Bulgaria, the capital of which was Nicopolis; the kingdom of Servia, half conquered, and whose capital was Semendria; the kingdom of Bosnia, which was tributary to the Turks, the capital being Bosna-Serai; the principality of Moldavia, likewise tributary, its capital Jassy; the principality of Wallachia, its capital Bucharest; and the kingdom of Hungary, the most considerable of all the six States, with Transylvania. To the east stood Russia; to the west of Russia, Poland, which extended, on the side of Russia, up to Polotzk and Smolensk, after its reunion with Lithuania, the capital being Cracovia.

The Teutonic Order dominated in the provinces situated to the south and east of the Baltic—Prussia, Livonia, Corlandia, Esthonia, &c. Kœnigsburg was the capital.

The Scandinavian States were to the north of Europe. The severance of the Colmar union had effected the disappearance of the three kingdoms of Sweden, Norway, and Denmark, the two last being joined together.

To the north-west of Europe were the British Isles, comprehending the kingdoms of Scotland and England.

To the west of Europe the kingdom of France, in which still subsisted six houses of royal blood—Burgandy, Brittany, Anjou, Bourbon, Orleans, and Alençon.

The Holy Roman Germanic Empire to the centre of Europe—Germany of our day, with the exception of some regions of the north which belonged to the Teutonic Knights.

To the south-west of Europe was the Iberian Peninsula, comprehending five kingdoms—Granada to the south, Portugal to the south-west, Castille and Leon in the centre, Aragon to the north-east, with its possessions of the Balearic Islands, Sardinia, Sicily, and Naples, and that of Navarre to the north.

Lastly, the Italic Peninsula, which was divided into a great number of States, the principal ones being Naples and Sicily, belonging to Navarre. In the centre the States of the Church (the capital being Rome), the small republic of Lucca and Sienna, and the republic of

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Florence. On the north the republic of Venice, the duchy of Milan, the republic of Genoa, the duchy of Mantua, the duchy of Modena, the duchy of Montferrat, and the duchy of Savoy.

Such was the political state of Europe at the moment when Mahomet II. took Constantinople, and alarmed the whole of Christendom.

The relation given us by Collas of the character of Mahomet and the conquest of Constantinople is very interesting, and by it we fully understand the gravity of the situation and epoch.

"The new Sultan," says Collas, "did not possess either the greatness of soul or the moderation of his father. He was a lover of letters, knew six languages, was well versed in history and astrology, and protected the Venician painter, Bellini; but these gifts, rare to find among Mussalmans, were not sufficient to soften the ferocity of his character."

Such was the man upon whom devolved the charge of taking Constantinople. The series of miserable Emperors of the East was about to be closed by a prince worthy of a better destiny. Constantine Draguzes had ascended to the throne in 1448, possessing virtues unusual to find. It was with legitimate anguish that he foresaw the future: the efforts to reconcile the Greek Church with the Latin one had proved futile, and vainly, in the Council of Florence (1439), had John Paleologo marked the reunion; it was condemned by the peoples which were to find themselves alone in presence of the Mussalmans.

Mahomet II. had raised a fortress opposite Byzantium (Constantinople). Constantine had addressed a dignified but sad letter, beseeching moderation; but the Sultan hastened to follow the last instructions of his father.

The preparations were formidable. Mahomet ordered cannons to be founded of immense calibre; he ordered the defence of the place to be studied, and commenced the siege with 300,000 men and 300 sails. Constantine could only oppose a weak defence; that immense city could only raise on that supreme day 4,960 defenders, to which joined 2,500 Venetians and Genoese.

Europe was forsaking this city, which was abandoned by its own; it had been attacked many times, and must inevitably fall. But on the sea the strife was prolonged, and the Mussalmans attempted in vain to force an entrance into the port, defended by chains and ships; but Mahomet resorted to an expedient which would appear incredible

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in our day, were it not for the testimony offered us by history. He opened a road four or five miles long, and placed well-greased planks, over which eighty galleys were slipped, and these the Greeks, to their amazement, found in the morning anchored in the port.

The general assault was fixed for the 29th May, 1453. Mahomet appealed to the soldiers, stimulating them with ideas of ambition, fanaticism, and cupidity. The issue of the battle was not long disputed, and Constantine, finding that his cause was lost, flung himself before the besieger, and there met his death. The Turks then ceased to slaughter the populace, which no longer offered a resistance, and the fever of plunder now took possession of them. They hurriedly imprisoned within their ships 60,000 persons of all ranks and descriptions—priests, men, women, children, the aged—who were all reduced to slavery, after suffering great brutality at the hands of the Turks. The libraries, paintings, sculptures—all the inestimable treasures of ancient civilisation were destroyed. Some of the outlying districts escaped the devastation, and these were admitted to capitulation under conditions relatively moderate.

Notwithstanding the acts of vandalism which succeeded the assault, and the destruction of a great number of the principal works of art, Mahomet was singularly struck with his conquest; and when, three days later, he officially entered Constantinople, touched, perchance, with a feeling of melancholy, to which the rudest natures are subject in presence of an enormous catastrophe, he recited the verses of a Persian poet, "The spider wove its web in the dwellings of kings, and the roving owl hooted on the roofs of Asrasoab."

The victims sacrificed during the intoxication of triumph were not the only ones, and notwithstanding the promises solemnly made of clemency in regard to the conquered ones, a great number of the most illustrious persons were condemned to death in the stronghold of Almeidan.

Mahomet, who styled Constantinople a diamond set between two emeralds and two sapphires, established his residence on the same hill as Constantine the Great had chosen for himself. Wishing to respect the terms of capitulation, he conceded to the Greeks their churches, with the privilege of celebrating unmolested their services and offices of religion, their sacraments and funerals, and invested the Greek Patriarch Gennadius with all the usual honours. But as it was permitted to employ violence, he converted eight churches into mosques,

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among them that of Santa Sophia, and thus the panegyrics of Allah, as well as the sevenfold prayer, were intoned from the heights of the minarets. He constructed the palaces of the Dardanelles; he demolished the walls of Galatha on the land side; he reconstructed those of Constantinople, to which he transferred from Asia five thousand families; and lastly, whenever he took a city on the borders of the empire, he sent for workmen and artists from across the Bosphorus.

The taking of Constantinople definitely established the dominion of the Turks in Europe, but there was still wanting numerous provinces to be conquered before it would attain the limits of the empire which had just fallen. Mahomet, who had publicly announced his intention of giving his horse a feed of oats on the altar of Saint Peter at Rome, set to work actually to exterminate the infidels, and for this object convoked his vassals.

We have now reached the solemn moment of the advent of modern history. Having said the above, which we judged indispensable in order to comprehend the epoch we are about to enter into, we shall take up at this opportune point the history of the reign of Alfonso V.

Pope Nicholas V., who then ruled the destinies of the Church, had at heart the project of a crusade of all Christendom against the Turks, when death assailed him. He was succeeded by Calixtus III., who at once endeavoured to realise the project of his predecessor, and appealed to all the kings and Christian princes, among them Alfonso V. of Portugal, who promised to aid him in this war against the Turks by sending him 12,000 men annually. However, as the expenses of such an expedition were very heavy, and Calixtus III. died, D. Alfonso V. desisted from this undertaking—a course which was followed by other European princes. Moreover, another circumstance was taking place in Portugal. This was that when the King of Fez learnt that D. Alfonso V. was about to leave the kingdom, he prepared to besiege Ceuta, a fact he actually carried out; but the city offered such a persistent resistance that the King of Fez raised the siege, but with the intention of again beleaguering it with better provisions of war.

At this juncture the situation of Portugal became very complicated. No less than three warlike expeditions threatened the peace of the kingdom. On one side the French were causing great damage by sea to the Portuguese shipping, for which reason the nation's commerce was greatly injured; on the other hand, the affair relative to the Turks

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was still pending, and the expedition against them publicly announced; and lastly, the hostile attitude of the King of Fez compelled the King of Portugal to effect a prompt reprisal to save the possession of Ceuta. In order to resolve these questions, Alfonso V. summoned a council. As to the first question, it was resolved that it was inexpedient to send out a fleet on the sea without a precise aim, subject to a thousand dangers and entailing an enormous expense. As to the second, the majority were of opinion that D. Alfonso V. would not be seconded in the undertaking, and a defeat would be nearly certain. This resolution was opposed by the Marquis of Valencia, who urged that the King could make war to the Turks by land rather than by sea; but it appears this proposal of the Marquis was only a pretext to withdraw the King from the company of his wife, fearing some future vengeance, as he had contributed to the death of the Infante D. Pedro. Lastly, as to the third question, the Council were in favour of an expedition to Africa, especially directed against the King of Fez, whose ambitious projects against Ceuta it was imperative to crush out.

A domestic event occurred to bind the ardent spirit of the young King to his wife. The Queen was about to become a mother, and this fact exercised such an influence over the spirit of Alfonso V. that she was able to calm down the anger of the King against the memory of her father D. Pedro, and drew from him a promise that the body of the Infante should be removed to the family vaults in the Church of Batalha. In effect, the mortal remains of D. Pedro were conducted from Abrantes to Lisbon, and from Lisbon translated solemnly to Batalha, the Infante D. Henrique being entrusted with the direction of the ceremony. The King and Queen proceeded to Batalha in order to receive the body, the whole Court assisting, with the exception of D. Pedro, the brother of the Queen, who was still exiled in Castille; the Infante D. Ferdinand, brother of the King, and the Marquis of Valencia.

On the 3rd of May the Queen gave birth to the Infante D. João, who was baptised a week after in the Episcopal Church of Lisbon, and a month later declared by the three states legitimate heir to the crown, and as such they pledged their oath of allegiance.

To the feasts which were held in Lisbon on the occasion of the baptism of the prince D. João were added those of the marriage of the Infanta D. Joanna, sister of the King of Portugal, with the King of Castille, Henrique IV., who had been divorced from his first consort,

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D. Blanca, daughter of the King of Navarre, Juan II. The King of Portugal was unable to endow his sister, but Henrique IV. gave her a marriage portion of 20,000 gold Aragonese florins with the mortgage of Ciudad Real. The treaty of marriage was ratified in Segovia, and the royal wedding took place in Cordova on the 21st of May. Concerning this Infanta, who was a posthumous child, and dowered with singular beauty, history has at times been severe, accusing her of grave faults, committed not as Queen of Castille, but as the wife of Henrique IV.

After having reinstated the memory of her father and of those who perished with him, and having assured the succession of the dynasty by the birth of the prince D. João, her first child of the same name having died, the Queen D. Isabel of Lancaster succumbed to the great sorrows which had embittered her short existence. D. Isabel died in Evora on 2nd December, 1455, at the early age of twenty-three. She left a will, to which we have had already occasion to mention, and although there was some deficiency of legal formalities, D. Alfonso V. ordered it should be carried out. D. Isabel was interred in the Monastery of Batalha. The spirit is stirred with compassion as the historian follows step by step the ephemeral existence of this hapless Queen, D. Isabel of Lancaster, who seems to have lived but to suffer, and whose womanly tears were many timés mingled with the jewels of her crown as queen.

The principal scene of the glory of D. Alfonso V. was in Africa. He was surnamed by Portuguese history "the African," and Africa was ever his "promised land," the beacon towards which all his thoughts were directed, and when ambition prompted him to take another path, and he turned towards Castille, there was in his spirit a kind of unwilling turning away which acted on his character and diminished his warlike energy. The brave knight of Arzilla could not accustom himself to European wars. Alfonso V. had always the desire of continuing the work of his grandfather, and of taking revenge for the captivity of his uncle during the reign of his father. Ceuta for him was a stimulus, Tangiers a revenge, and Africa demanded it. In truth, he was the great conqueror of Africa, and chosen by Vasco Mousinho de Quevedo as the hero of his poem.

In 1457, Pope Calixtus III. charged the Bishop of Silves to urge the King of Portugal to attack the Turks by sea as soon as possible, in order to direct the forces with which he threatened to invade Hungary. In order to obey the Pope, D. Alfonso went so far as to send embassies

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to some of the European Courts to confer with them upon the organization of the crusade, and for which purpose he himself was preparing his troops, armaments, and ships; but the reception his ambassadors met with was cold and reserved.

With the object of preparing means for this crusade against the Turks, Alfonso V. ordered "a coin to be issued to which the cross and the Papal bull gave the name of Cruzado," and he further ordered that the weight of it be so full that the new coin should be circulated without difficulty.*

D. Alfonso V. consented to allow his brother-in-law, the Infante D. Pedro, to return from his exile in Castille, in order to take part in the crusade. The Duke of Braganza, after the death of the Queen, ceased his opposition to the family of the ex-Regent, because it was the influence of the Queen that he had especially dreaded. In effect, D. Pedro returned to Portugal and was reinstated by his brother-in-law and cousin in his office of Master of Aviz.

In view of the result of the embassage against the Turks, Alfonso V. was counselled to desist from this subject for a time, and turn his attention to Africa, where he could equally afford signal services to religion. A council of ministers was held, and it was at once decided to proceed to Tangiers with five thousand men, besides assistants and seamen. A terrible pestilence broke out in Lisbon, which led the King to delay the expedition against the Moors. The King then proceeded to Alemtejo, where he was apprised that the French were causing grave damage to the Portuguese ships, and he at once charged Ruy de Mello to guard the coast with twenty warships and other craft. Meanwhile, news from Ceuta informed the King that the King of Fez was preparing to take that African city, which induced Alfonso V. to hasten his expedition to Ceuta, unless the King of Fez should desist from his intention of besieging it. Alfonso V. departed from Setubal, on the 30th September, 1458, in the direction of Tangiers; the fleet, commanded by the Marquis of Valença, leaving Oporto, and from the Algarve the squadron under the command of the Infante D. Henrique. On reaching the

* Ruy de Pina, in his Chronicles of the King D. Alfonso V., says that such was the enthusiasm manifested by the King for this holy undertaking, that he ordered the coin of Cruzados to be struck of the finest gold, and in weight and value above all ducats of Christendom, in order that in remote lands and kingdoms they should be freely circulated, because in the time of the King D. Duarte, his father, no other coin was struck in gold but escudos of debased gold, which coins could only be passed in foreign countries at a risk and loss.

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Bay of Tangiers, it was, however, decided to proceed and take Alcacer Seguer, which was actually effected. The Moors endeavoured to prevent the landing of the Portuguese, but were bravely repulsed. The Portuguese took the city and castle, and in this feat of arms the Infante D. Henrique greatly distinguished himself. The Moors were placed in such straits that they had to retire, with their women, children, and goods, the retreat being protected by the Infante D. Fernando. On the city being evacuated, the mosque was purified, and D. Duarte de Menezes, the natural son of D. Pedro de Menezes, first captain of Ceuta, was appointed governor, and became one of the most notable heroes of the African wars.

After having adopted the title, in virtue of his conquest, "D. Alfonso, by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarve, and Lord of Ceuta and Alcacer in Africa," the youthful monarch departed for Ceuta.

The chronicler tells us that, on beholding in the horizon the turreted walls rising up of the ancient city of Count Julian, on seeing unfolding before him amid the mountains the magnificent city of Ceuta, and comparing the conquest of D. João I. with his own diminutive one, he was unable to resist a feeling of sadness.

But, small as it was, Alcacer Seguer was to be nevertheless fiercely disputed. The King of Fez was coming with succour when he learnt that it was too late, and then he determined to besiege it. This intention was made known to Duarte de Menezes, who at once advised the King D. Alfonso V., and he immediately sent aid. The council was divided in opinion as to whether the King should depart for Portugal, as he had intended, or remain in Africa. The affairs of the kingdom were demanding his presence in Portugal; yet, on the other hand, his departure might be taken as a cowardly act, just at the moment when the King of Fez was in campaign. However, D. Alfonso V. sent to the King of Fez, who was in Tangiers, two fidalgos to challenge him in his name; these emissaries were Lopo d'Almeida and Martim de Tavora. The Moorish King, when apprised of their mission, would not allow the ship which conducted them to approach the shores, but fired upon them. The reply was conclusive. These fidalgos returned to apprise the King, and then proceeded to Alcacer to join many noble volunteers who had gathered there, under the command of the heroic D. Duarte de Menezes; and D. Alfonso V. returned to Portugal to prepare aid to relieve Alcacer, but he found

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the kingdom deficient of resources, and the people ill-disposed to aid him.

On the 13th November, the King of Fez pitched his camp opposite Alcacer. If we credit Ruy de Pina, the Moorish army numbered thirty thousand horsemen and many foot-soldiers. The siege which then commenced immortalised D. Duarte de Menezes, and rendered his name the terror of Mauritania. During this second siege the wife of the Governor, D. Isabel de Castro, arrived to the Bay of Tangiers from Portugal to join her husband, D. Duarte de Menezes. He sent word to her before she disembarked that she had better return to Evora, where she could live at peace, as it would be impossible for her to do so there. D. Isabel replied that, as a daughter of D. Fernando de Castro, she did not fly from dangers, and desired him to guard the landing, as she wished to disembark and endure the inconveniences of the siege rather than her yearnings alone, and sooner die a glorious death amid the dangers than live an inglorious life in her drawing-room.

In effect, D. Isabel landed beneath a shower of balls and arrows, an example of valour which greatly inspirited the Portuguese soldiers. This landing was effected on the very day, the 2nd July, 1459, that the King of Fez arrived to take Alcacer. With her own hands, and those of her ladies, they tended the wounded soldiers. These chivalrous fidalgos were joyed at the prospect of combating for their King, their God, and their lady-loves, and for this reason, says the chronicler, many in Portugal were desirous of voluntarily breaking lances in these illustrious tournaments. The Moors nevertheless, who well knew by experience how sharply the Portuguese sword could fall, would not attempt to approach too close to the shore, and confided rather in the power of their bombards, with which, in effect, they destroyed the walls; but D. Duarte so promptly repaired these breeches that the Moors, losing all hope, again raised the siege after fifty-three days, and departed, followed by the taunts of the Portuguese, whose chief, D. Duarte, sent letters to tell them that they acted in a cowardly manner by not daring to come forward and fight hand to hand. The Moors replied by insults, but they would not resolve upon accepting the challenge.

The successive defeat of the Moors during the twice repeated sieges, and the intrepid constancy of D. Duarte, had won popular praise, and in order to reward his services the King nominated him, with full

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applause, Count de Vianna do Minho, when he came from Alcacer to Portugal. This Governor, D. Duarte, had commenced to show his bravery at the age of fifteen in Ceuta, when under the orders of his father. He was in the expedition of Tangiers in 1437; in 1438 he was appointed chief ensign and Alcaide of the Castle of Beja. He accompanied the Constable D. Pedro to Castille against the Infantes of Aragon, and was held in highest esteem by all, for which reason Alfonso V. appointed him Captain of Alcacer-Seguer.

D. Alfonso V. continued in Evora, ever preoccupied with African affairs and in furthering his conquests. He held a Cortes in Lisbon, where they besought him to curtail the enormous expenses which burthened the State, and voting 150,000 gold doubles to defray the Crown rentals.

Two years later, in 1462, Alfonso V. returned a second time to Africa, with the object of conquering the city of Tangiers. A terrible storm prevented him from approaching the shore, and the King was compelled to remain in Ceuta, and as he found he had not sufficient men to warrant him in attacking Tangiers, he resolved upon entering the possessions of the Moors by land. But, more daring than prudent, Alfonso V. interned himself in the Serras of Benacofu, where he was surrounded by the Moors, and from whence he would never have escaped but for the singular heroism of Luiz Mendes de Vasconcellos, the Admiral of the Fleet; D. Duarte de Menezes, Count of Vianna, and others, who perished to save the life of the King.*

D. Alfonso then retreated towards Tetuan, and from thence to Ceuta, where he created the son of the deceased Count of Vianna, Count of Valença and Loulé. On returning to Portugal, D. Alfonso V. started on a pilgrimage to Guadalupe, where he had an interview with Henrique IV. of Castille and the Queen D. Joanna, when projects of marriage were discussed, but which were not realised.

The most ardent desire of Alfonso V. was to take revenge for the disaster which had occurred to him in Benacofu, but years passed before he was able to realise this warlike yearning. At length, on the 15th

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* The body of the Count of Vianna was cruelly dismembered by the Moors, so that only a finger was found. This small portion was brought to Portugal and preserved in the rich mausoleum which the Countess erected in the convent of S. Francisco de Santarem. This precious monument at the present day serves as the partition wall of the stables in the Artillery Barracks of the now profaned church of S. Francisco.

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August, 1471, D. Alfonso appointed the Duke of Braganza Governor of the Kingdom, and embarked in Setubal with the prince D. João, and headed a fleet composed of 28 ships, furnished with 24,000 men.

This numerous squadron reached the shores of Tangiers, but owing to the roughness of the sea the army were unable to land; hence the ships proceeded to the stronghold of Arzilla, some seven leagues to the west of Tangiers. The surging of the ocean and the efforts of the Moorish soldiers rendered the landing a difficult one, and resulted in the loss of a galley, some caravels and crafts, and the death of nearly 200 men; among them, eight fidalgos. The stronghold was then laid under siege and the camp was struck, and after three days the whole of the troops effected the landing without meeting opposition from the Moors. The first to land were the Counts of Marialva and Monsanto, followed by the King. The rampart walls were then bombarded by the Portuguese, and so great was the desire for war that oftentimes the combat became undisciplined, and at times the King thought all was lost, and he even promised to send his statue in silver as an offering to Our Lady of Espinheiro of Evora, a vow which he fulfilled later on, when he sent an equestrian statue in silver.

The Portuguese succeeded in capturing the mosque from the Moors, although it cost them much bloodshed and the life of D. João Coutinho, Count de Marialva. When this conquest was effected, they proceeded to take the castle, and so great was their haste to do this, that, without awaiting scaling ladders to be set up against the walls, the soldiers, with lances and staves, climbed up the walls and towers. In the courtyard of the castle the combat grew fierce. In this encounter gloriously perished the Count de Monsanto and D. Alvaro de Castro. After taking the castle followed the occupation of the city, the chronicler calculating that two thousand Moors were slain and five thousand taken captive. The loss to the Portuguese was much smaller, but nevertheless it was relatively great.

Ruy de Pina tells us that the city was sacked and delivered up as a siege of war, its value being estimated at 80,000 gold doubles. The King would not retain any plunder of war, but allowed the soldiers to have it all without demanding the usual royalty.

D. Alfonso had fought with undoubted valour and always in the front ranks. The prince D. João likewise had given proofs of heroism and bravery, although but sixteen years of age. Indeed, both King and Prince had fought like simple soldiers, and their swords were blood-

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stained to the hilt. D. Alfonso V. felt that he could not choose a better occasion for knighting his son. The mosque was purified and consecrated, and transformed into a church under the invocation of Our Lady of the Assumption. The clergy awaited the Royal personages, and with psalms and hymns of triumph conducted them to the spot where the slain body of the Count de Marialva had been laid, covered with a cross. Turning to his son, with tears in his eyes, D. Alfonso V. pointed to the dead man and said: "My son, may God render you as good a knight as he who lies at your feet." Then he proceeded to knight him. On this same occasion D. Alfonso V. conferred the title of Count de Marialva on the brother of the deceased knight, D. Francisco, and the title of Count of Monsanto on D. João de Castro, the son of the late D. Alvaro.

Within the castle they found fifty Christian prisoners, who were all restored to liberty, and two women, and a son and daughter of Muley, the Sheik of Arzilla, who was absent, engaged in civil wars, when his city was besieged and taken. Muley subsequently ascended the throne of Fez. A governor was then named for the newly acquired Portuguese stronghold, this important charge being given to D. Henrique de Menezes, Count de Valença.

In this way, after 220 years that the Moors had held Arzilla, it fell into the power of the Portuguese. Arzilla was one of the finest possessions of the Moors in Africa, embellished by imposing buildings, a most flourishing commerce, and the cultivation of the sciences, and held arsenals and military establishments. Its inhabitants had often caused serious losses to the Christians of Ceuta and Alcacer. Beneath the Portuguese sceptre its population considerably increased, not only on account of the garrison and a permanent border guard, but likewise by eason of the many merchants who established themselves there, in order to trade with the rest of Africa. Moreover, as the territory of Arzilla was most fertile, the city attained great prosperity.

The city of Arzilla was already occupied by the Portuguese when the King of Fez arrived to succour the Africans. Finding that it was too late to save the place, he besought the King of Portugal to enter into negotiations for a truce of twenty years. This was actually effected, but which excluded the strongholds, which might be taken and retaken without holding the treaty broken.

But the Moors were so terrified at the sudden capture of Arzilla by the Portuguese that the defenders of Tangiers abandoned the city.

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This fact appeared so incredible to D. Alfonso V. that he sent the future Marquis of Montemor, at the head of a numerous army, to investigate the truth of this news. He returned with a confirmation of the fact, and a few days later Alfonso V. entered, without meeting any resistance, that very stronghold where his best warriors had been defeated, and which had been the cause of so many disasters. Nevertheless, D. Alfonso was not satisfied. For him, the veritable hero of the romances of chivalry, to enter triumphantly into a fortified place without being by the sword, lost a great part of its glory; and he felt almost humbled as he thought that it had not been necessary to unsheath his sword to conquer a city from whence he had, a few years previously, retreated full of sadness. It seemed to him that his mission had not been fulfilled as avenger of the misfortunes of his uncle, the Infante D. Ferdinand, and that those walls ought to have been conquered by sheer force, which had twice over been the sepulture of so many noble Portuguese.

He appointed Ruy de Mello, who subsequently became Count de Olivença, commander of the place. The mosque was transformed into a cathedral-church, because Tangiers was already a bishopric *in partibus infidelium*, the titular bishop being the Dean of S. Vicente of Lisbon, who now took possession of his episcopal charge.

Two other important cities with their adjoining territories were added to the Portuguese dominions in the north of Africa. In the States of Barbary, from whence had come the invasion which had inundated the whole of Spain, the Portuguese flag waved over four strongholds and fortified places, viz., Ceuta, Alcacer-Seguer, Arzilla, and Tangiers. For this reason, D. Alfonso V. judged it justifiable to adopt the title which his son, D. João II., and his nephew, D. Manuel, were still to increase—"D. Alfonso V., by the grace of God King of Portugal and the Algarves, on this side and beyond seas in Africa." This title he had won by his brave sword. From Tangiers he went on to Silves, and from thence returned to Lisbon, where Alfonso V. and his son received a most enthusiastic welcome from the people.

But among those who had taken part in the glorious conquest of Arzilla and the subsequent possession of Tangiers, the brave form of D. Henrique is wanting. Two years after he had wielded his brave sword of Ceuta before Alcacer-Seguer, the Infante D. Henrique died in Sagres on the 13th November, 1460. He was the last of the sons of D. João I., of that heroic generation which performed such grand

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deeds, and he, the greatest, was the last to descend into the grave and disappear from the scene of this world. He left the completion of his task to others, but nevertheless his name will ever be immortal. The new actors who followed were also moulded for working glorious deeds. Portugal was still further to extend the path of the capital in the persons of the sons and grandsons of the noble sons of D. João I.; but, however great their deeds might be, they only followed the impulse given by these chivalrous men, by these epic giants. In all the heroic deeds which we shall have further on to narrate, we must always turn our eyes back to the past to find the primary cause, in the epoch of D. João I. In following step by step the discovery of the new road to India, we must ever reverently bend before the form of the Infante D. Henrique, as likewise we must bear in mind in the taking of Arzilla, that the first canto of that African heroic poem, continued by D. Alfonso V., was inscribed with the sword of D. João I. on the conquered walls of the fortress of Ceuta.

By order of his nephew, D. Alfonso V., the remains of the Infante were translated to the church of Batalha.

A year later the Duke of Braganza died, to whose title and inheritance succeeded D. Fernando, Marquis de Villa Viçosa, his second son. The Infanta D. Catharina, sister of the King, also died about this time. She was rightly called the "hapless bride," as she was about to wed D. Carlos, the Prince of Navarre and Aragon, when he died, and she then entered the monastery of Santa Clara of Lisbon, from whence she was to leave to marry King Edward of England when a fever assailed her, which terminated mortally. Another Portuguese Infanta died about this epoch—D. Joanna, daughter of D. Alfonso V., who is surnamed "the Saint." Ruy de Pina informs us that she entered the monastery of Odivelos at the age of eighteen, but from her cradle she was sworn heiress of the Crown, as there was no male succession, and therefore the title of princess was given to her. This lady was very pious from her tenderest years, and refused all offers of marriage proposed to her. D. Alfonso V. desired to marry his daughter to the Dauphin of France, son of Louis XI., then to Maximillian, son of the Emperor Frederick and of D. Leonor of Portugal, and later on to Charles VIII., King of France, and lastly to Henry VII., King of England. This saintly princess bequeathed all her wealth to the convent, and even to this day is preserved the cell she occupied. She died on 12th May, 1490.

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In the year 1472 the prince-heir to the throne of Portugal, and successor of Alfonso V., married D. Leonor, the eldest daughter of the Infante D. Ferdinand, and therefore cousins.

When the King of Castille, Henrique IV., was apprised of the marriage of the prince D. João of Portugal with D. Leonor, he feared that his sister, D. Isabel, who had married the King of Sicily, should come to dispute the power, as the heiress of the throne of Castille was considered by many to be illegitimate, and was ironically called the "Beltraneja." He desired to form an alliance which would assure a direct line of succession.

With this object he endeavoured to form this alliance by wedding D. Joanna to D. Alfonso V. of Portugal, and sent for the purpose various embassies to Portugal. This proposal was enthusiastically received by the King of Portugal, who nurtured the idea of uniting the two kingdoms under one crown, and, in fact, becoming the King of the whole Spanish Peninsula.

A meeting of the Kings of Portugal and Castille took place on the frontiers of Alemtejo, and the proposal was definitely accepted of the marriage of Alfonso V. with his niece D. Joanna, despite the protests of D. Isabel, sister of Henry IV., and consort of Ferdinand, King of Sicily, who had married against the wish of her brother.

Notwithstanding the accord, many obstacles arose to the marriage, proceeding principally from fear of future wars with D. Isabel, who styled herself Princess of Castille, and whose cause was defended by many powerful Castillian magnates. Hence during the lifetime of Henrique IV. this marriage could not take place. At his death he left in his testament a declaration that D. Joanna was his daughter, and heiress of the kingdom of Castille, and appointing the King D. Alfonso to govern these States, beseeching him to accept the said government and marry the princess.

In Portugal opinions were divided. The prince D. João maintained that the King should wed D. Joanna, and at once enter Castille to revindicate his supposed rights. The Archbishop of Lisbon and the Marquis of Villa Viçosa opposed this opinion. Then an arbitrator was chosen to conciliate both opinions, and an ambassador was sent to Castille to gain information as to the number and importance of adherents to the cause of D. Joanna.

This envoy returned to Portugal with favourable accounts respecting the partisans of the Infanta, and Alfonso V. resolved finally to

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enter Castille, ordering preparations of war to be made for the following spring of 1475, at the same time sending Ruy de Sousa to apprise D. Isabel and her husband of his resolve, to which they replied, bidding him respect their rights and not enter into the kingdom which belonged to them.

The prince D. João daily instigated his father to make war on Castille, because his daring spirit loved warlike adventures; but fearing the lavish expenses which the King would incur with this war, he obtained from D. Alfonso V. a document wherein he declared that all gifts and donations which he might bestow on any individual of a higher sum than 10,000 reis, unless signed, consented to, and approved by his son the prince, would be of no value.

The Portuguese finances were truly in a deplorable state in this year, when war was declared with Castille. Alfonso V. was compelled to ask loans from his vassals, and to raise money on the treasury for orphans, which, later on, was paid back by D. João II.

At length Alfonso V. entered into Castille with 14,000 infantry and 5,600 cavalry. The prince D. João accompanied the King to Castille, and then returned to the kingdom.

In the city of Placensia the King D. Alfonso V. met his niece D. Joanna and the nobles of her suite, and there and then betrothed her, and both were proclaimed and sworn to as King and Queen of Castille ere the marriage was realised, owing to the dispensation from the Pope not having arrived.

At this place it was resolved that the Portuguese army should proceed forward to the city of Toro, and place the castle under siege. The monarchs of Castille, in order to animate the resistance, came in person, and pitched their camps along the river Douro, near the city. But the siege was so close that the King of Castille raised the camp and withdrew to Valladolid. This event disheartened those who followed the party of Fernando and Isabel, and the castle of Toro surrendered to the King of Portugal.

Alfonso V. proceeded to Samora, where the Archbishop of Toledo awaited him, and left the Queen there while he went on to Burgos, in order to take the castle. On his way he took the town of Baltenas, and imprisoned the Count de Benavente, and desisted, for the time being, from proceeding upon Burgos, but sent some men to take the town of Cantalapedra, which they succeeded in doing.

Meanwhile the prince D. João remained, governing the kingdom

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with singular energy and prudence, as he had to attend to numberless urgent affairs, the least of which was certainly not that of sending money for defraying the expenses of the army of his father.

About this time a Castillian knight took by assault the town of Orguella, close to Campo Mayor, and the Infante at once sent some of his men to retake it. Alfonso V. then withdrew to Samora, where he had left the Queen for the winter, sending for the Prince-heir to come to him, as he had business affairs of State to confer with him. D. João was hastening to obey his father, and had already gone as far as Miranda do Douro, when Alfonso V. sent word that there was a plot in which he should fall a victim if he passed the bridge of Samora, and therefore to withdraw to Portugal. This bridge had two towers, one on each end, and the governors of these forts had combined to hem in the Prince-heir, with his suite, when crossing the bridge. This was the treacherous plot which awaited him. Alfonso V., in his indignation, attacked the Castillians, and from this fact he learnt that he could not depend on the loyalty of the inhabitants of Samora; therefore, he removed to Toro, where the Alcaide received him graciously.

The Prince-royal was exceedingly grieved at this attempt on his life, and sought to take revenge for it. He retired to the city of Guarda and summoned a council, wherein it was resolved to send further aid to D. Alfonso V., and for this object it became necessary to take all the silver from the churches and monasteries, excepting such as was actually indispensable for divine service. Loans were also raised among private people, yet all this was done, says Ruy de Pina, amid the wailings and sorrow of the people. The prince, having prepared all things, nominated his wife regent of the kingdom, and departed in the month of January, 1476, for Castille, to join his father, the King, and strengthen his army, and on his way sacked the town of San Felizes and took it.

Meanwhile the King D. Fernando and the Queen D. Isabel entered Samora and laid siege to the castle, which was in favour of the King of Portugal. The desire of D. Alfonso was to fly to the aid of the fortress, which D. Fernando was disputing inch by inch. But on the arrival of the Prince at Toro this idea was abandoned, and instead they beleaguered the bridge on the other side of the river, thus causing D. Fernando and the people of the city great mischief.

The Queen D. Joanna remained in Toro, guarded by some fidalgos, and the King and Prince pitched their camps in some fields

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adjacent to the bridge. Then envoys of the King of Castille joined the emissaries from the King of Portugal on an island of the river Douro, in order to endeavour to effect some conciliation between the two monarchs, but all to no purpose. D. Alfonso, wearied out by these long delays, and fearing want of resources, withdrew with his army to Toro, trusting that he would be soon followed by D. Fernando, when some occasion would present itself for combating. But the army of D. Fernando, suspecting some treachery, delayed to follow Alfonso V., a portion of whose army had already entered the city of Toro, when the men of Castille approached.

The Portuguese army was then divided into two corps—one commanded by the King and the other by the Prince. Alfonso V. then harangued the soldiers and proceeded to battle, the length of the river being occupied by the royal standard of Ferdinand the Catholic; "but not his person," says Damião de Goes, "because he wished to save himself following the advice of his own, and proceeded to a height, accompanied by some of his best men, in order to save himself, should the issue of the battle be against him." "When the two armies," he continues, sighted one another, a king-at-arms of D. Ferdinand approached to challenge D. Alfonso V. to battle, to whom the King of Portugal replied: 'Tell the Prince of Sicily that it is high time we should meet and not be sending challenges.' The day was declining, dark clouds covered the heavens, and a dense drizzling rain was coming down: the Prince D. João, following the advice of his father, attacked the five small wings to the cry of Saint George and Saint Christopher, while D. Pedro de Menezes attacked the sixth wing, the first to break through the enemy's ranks being Gonçalo Vaz de Castello-Branco."

The Castillians were unable to resist the impetuous attack of the most brilliant portion of the Portuguese nobility. Their ranks were broken, with great loss of men and many wounded, and the survivors rushed to the centre of the army, where the royal standard waved.

Alfonso V. and his followers, headed by the Count de Faro, were already involved with the enemy, combating as usual in front of his hosts, and exposing himself with heroic indifference. The combat continued for an hour, and the victory was still undecided, when the left wing of the army of D. Ferdinand, commanded by the Cardinal of Castille and the Duke of Alva, rushed to strengthen the royal battle. The Archbishop of Toledo and the Count de Monsanto, who were in the rearguard with their own men and the divisions of the Duke de

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Guimarães and of the Count de Villa Real, as soon as they perceived the movement of the Castillians, advanced promptly to reinforce the King, and the battle grew fiercer than ever.

But an event now took place which assigned the victory to the Castillians. The greater number of the men in armour and horsemen, and the close column of musketeers and the warriors of Alfonso V., became disorganised in the Portuguese ranks. The royal standard, forsaken by its defenders, despite the desperate bravery of the ensign, Duarte de Almeira, fell into the power of the enemy.

When Alfonso V. beheld the royal standard torn down and the soldiers in disorder, he endeavoured to rush into the enemy's ranks in order to find a glorious death; but the Castillian knight, Juan de Porraz, D. Gomes de Miranda, the Prior of San Martino, and the Count de Caminha, D. Pedralvares de Soutomayor, and other knights would not permit him to do so. The night was darksome and stormy, and fearing to meet on the road some of the Castillian forces which might prevent him entering into Toro, they fled towards Castro Nuño, whose alcaide was Pedro de Mendanha.

A great number of Portuguese perished while crossing the Douro in their endeavours to retreat to the city of Toro. This was the greatest loss sustained. Some Spanish writers compute the loss at 1,200 men.

Meanwhile the prince D. João, on knowing the defeat of his father, endeavoured to muster together the Portuguese who had gone in pursuit of the enemy, and called together the fugitives by lighting bonfires and sounding clarions. He continued on the battle-field till day-dawn, intending to offer a new battle to the Castillians; but the army of Ferdinand the Catholic retreated during the night as soon as they were aware that the King had retired to Samora. The prince D. João wished to remain three days on the battle-field, but the Archbishop of Toledo persuaded him that by being three hours he would fulfil perfectly the exigencies of honour. On the following day the Prince entered Toro, where he found the deplorable relics of the central Portuguese army, and where he was relieved in mind on finding his father the King safe, since he had judged his life had been sacrificed in the battle.

We said above that the royal flag had been torn despite the bravery of D. Duarte de Almeida. This brave knight found himself surrounded by a host of lances, against whom he dexterously defended himself, but a slash cut his right hand off, then with the left he grasped the royal

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standard, another slash deprived him of his left, and grasping with his teeth the flag, he still resisted, his eyes blazing with fierce energy, mutilated, yet with undaunted heroism. The Castillian soldiers who surrounded him, actuated by fierce passions, covered him with blows, until at length the ensign fell to the ground exhausted and dying. But the standard had not yet been altogether lost. A Portuguese shieldbearer meets the Castillians carrying it in triumph, and actuated by a generous impulse he plucks it from the hand of the Castillian and rushed back with it to the Portuguese army. This shieldbearer was Gonçalo Pires. But Duarte de Almeida was not dead, and he was conducted to the enemy's camp, where his wounds were attended to, and then sent to a hospital in Castille. After many months he returned to Portugal. While in Castille he was greatly honoured by the King Ferdinand, who ordered the arms belonging to Duarte de Almeida to be hung up in the cathedral of Toledo, and although a prisoner he was treated in Samora with the highest distinction. In Portugal he was allowed to add the name of Bandeira to his surname.

Notwithstanding the many deeds of valour practised by the Portuguese in the battle of Toro, and the small importance of this war in a military point of view, which cannot be considered as one of those terrible wars between two inimical armies which profoundly alter the fate of peoples and nations, the cause of Alfonso V. and Joanna was lost on the Castillian battle-field of Toro.

As will be seen by the hurried sketch we have given, a deep hopelessness took possession of the spirit of Alfonso V. He wished to seal by suicide the stormy period of his pretensions to the Crown of Castille. "It is fully admitted," writes Rebello da Silva, "that in the battle-field of Toro was decided the cause of the two rival princesses, and fortune smiled on the husband of D. Isabel, and that Alfonso V., after risking his life in the vanguard of his lances, not as a king and a general, but as a knight who is perfectly indifferent to the greatest dangers, beheld his squadrons broken up, his standard trailing on the ground, and his adversaries victorious.

"In that supreme moment he desired to die, and, spurring his horse to the centre of the Castillian strength, would certainly have ended, like D. Sebastian in Alcacer, his career of foolhardy adventures, pierced through by his enemies, had not the Count of Caminha and other Portuguese and Spanish fidalgos prevented him, and well-nigh forcibly removed him from the scene of the defeat, and by a side path conducted

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him to Castro Nuño, whose alcaide, Pedro de Mendanha, possessed his entire confidence."

Hence it is certain that the battle of Toro did not command a military importance sufficient to positively resolve a great international question. "Therefore," continues Lopes de Mendoça, "the battle of Toro, in which both adversaries proclaimed themselves conquerors, may at first have seemed decisive as regards the actual question at issue, nevertheless it was no more than a success of war sufficiently doubtful for either party, and insignificant for resolving so grave a strife, were it not that the cause of D. Alfonso V. was already virtually lost by the successive defection of his partisans, by the national repugnance for Portuguese dominion, and by the influence which Isabella was daily gaining among the popular classes.

"An event occurred which at once imparted an incontestable superiority to Isabella. Acclaimed Queen of Castille and Leon in Segovia, on the 13th December, 1474, she immediately took possession of the treasury of the kingdom, which had been entrusted to André Cabrera, and was kept in the fortress of that city. The co-operation of this individual at this difficult juncture was considered so important that Oviedo does not hesitate to affirm that he could have made a Queen of the Princess Isabel or the Princess Joanna, whomsoever he should approve.

"Hence Isabella, from the beginning of the war, had more resources at command than Alfonso V., and by skilfully employing these means she was able to draw to her party the principal representatives of an avaricious, corrupted aristocracy, which, during the reigns of D. Juan II. and Henrique IV., had become veritable *Condottieri*, offering their sword to the party which could better subsidise their services."

And, in truth, D. Alfonso V. was forsaken by the Castillian grandees, who at first had followed the cause of D. Joanna, the only one who continued faithful being the Archbishop of Toledo.

The prince D. João returned to Portugal in despair at the result of this affair, in which he had deeply involved himself.

D. Alfonso remained in Castille, without forces, without hope; and he even endeavoured to lay a snare for the Queen D. Isabel when she passed from Madrigal to Medina, appealing for aid to Louis XI. of France, with whom he desired to form an alliance for this purpose, and actually returned to Portugal, and from thence proceeded in person to France.

Alfonso V. departed from Lisbon with a fleet of sixteen ships and

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2,200 men, and a suite of 480 fidalgos, in the month of August, 1476. Fearing lest the powerful fleet of D. Ferdinand in the Bay of Biscay should offer him some affront, he did not proceed that way, as he had intended, but by the Mediterranean, and landed at Marseilles.

The fleet was driven to harbour at Lagos, where a French squadron, commanded by M. de Coulon, offered Alfonso V. homage, and whom he received splendidly, and thanked him for the aid he had offered him some time previously at Ceuta, when it was doubly assailed by the Castillians and the Moors. From Lagos he went on to Ceuta, and from Ceuta to France, but meeting stress of weather, was unable to land at Marseilles, as he had intended, and went on to Collioure, where he dismissed the Portuguese ships, and was received by an envoy from the King of France.

From Collioure he proceeded to Perpignan, where he was received by the local authorities with signal honours. From Perpignan he went on to Narbonne, Montpellier, Besiers, and Nimes, following on towards Leon, and on the road the Duke of Bourbon came to meet him. D. Alfonso did not enter Leon, owing to the pestilence then raging, but in Rouen he received another envoy from the King, who was sent to welcome him. After this he went to Bruges, where he rested for several days, and fresh envoys from Louis XI. were sent to attend on him. The place assigned for the meeting of the two monarchs was Tours, and to that city Alfonso V. proceeded; but Louis XI., on the pretext of a pilgrimage, left various of his Court to receive the Portuguese King. The King of France undoubtedly wished to prepare scenic effects, and render his presence greatly to be desired and sought for.

When Alfonso was told that Louis XI. was approaching, he wished to come out on the road to meet him, or at least on the staircase, but the King of France sent forward two noblemen before him to dissuade Alfonso V. from carrying his courtesy to such a length. In this act is perfectly revealed the character of Louis XI. He had made himself desired and waited for, but now he manifested himself deeply courteous and almost humble. This trait is eminently characteristic of the King as he is traced before us by historians, and even by romancers. His reign was a daily combat, as Augustin Thierry tells us, for the cause of unity of power and social equality, but a combat sustained in the manner of savages, by craft and cruelty. From thence, observes this historian, results that mixture of interest and repugnance which is excited in us when studying this character so strangely original.

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At length the two monarchs met in a drawing-room. The *mise-en-scene* of this interview is curious. "The King of France," says Ruy de Pina, "entered with a skull-cap on his head, having thrown off his hat and two large hooded cloaks. He was arrayed in a short tunic of common cloth, and from his waist-band hung a long sword with steel ornamentation; around his neck a scarf of yellow camlet, and breeches of white, embroidered in many colours; top boots and spurs. Both Kings, with caps in hand, bent low and embraced one another."

As may be perceived, besides its originality, the *toilette* of the King of France was far from magnificent. To this is added a certain tone of humility which well befitted at the present moment this great diplomatist of the fifteenth century, to attract towards him his unwary victim.

After some time spent in general conversation, the two sovereigns withdrew to a chamber, where Louis XI. proposed to Alfonso V. what he judged he ought to do. First—"That the Portuguese monarch should ask of the Duke of Burgandy, who was then at war with the Duke of Lorraine, to help him against Castille, or at least pledge himself not to attack the King of France, who was in favour of the Duke of Lorraine, so long as Louis XI. should war in favour of the King of Portugal."

The enmity existing between the King of France and the Duke of Burgandy was long and violent. This duke had deprived the Duke of Lorraine of his states, and the latter was secretly aided by Louis XI. against the common enemy.

"When D. Alfonso V.," writes Pinheiro Chagas, "innocently desired to reconcile these two implacable adversaries, the Duke of Burgandy had besieged the city of Nancy, the capital of Lorraine, which declared for its legitimate lord. Louis XI. laughed *dans sa barbe* at the attempt which the innocent Alfonso V. was about to make, and probably expected it would somewhat illude Charles of Burgandy; meanwhile that his troops were secretly joining those of the Duke of Lorraine, and he waited, like the sinister raven, for the first sounds of a defeat to pounce upon the prize of the battle-field and revel with its possession. Charles of Burgandy had one only child, a daughter, and Louis XI. hoped, with some good reason, to clutch the inheritance."

Secondly—That Alfonso V. obtain from the Pope the necessary Apostolic dispensation for marrying his niece, D. Joanna, in order that

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he should be able to "aid him with less responsibility," says Ruy de Pina.

This was one other *ruse* of Louis XI., as he was well aware that Ferdinand and Isabella would place great difficulties in Rome. It was a means adopted for delay, and a palliative expedient.

At that time Louis XI. was perfectly aware of the chivalrous credulity of Alfonso V. He, therefore, commenced to make him promises and offers. He told him that the Castillians were always ready to sell their strongholds, hence that it would be better for him to purchase than to capture them. That he might reckon upon any sum he should require for that object.

In order to win the dispensation for the marriage of Alfonso V. with his niece, D. Joanna, an embassage departed for Rome, composed of three representatives from the King of Portugal, who were animated by the best faith, and two representatives from the King of France, who naturally carried private instructions for the Pontiff.

Meanwhile, Alfonso V. departed for Nancy in order to interview the Duke of Burgandy, who, as we have said, was at war with the Duke of Lorraine, and had encamped in Lower Germany.

Historians are divided as regards the manner in which Alfonso V. was received by the Count of Burgandy, son of Philip the Good. The Portuguese historians narrate this memorable interview as follows.

Alfonso V. arrived to the camp on the 29th of December, 1476. The days were numbered of the turbulent drama of the existence of the son of Philip the Good. His fidalgos were discontented, the soldiers wearied out, and treachery was involving him in its toils, because a Neapolitan, the Count de Campo Basso, in whom he placed implicit confidence, had already come to some understanding with the enemy. Notwithstanding all these doubts which assailed him, Charles amiably welcomed the King of Portugal. "They embraced each other," says Schœffer, "on the river covered with ice. The Duke, when informed of the designs of Alfonso, afforded him a clear knowledge of the character of the King of France. He represented him as one bereft of faith or virtue. In order to further prove his words, it sufficed to mention a fact. Whilst Louis was counselling Alfonso, this excellent prince who was solely actuated by peace and friendship, to proceed to Nancy, he was at the same time sending a numerous army to support the Duke of Lorraine. 'But,' added Charles of Burgandy, 'I hold the King of France in such small esteem, that with alone a page I would

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not hesitate to make war to him and gain the victory.' Nevertheless, whereas the King judged an alliance with Louis to be both desirable and advantageous, he would not stand in his way, and manifests himself favourable to his guest, and promised not only to maintain peace and friendship between them, but also fulfil all engagements which, at the bidding of Alfonso, he had contracted with the King of France. Then Alfonso departed for Paris, where Louis had invited him."

So far the Portuguese historians as narrated by Schœffer. M. de Barante gives a diverse account of the conference. According to him, "D. Alfonso V. found a prince unwilling to listen to his reasons. The Duke, as an only reply to his projects of peace and concord, proposed to him to shut himself up with the garrison of Pont-à-Mousson, in order to defend the city against the Duke of Lorraine, who was coming from Switzerland with his army, whilst he went forward to await him before Nancy and combat him.

"The King of Portugal, who had come with no such intention, was amazed at this reception, and at the little sense displayed by the Duke, and excused himself as well as he could by saying that he was not armed and had brought no warriors with him. On the following day he departed."

It is certain that Alfonso was perfectly disheartened, and events followed with fearful rapidity. The Duke of Lorraine arrived, and the Duke of Burgandy, instead of awaiting him on the entrenchments, proceeded to meet him on the open field; the treachery of Campo Basso was proved, and the terrible Swiss manifested their military superiority, and on the 5th January, 1477, Charles the Bold was defeated and slain on the battle-field. D. Alfonso V. at once perceived that his death was a deplorable event for him, and became stricken with sadness, which inspired suspicion in the French, who began to view him with distrust they who previously were so full of joy at this happy success.

Nevertheless, the death of the Duke of Burgandy at first proved beneficial to the affairs of Alfonso V. The Pope, to whom he had sent an embassy beseeching a dispensation for his marriage, had, influenced by Ferdinand of Castille, resorted to delay; but when informed of the death of the Duke of Burgandy, and supposing that Louis XI., delivered from his formidable adversary, would actually aid his Portuguese ally, granted at last the dispensation, but employing a subterfuge: he declared that as this was solely done to please the King of France, he would grant him the dispensation, which he could make use at his good

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pleasure. But the King of France had at this juncture other affairs to think about.

And in effect, as soon as he knew of the death of the Duke of Burgandy, he cast himself like a falcon on the unprotected provinces of his enemy, without taking any notice of the direct heiress, Maria de Burgandy, as though no such person existed. Negotiations, treacheries, gold lavishly spent, and even force of arms—all things did he employ to grasp the greater portion of the spoils of Charles the Bold. He sent to the cities of Burgandy emissaries charged with favouring the annexation, and for this end choosing those who formerly had lived in the ducal court, and among them Philip of Commines. The King removed to Arras, in Picardy, in order to be closer to the diplomatic field of action.

To Arras the King D. Alfonso sent the Count de Penamacor to ask an interview with Louis XI., which was at once granted, with all deference and honours; nevertheless, deeds did not follow promises. On that occasion Louis XI. cared naught for Castille, Portugal, and its wars; Burgandy was all he thought of.

After this interview in Arras, Alfonso V. began to comprehend that he had been no more than a simple dupe in the hands of Louis XI. From Arras, Alfonso went to Honfleur, where he remained the whole month of September a prey to a violent moral strife, which ended in wishing to retire from all worldly greatness and proceed to Jerusalem with the firm purpose of never again returning to Portugal. The whole of this time Alfonso spent in religious exercises and writing private notes, which he carefully locked up in a case of which he alone had the key. These notes were supposed to be a species of codicil or appendix to the testament he had made.

At length, one morning in September, 1477, the King went out riding as usual, accompanied by Soeiro Vaz and Pedro Pessoa, six pages, and two outriders, bidding his chaplain to await him on the road at a given spot, where in effect he joined him. On arriving to the spot, Alfonso V. bade one of the outriders to go back to Honfleur and deliver up to those who had remained in charge of the place the key of the case, in order that they should open it and read what he had left, and forward the contents as directed.

At Honfleur the nobles were beginning to feel some disquietude at the prolonged absence of D. Alfonso V. when the messenger arrived. But astonishment and terror succeeded the first feeling of alarm on reading the purport of the papers he had left behind. Alfonso V. had

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addressed a letter to the King of France, Louis XI., complaining of his bad faith, and that, disheartened and disillusioned of the vanities of the world, he abdicated the crown in favour of his own son, and departed as a pilgrim to Jerusalem in fulfilment of a former vow he had made. Another letter was to his son, the prince D. João, informing him of his resolve and bidding him accept the crown and proclaim himself King. A third letter, most affectionately written, was addressed to the fidalgos who had remained in France, apologising for thus leaving them, and bidding them obey the Count de Faro.

If the grief of the Portuguese was great and bitter, no less was that of Mr. de Lebret, a French noble whom Louis XI. had placed near Alfonso V., and who was responsible for the person of the Portuguese monarch. He upraided the Portuguese for their negligence, and nearly distracted, he sent emissaries in every direction with orders to prevent D. Alfonso V., wherever he might be traced, from departing, but treating him, nevertheless, with all respect and highest deference.

At length he was discovered in a small village on the coast by a Norman nobleman called Robinet-Bœuf. The King, in order better to disguise himself, slept and lived with his servitors, but this Norman noble quickly recognised him, and being in bed asleep, he awakened him, apologising for so doing. This noble proceeded quietly and secretly to summon the villagers, who mustered around the house where D. Alfonso V. had taken up his quarters, and thus prevented his departure. He then sent messengers to the Count de Penamacor, the Count de Faro, Mr. de Lebret, and to Louis XI., to acquaint them of his successful capture. The faithful Portuguese fidalgos hastened at once to the village, where they kissed his hand and weepingly implored him, with Mr. de Lebret, to desist from his project of flight. Meanwhile Louis XI., on receiving the letter from the King of Portugal, feeling somewhat ashamed of being the cause of that sad resolve, and especially distressed at what the world might say of him when it became aware that through his bad faith he had cast into despair so noble and loyal a prince, addressed Alfonso V. a letter full of promises and consoling words, by which he endeavoured to heal the wounds he had himself opened.

Alfonso V. allowed himself to be persuaded, but refused to continue any longer in France. Unwilling to return to Honfleur, he embarked in the bay of the Hogue for Portugal in a small ship which he freighted. Although well satisfied at getting rid of a troublesome guest, Louis XI.

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wished to afford some pomp to his departure and show him some honours in order to disguise before the eyes of the world the perfidy he had been guilty of. A French squadron, commanded by George le Grec, was at once equipped to accompany the ship of the King of Portugal, and quitting the coasts of Normandy in October, 1477, arrived in Cascaes at the middle of November.

Some of the ships composing the fleet, unable to keep together, reached Portugal before the royal one, thus D. João II. was apprised of the arrival of his father. D. João had already been proclaimed king. It is said that D. João II. was strolling on the banks of the Tagus, close to the palace of Santos, accompanied by D. Ferdinand, Duke of Braganza, and D. George da Costa, later on created Cardinal of Alpedrinha, when he was told that his father was approaching Cascaes. He turned and asked his companions what he should do in that event. The Duke replied that the duty of D. João II. was to receive Alfonso V. as his king and father. Then D. João II. stooped, and picking up a stone, cast it on the waves of the Tagus, which for a length of space skimmed the surface of the water. D. George da Costa then whispered into the ears of the Duke, "That stone must not strike me on the head." On the following day he departed for Rome, where he attained to great honours and importance.

In this movement of indignation, in view of the weakness and changeableness of his father, who yielded to the craft of Louis XI., is perfectly manifested the firm, austere character of D. João II.; and it is also comprehensible in him that after the first impression had passed away, he should proceed to receive his father at Olivas, and respectfully deliver up to him his title as King, of which he was already in possession. Such characters as those of D. João II. possess a deep sense of their duty, although to fulfil it they should sacrifice themselves.

Alfonso V. on his part, ashamed of the circumstances which surrounded him and of the vacillations of his own spirit, desired his son to retain the title of King, reserving to himself alone the title of the Algarves and the conquests of Africa, but the Prince would not consent to this.

After residing some time in Lisbon, Alfonso V. withdrew to Montemor-o-Novo, and from thence to Evora, and it is passing strange that after so many broken illusions he should still cherish the idea of actually continuing the war with Castille, which was limited to a few incursions: and of effecting definitely his marriage with D. Joanna.

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The Prince firmly opposed these plans, especially that of his marriage. He insisted, however, upon his father reassuming the sceptre and the crown.

Whilst D. Alfonso V. was vainly soliciting aid from France, which was not actually refused, his partisans in Castille, now completely disillusioned, beheld their cause lost and successively forsook him. The Archbishop of Toledo and the Marquis of Villena, through the mediation of the King of Arragon, effected a reconciliation with Ferdinand and Isabella. The Castillian fortified places which had espoused the cause of Alfonso V. successively surrendered, and the only ones which remained faithful, owing to the chivalrous fealty of its governors, were the strongholds of Toro, Canta la Piedra, Siete Iglesias, Covillas, and Castro Nuño. The alcaide of Toro was Juan de Ulloa. At his death his widow, Maria Sarmiento, continued to hold the fortress, with singular constancy, assisted by the Portuguese fidalgo, the Count de Marialva. The Castillians, however, succeeded to enter the city by surprise, guided by a certain priest, and the Count de Marialva was forced to withdraw with his troops into the castle of Castro Nuño, and Maria Sarmiento remained enclosed in the castle of Toro within the captured city. Nevertheless she did not surrender. The Queen Isabella came in person to beleaguer her, because Ferdinand had been obliged to proceed to Biscay.

Then took place the singular event of two heroic ladies being placed opposite one another. At first Isabella resorted to gentle means, but her adversary manifested herself constant and unmoved, even alleging that she had pledged fidelity to Alfonso V., and that it was he alone who could release her from her pledge. Then Isabella ordered an assault to take place, but was repulsed. It was only when she found that she had no able men left in the garrison, that aid was not forthcoming from Portugal, that provisions were failing, and that to prolong the resistance was no longer possible, that Maria Sarmiento capitulated, and this capitulation was effected in a most honourable manner, stipulating that all who had taken her part should be reinstated in the full possession of their riches, honours, and privileges.

This honourable capitulation proves, moreover, the generosity of the Catholic sovereigns, who knew how to appreciate the nobleness of soul of Maria Sarmiento, and they ever after held their heroic adversary in the highest esteem and consideration.

Ferdinand then endeavoured to besiege the other strongholds.

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Siete Iglesias surrendered after a siege of two months. Canta la Piedra resisted for three months, and the garrison, which was Portuguese, withdrew to Portugal with all arms and baggage.

But prince D. João, who was preparing meanwhile to continue the war, sent two detachments to the frontier. One body entered through Badajoz, and the other by Ciudad Rodrigo. Such was the devastation they effected in Castille that the Catholic sovereigns hastened at full speed to defend it. D. Ferdinand went to direct the siege of Castro Nuño, the Queen to Badajoz, and the Master of Santiago to Ciudad Rodrigo. Castillian troops invaded Portugal and met with sanguinary reprisals. A fierce war, useless and devastating, desolated the frontier provinces, and the people of the border-line beheld their fields cut up, their villages set on fire, for no definite end or any serious motive, but simply at the beck of an obstinate, fickle King, who, at the time, was meriting from Philippe de Commines the contemptuous designation of "*Ce pauvre roi de Portugal.*"

But the prince D. João perfectly comprehended that Portugal, owing principally to the low state of her finances, was not in a condition to continue an open war with Castille.

The chief Alcaide of the town of Moura, Lopo Vaz de Castello-Branco, tried to revolt against the King of Portugal, because there was a ferment of undiscipline working in the country which was stimulated by the fluctuations of the royal power vested in Alfonso V. Later on it needed the iron character of D. João II. to place things in their former state, and to wrestle with nearly the whole nobility of the country. Lopo Vaz de Castello-Branco paid with his life for the boldness of his proceeding. It was one more manifestation of the character of the prince, who never left the rebellion of his enemies to pass unpunished.

In this unfortunate strife with Castille, Portugal had once again to figure. The case was this: the Countess of Medellim, who followed the cause of the princess D. Joanna, was besieged in her strongholds by the Master of Santiago, of Castille, and besought aid from Alfonso V. In effect Portugal sent succour, the small expedition being commanded by the Bishop of Evora, D. Garcia de Menezes. The Master of Santiago fought the Bishop close to Merida, and the Bishop was vanquished, wounded, and taken prisoner, owing to the disproportion of the two armies, that of Castille being far superior. The guarding of the bishop was entrusted to a Castillian knight, who allowed himself to be suborned,

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and therefore the Bishop D. Garcia de Menezes, although able to fly, retreated to Medellim, where, with the remnants of the expedition, he continued for a long time besieged, until the treaty of peace was effected.

Agitation reigned supreme in both countries, and in both countries likewise the speculators of the occasion did not cease from drawing the greatest possible profit under the circumstances, in the mercenary point of view. This state of things was grave for Portugal, and likewise a source of anxiety to Ferdinand and Isabella. Then were secret negotiations started for peace, even to the point of the Queen of Castille, Isabella, having an interview in Alcantara with her aunt, D. Beatriz of Portugal.

In this interview the first combinations for peace between the two nations were discussed. Later on another interview took place in Alemtejo between the plenipotentiaries of Portugal and Castille, in which it was laid down that the peace should be perpetual. The stipulated conditions were as follows:—

1. That D. Alfonso cease to entitle himself King of Castille and Leon, and Ferdinand and Isabella sovereigns of Portugal.

2. That D. Joanna lose all titles assumed by her, neither styling herself Queen or Infanta, excepting in the event of a marriage with the prince D. João of Castille being effected with her.

3. That the former treaty of peace made with D. João I. should conveniently be revised and modified.

4. That the cities, towns, and castles which had been taken from either kingdom, as well as all prisoners, to be restored, set at liberty, and pardoned.

5. That in respect to certain specified persons and knights, especial capitulations be made, and that the strongholds which may have been erected on the frontiers of either kingdom be demolished.

6. That the sovereignty of Guinea, from Capes Narn and Bojador up to the Indies inclusively, with all adjacent seas, islands, discovered and undiscovered coasts, with their treaties, fisheries, and ransoms, as also the island of Madeira, and the Azores, Flores, Cape Verde, and the conquest of the kingdom of Fez remaining *in solido* and for ever to the King of Portugal, and that the Canary Islands and the kingdom of Granada remain *in solido* to the Kings of Castille and their successors in perpetuity.

7. That, as a further security of this treaty, the Infante D. Alfonso,

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grandson of Alfonso V., when he should attain the age of seven years, to wed the Infanta D. Isabel, the eldest daughter of the sovereigns of Castille, assigning the dowry of the princess and the manner of payment.

8. That, at a stated period of time, D. Joanna and the above-mentioned Infantes be placed as hostages in the town of Moura, under the power of the Infanta D. Beatriz.

9. That the prince D. João, son of the sovereign of Castille, on attaining the age of seven years, wed that lady, who would then take the title of princess, and be adequately dowered; but should the said prince D. João not desire to marry D. Joanna, she would remain free on receiving an indemnification.

10. That Joanna be at once placed as hostage, as above said, or else enter one of the five monasteries which should be specified, and remain there one year of novitiate, at the end of which to choose either to marry or become a nun.

This peace treaty was published in September, 1479; and in virtue of this treaty D. Joanna, losing the title of Queen and Infanta, entered the monastery of Santa Clara of Santarem. She was in her seventeenth year, and she had already experienced all the bitterness of fate; she had already lost all the illusions of youth. She had witnessed the convulsions of civil war, and she had seen that dismal passions would not heed her life so long as the dreams of ambition be realised. In Moura she would be so near her enemies, and would find but a poor protection from her friends! Hence she preferred the convent. Of her own will, but with her heart deeply stricken, she assumed the habit of Saint Clare, and allowed the wealth of her magnificent tresses, which were now her only diadem and crown, to be cut off.

The year of probation passed, and the hapless princess declared that she desired definitely to profess in the Order. There was, however, a moment of hesitation. Suddenly before her youthful eyes passed charming visions of the world she was leaving—its pomps and feasts, its loves and power and riches, all its joys and all its splendour. She withdrew from her lips with trembling hand the chalice she was to drink; but when this was known to the prince D. João, the implacable politician, he hastened to confirm her in her resolves, and speak to her of immortal hopes and the joys of sacrifice. The temptation passed quickly, and Joanna, once again full of resignation, bowed down her young head to allow the symbol and diadem of death—the veil of the spouses of Christ—to be fastened on her brow!

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The sacrifice had been consummated, the vows of her executioners were crowned. The prince D. João could now dream that a stroke of fortune would suffice to clear the path to the throne, by the death of the son of the Catholic Kings, and to encircle the brow of his son D. Alfonso and his daughter-in-law with the crowns of Spain and Portugal. This dream of fate was realised. The beloved child of the Catholic sovereigns died in the flower of its youth, but previous to his death the son of the prince D. João, the Infante D. Alfonso, fell a victim to a dismal disaster.

Ah, if when the powerful King D. João II., with heart torn by anguish, followed along the shores of Santarem the corpse of his beloved son, he had raised his eyes to the latticed windows of the convent of Santa Clara, and could have seen behind the grating the pale, sad form of a poor nun, who in the world had been called D. Joanna, Queen of Castille and Portugal, would it not have been for him a vision of piercing remorse, as the formidable incarnation of Divine vengeance? But this mysterious avengement did not end here. Isabella the Catholic, who so coldly had sacrificed to her ambition and security her hapless niece, saw fate successively wrench from her arms her son D. Juan and her daughter D. Isabel, in the icy clasp of death, in the flower of their youth, and her other daughter, D. Joanna, a victim to insanity! Singular coincidences! Mysterious combinations of darksome shades! But the people, with their good sense, corrected the decrees of the kings and the resolutions of the nobility; the people, who in those days represented, so to say, in the greatest tragedies of history the chorus of the Athenian tragedies, commented with two words upon these hapless plans, and Joanna, from whom the great and the Kings had wrenched all titles, conferred upon her another title, more brilliant, purer, more noble—the title of the Excellent Lady. Meanwhile that to Joanna, the daughter of the Catholic sovereigns, to whom her parents had bequeathed the title of Queen of Spain, and for whom they endeavoured to win the higher title of Empress of the Holy Empire, the people surnamed Joanna the Insane.

The peace of Alcaçova was signed advantageously for Portugal, but the Castillians endeavoured to evade its fulfilment, and resorted to dilatory measures and to new conditions. Alfonso V., angered by disappointments and tortured by the voice of conscience, which accused him of the sad fate he had subjected D. Joanna, wandered

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about the kingdom, leaving its government entirely in the hands of his son. This prince was an individual of another mould, and Louis XI. could not illude him. To the diplomatic subterfuges of the Castillians he replied with a formal intimation of delivering up the Infanta D. Isabel, or consider the war newly declared. This resolve, confirmed by the movements of the army, ended all their delays and hesitations.

D. Alfonso, feeling sad, and depressed by physical and moral ailments, proceeded to Beja to meet his son, in the spring of the year 1481, and had a long interview. He endeavoured, in the first place, to pacify the discords which had commenced between the prince and the house of Braganza, but to his endeavours he only received evasive replies. In the second place, he made known his intention of summoning in Estremoz a Cortes, at the end of the year, in order to definitely abdicate and resign the government, and then retire from the world by withdrawing to the convent of Varatojo, which he had founded near Torres Vedras, and end his days there, as a lay brother, in peace. Ever since the profession in religion of D. Joanna his spirit had been shadowed by sadness.

D. João attempted to dissuade him from his purpose, but D. Alfonso was not to be dissuaded. At the beginning of summer he went to Cintra, the spot of his predilection, but an attack of fever assailed him, which became serious. D. João hastened to his father's bedside, but found him in a dying state. On the 28th August, 1481, D. Alfonso V. expired in the same chamber where he had drawn his first breath, and his remains were transferred to Batalha, where they still lie in their temporary tomb.

The Excellent Lady survived him many years, and died in Lisbon, in the year 1530, at the age of sixty-eight.

In the reign of D. João III. it was permitted her to reside outside the convent, and she came to dwell in the palace of Alcaçova, in Lisbon.

In her will she ordered her body to be buried in the monastery of Veratoja, arrayed in the habit of Saint Francis. She signed her will, "I, the Queen,"* a title of which she had been deprived, but

* A facsimile of this signature may be seen in "Rainhas de Portugal," by Benevides. Her will is found in "Provas da Historia Genealogica," tom. ii., p. 76; and in this same volume, p. 60, is found the "Manifestos dos direitos de D. Joanna ao throno de Castella," as also the description of the persons who composed her household.

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which proves that the hapless princess never resigned herself to the expoliation of which she had been the victim. By her testament may be seen who were the persons that had remained faithful.

Alfonso V., says Schœffer, more a knight than a general, and more a warrior than a monarch, deserved as a man to attract towards him all sympathies. His customs were pure; temperate at table; he led a regular life, his conduct stainless towards his consort, and, after he lost her, drew the esteem of all towards him. He was a lover of science, and honoured all those who pursued it, and all wise men were summoned around him. He possessed a highly cultivated mind, and his tone of voice was musical and authoritative; nevertheless, his spirit, though bright, was not deep, and he often yielded to weakness, and allowed himself to be swayed by passionate impulses. He was not of a sufficiently strong will to be able to rule his spirit with firmness in the affairs of government, and to repel the impulses of unreflecting sentiments, and the seductions of projects nourished by fancy. The virtues which rendered him worthy of love in his private life produced a very different effect in a prince seated on the throne, and even dismal in their consequences to himself and to the country. He was generous and grateful, even to the point of prodigality; his countenance was imposing, and his figure admirably proportioned.

Alfonso V., above all things else, desired two objects in life—the crown of Castille and the possession of the strongholds of Moorish Africa. What forces he had at command he applied to realise these favourite plans. If in these he did not afford to the world any great proofs of his wisdom and tact as a politician and a king, he at least signalised his personal courage as a warrior, in which he was trained, and followed in preference to any other disposition. Had the prosperity of his people been equally his aim, if his energy had been fixed on this point, instead of outside the kingdom, to spend his forces and those of the State, he would have been a benefactor to his people. But Providence still watched over Portugal, and to D. Alfonso V. succeeded D. João II. The change was sudden and violent, and equity laments this want of equilibrium. The death of D. Alfonso V. was lamented by the great rather than by the lowly, because the great received from him many gifts and concessions, the humble but scant justice and were burthened by continued imposts which rendered wars necessary. His son, the King D. João, on the contrary, was beloved by the lowly and detested by the great.

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Vanity and obstinacy were, as a man, his most salient defects, his defects as a king we have already shown. Through vanity and obstinacy he stained the first years of his reign with the death of his uncle, D. Pedro; through vanity and obstinacy he was visited on African shores by disasters which could have been avoided; and through obstinacy and vanity he entered into a badly organised war against Castille, and which he continued to wage even when all elements of success had begun to fail. But history forgives him sufficiently his errors as a monarch and defects as a man when it beholds in him the intrepid knight at the head of the brilliant nobility of Portugal. And when evoking before Arzilla the epic form of D. João I. in Ceuta, acknowledges that his reign is a true parenthesis in the history of Portuguese civilisation and can not do otherwise than offer its homage to that form which so poetically illumines the last expiring rays of chivalry, romantic and adventuresome, which flashes amid the dark shades of the Middle Ages. Alfonso V. was to the Portuguese the last king, so to say, of the Middle Ages, with his chivalrous warlike instincts, and D. João II. rises before us as the first king of the new epoch, astute, political, and despotic. But if the aim he had in view was similar to that of Louis XI., and if the means he made use of were in a great measure also similar, his proceeding, nevertheless, revealed a grand spirit and the frank energy of a man who knows well how to wield the sword.

Although Alfonso V. was certainly greatly preoccupied with his war of Mauritania and did not pay great attention to maritime discoveries, nevertheless discoveries continued, if not very enthusiastically, at least perseveringly. It was during his reign that the Portuguese ships for the first time passed the Equator, and that new constellations on a more splendid horizon were unfolded before the astonished gaze of Portuguese pioneers. The farthest point which was reached during the lifetime of the Infante D. Henrique was Sierra Leone, and to a bay which later on Pedro de Cintra called Santa Maria das Neves (Saint Mary of the Snow). The successful navigator who took the caravels of the Infante to this distance was Alvaro Fernandes, nephew to João Gonçalves Zarco.

But the coast, which extended from the Rio Geba and the Bay of Santa Maria das Neves had not been as yet carefully explored. This exploration was effected by one of the household of D. Alfonso V. called Pedro de Cintra. The narrative of this voyage is given by Luiz de

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Cadamosto, and is appended to the *Navegações*. In the year 1461 or 1462, two caravels departed, commanded by the captain, Pedro de Cintra. After visiting the islands which stand at the entrance of the Geba, and which they found deserted, they followed on to the south, and to a river whose mouth stands about 40 miles from the mouth of the Geba they gave the name of Rio Bessegue, because this was the name of the land-owner through whose territory the river flowed. They then continued demarcating the Cape de Verga, and subsequently that of Sagres, this name being given in memory of the promontory sacred to the genius and the expeditions effected by the Infante D. Henrique.

The Cape Sagres of Guinea marks the limit, according to modern geographical demarcations, between the coast of Guinea, of Cape Verde, and Sierra Leone. It was on this latter coast that Pedro de Cintra found the river to which he gave the name of Saint Vincent, and which at the present day is called in foreign maps Mellacoree. Further down they saw another river, which they called Verde. From thence, continuing to the south, they found a cape, which they called Cape Ledo or Alegre, and which the English call at the present day Cape Sierra Leone. Close to this is Freetown, the capital of the English colony of Sierra Leone, a flourishing city, whose splendour strangely contrasts with the misery of Portuguese colonial cities. The luxuriant aspect of this point induced the Portuguese navigators to call it Cabo Ledo. Towards the interior rises a mountain, to which was given the name of Sierra Leone on account of the roaring which was heard from the storms that frequently burst over the heights. A dense fog constantly hovered around this peak, and produces thunder and lightning, which reverberates for a distance of forty to fifty miles, and this fog is never cleared, even when the sun is at its fiercest.

Below Cape Ledo there were some islands on the sea, to which Pedro de Cintra gave the name of Selvagens (wild), and which the cosmographer Pimentel later on named Bravas, and in modern maps are styled, for a contradiction, Bananas.

Continuing further still to the south, Pedro de Cintra found a river, with yellowish or reddish looking water, and the ground around of the same colour. This river was therefore called Rio Vermelho, or Roxo, and to an adjacent cape and an island, Cape and Red Island.

The extreme point to which Alvaro Fernandes had attained was reached. In the vast inlet where he anchored flowed a river, which

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Pedro de Cintra called Santa Maria das Neves, because it was on its festival that he sighted it.

It was so far that the Infante D. Henrique had driven his caravels, and pursuing the impulse which the vigorous hand of the prince had given to all Portuguese, Pedro de Cintra followed on further, and finding some low sandy islands, he called them Islands of Bancos, and these islands are called generally throughout Europe the Turtle Islands.

The Cape of Sant' Anna was the next promontory demarcated. Subsequently was found the river called Das Palmas, owing to the number of palm-trees growing along the shores. To another river was given the name of Fumas, on account of the smoky fires the natives lit on all sides. Then they reached a cape dominated by a hill, which they called Cabo do Monte. This is the extreme meridianal limit of the coast of Sierra Leone, and here commences the coast of Liberia,* formerly called Malagueta.

A short distance towards the south they doubled another cape, which they called Mesurado, or Cortez. The coast beyond is lined with trees, and a dense wood he found, sixteen miles to the south of Cape Mesurado, Pedro de Cintra named Arvoredo de Santa Maria.

This traveller extended his discoveries two degrees beyond the point to which the ships of the Infante D. Henrique had reached, or, more or less, to the sixth degree, northern latitude.

A fixed date cannot be assigned to this voyage, but it is probable it took place in the year 1462, and certainly must have taken place between 1460 and 1463, because we know it was effected after the death of the Infante D. Henrique, on 13th November, 1460, and previous to the departure of Cadamosto to Italy, on 1st February, 1463.

We have few and vague accounts of the discoveries effected between 1463 and 1469. It appears these were not extended beyond the last points demarcated by Pedro de Cintra. What imparted to them a new impulse was the commercial spirit.

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* The change of name was only effected within this century. The name of Liberia was given to nearly the whole coast, owing to the Republic of Liberia being founded, in 1821, by the negroes and mulattoes who had fled from the United States. By purchasing lands this republic became extended, and at the present day is acknowledged by England, France, and the United States; and it is presumed that in time it will assume some importance, in view of its prosperous condition.

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In the year 1470, Fernão Gomes, João de Santarem, and Pedro d'Escobar, with two pilots, Martim Fernandes and Alvaro Esteves, were sent out. Following the coast towards the south, they discovered the coast of Benin, the coast of Calabar, and the coast called Gabão (Gaboon). It appears it was during this voyage that the island of San Thomé and the island of Principe were discovered. The latter island was first called the island of Saint Anthony, and later on changed into that of Principe, when the sugar tributes had been given as appanage to the eldest son of the King. On that occasion, it appears, was also discovered the island called Anno Bom, and probably Fernando Po discovered the island which still bears his name.

As may be perceived, the impulses for discoveries did not proceed solely from the Crown. It was the commercial spirit which ruled, and the great scientific scheme of the Infante D. Henrique was blotted out by D. Alfonso V., in the same manner as the political scheme of the Infante D. Pedro had been likewise ignored by him. It was reserved to D. João II. to continue these traditions, and complete the designs sketched out by the men of the epoch of D. João I. The seed which these had sown was matured by the great man who merited from posterity the glorious surname of the Perfect Prince, but the ingathering was effected by D. Manuel, who merely garnered the fruits of the past and sowed misfortunes for the future.

With the reign of Alfonso V. terminated the Portuguese Middle Ages, and in few countries is the dividing line so deeply and clearly defined which separates the two great periods of the history of humanity—the Middle Ages and modern epoch—as in Portugal.

Alfonso V. was on the throne when Constantinople fell before the arms of the Sultan Mahomet II., and, as is well known, it was this event which historians have selected as the final ending of mediæval times. On all sides, more or less, about that epoch modern royalty commenced to manifest its especial and individual character; and in Portugal, D. Alfonso V. was the last king of the feudal order, and D. João II. the first political king. D. Alfonso V. the last king according to the formula of the Assizes of Jerusalem, merely the first among the nobles; while D. João II. the first king according to the formula of the revived Roman jurisprudence. D. Alfonso V., the friend of Azurara, and the last of the semi-legendary kings of the ancient chronicles; D. João II., the correspondent of Angelo Policiano, the

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first king of classical renaissance. In France, Charles VII. already assumed to cast down feudalism ere Louis XI. had given it the death-blow. In Spain, Henry IV. is the victim of the power of its ricos-homens, which the policy of Ferdinand and Isabella were to irrevocably crush. In Portugal, Alfonso V. commences life as the champion of the nobility against his uncle D. Pedro, the representative of the monarchical idea, and terminates it favouring the pretensions of the powerful lords against the nascent royalty of Ferdinand and Isabella. The last act of his life has for its aim strengthening the alliance of the nobility and the King, by reconciling his son with the Duke of Braganza; and the first act of D. João II. was to erect the scaffold in Evora whereon that same Duke of Braganza, the most powerful and haughtiest of nobles, was to expire. Hence this dividing line had been well marked in Portugal.

When the Middle Ages terminated, the danger which threatened Europe on the East, as it had formerly threatened the West, became dispelled as so much smoke. The formation of the French nationality was principally the obstacle which prevented the Caliphs from passing beyond Poitiers, whilst the formation especially of Spanish nationality was the obstacle which prevented the Sultans from passing beyond Lepanto.

When the Middle Ages terminated, all the germs of the splendid modern civilization were openly developing. The men who were destined to unfold all these brilliant germs were born, or about to be born, and some had even commenced to prepare their fertile labours — Vasco da Gama, Christopher Columbus, Ferdinand and Isabella, Luther, Raphael, Michael Angelo, Rabelais, Copernicus, Gil Vicente, D. João II., Ariosto—those who wrenched from the ocean unknown worlds, and resolved the last great problems of geography, the emancipation of human thought, the Corypheus of the artistic and philosophical renaissance, the founders of the theatre, the renovators of poetry, the founders of nationalities—in a word, all who in thousands of ways, with the chisel, the palette, the pen, the sword, the telescope, and the compass, gave the human race a powerful, immense impulse, and realised in the sixteenth century the marvellous work of the Renaissance.

What was the part taken by Portugal in this great movement of European civilisation? Coming late on the scene of the world, at the beginning of the twelfth century, Portugal had not to suffer the

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ominous domination of feudalism, which, moreover, never very fully ruled on this side of the Pyrenees.

From the commencement of the Monarchy, royalty always possessed sufficient power to dominate the pretensions of the aristocracy; its wrestling with the clergy was more prolonged and undecided. We have seen in effect at the commencement of the reign of Alfonso Henry and Sancho I. royalty invoked as a protection by the humble against the powerful, and almost from the very cradle of the monarchy do we find this intimate union between the King and the councils. This union reaches its height when the people in arms place the Master of Aviz on the throne; and the nobility and clergy succumb, crushed by that firm, close union. During the reign of Alfonso V. the nobility regains in a great measure its supremacy, but it is the last gleams of the expiring fire; and still protected by the municipalities, the third state, D. João II., following the general tendencies of his epoch, decapitates the heads of those who attempt to lift them above the common level, and in the midst of a submitted and crouching nobility raises the haughty throne whereon D. Manuel fearlessly seats himself.

This one completes the work betraying the alliance: the same will be done in Spain by Charles V.: the people who assisted royalty in the combat is by it victimised, and the great monarchical and religious despotism of the sixteenth century is triumphantly established. But the movement of the spirits is not stopped; reform becomes the great cry of reaction; victorious in the North of Europe, it is smothered in the South by all the united forces of absolutism and theocracy; but the strife continues to wage, and the revolutions of the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries newly affirm the despised right of the people, and unfurl over demolished thrones, or bent beneath the yoke of constitutionalism, the august standard of liberty.

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